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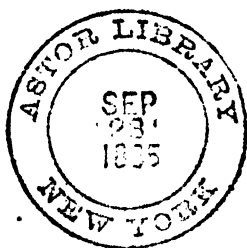
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THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY: 1662.

WE can readily imagine that some of our readers will question the propriety of introducing into these pages what is, and will be, a party question. To this we should answer, that it is not our intention to make of it a party question, nor in any way to depart from that neutrality to which we have been pledged, and have adhered from the beginning. This Act of Uniformity, moreover, involves some interesting historical problems and researches in ecclesiastical literature, which is in our province. It may also be added that our treatment of this matter will be exceptional, and will not lead us into conflict with any of those who are or may be discussing it. To this end we shall not have much recourse to well known authorities, nor shall we attempt to give a detailed history of the affair, but we shall throw together a few quotations and facts, with which we shall intermingle such observations as may seem not out of place. Our friends may range us on which side they choose. So far as we speak we shall endeavour to be strictly impartial, and shall only speak of the facts as they appear to us.

The civil war involved a struggle respecting royal prerogatives and episcopal supremacy. Its result was the abolition of both. The republic was followed by the return of monarchy in 1660, when Charles II. promised toleration and indulgence. An outbreak of the fifth monarchy men, under the leadership of Venner, was unfavourable to the dissenters generally, although they were

almost unanimous in rebuking and condemning it. This was in January, 1661; and was immediately followed by a proclamation prohibiting all meetings for public worship except in the parish churches. It is a document which cannot be justified. We copy a portion of it as we find it in a manuscript of the period.

The latter part of the Proclamation against Conventicles.

"In our late declaration, we have thought fit by these presents to publish and declare our royal will and pleasure, that no meeting whatsoever of the persons aforesaid, under pretence of worshipping God, shall at any time hereafter be permitted, or allowed, unless it be in some parochial church or chapel in this realm, or in private houses by the persons there inhabiting, and that all meetings and assemblies whatsoever, in order to any spiritual exercise or serving of God by the persons aforesaid, shall be esteemed, and are hereby declared to be unlawful assemblies, and shall be prosecuted accordingly, and the persons therein assembled shall be proceeded against as persons riotously and unlawfully assembled; and for the better execution of this proclamation, and the prevention of all illegal and seditious meetings and Conventicles, we do hereby straightly charge and command, all mayors, sheriffs and justices of peace, constables, headboroughs, commanders, and other officers and ministers whom it may concern, that they cause diligent search to be made from time to time, in all and every the places where any such meetings or conventicles as aforesaid shall or may be suspected, and that they cause all and every the persons therein assembled to be apprehended and brought before one or more justices of the peace, to be bound over to appear at the next sessions within their respective precincts, and in the meantime to find sureties for good behaviour, or in default thereof to be committed to the next gaol: and further, we do will and command the justices of peace, that they cause the oath of allegiance to be tendered to every person so brought before them, and upon his or their refusal, to proceed according to the statute made in the seventh year of the reign of our royal grandfather of ever blessed memory: they are directed and commanded. . . .

Given January 10, 1660."

The Independent ministers at once took the alarm, and issued "a Renuntiation and declaration of the ministers of Congregational Churches and public preachers of the same judgment, living in and about the city of London, against the late Horrid Insurrection and Rebellion acted in the said city." This pamphlet is dated in January 1660 (1661), and besides repudiat-

ing all sympathy with rebellion, sets forth the principles of the Congregationalists, shewing that they enforce loyalty and obedience to the civil power, and by way of confirmation, quoting the twenty-fourth chapter of the Savoy confession agreed to in 1658.

That everything was then in a state of inextricable confusion will appear by reference to any history of the time. Kennet records among others the following circumstances, which we throw together here. Dr. Manton was episcopally instituted to the living of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, in January, 1661, whereupon the inhabitants petitioned the Bishop of London for the exercise of religion as by law established, so Dr. Manton admitted the use of the Book of Common Prayer. A bishopric was offered to Baxter, who declined it. Gauden published his counsels to priests and deacons ordained by him, urging the defence of the Prayer Book, and thus concludes: "Nor is it to be doubted but we shall at length, by God's help, get a sure and complete victory over all these Amalekites, that so, after various hazards and adventures, we may arrive at heaven, and bring many spiritual sons with us to the high and holy inheritance of eternal glory purchased by the blood of Jesus Christ." We know who the Amalekites were. In some places many children were found unbaptized, as at Dover, where the font had not been used for twenty years. The Quakers presented a petition to Charles II., in which they say that above four hundred men and women were in prison in and about London, and above a thousand more in the country. They ask for a fair trial. The Baptists presented an address to the king about the same time as the Independents. At Edinburgh a proclamation was issued, January 22, 1661, against the Quakers, Anabaptists, and Fifth Monarchy men. A few days later the king ordered the release of the Quakers in prison in London, if not ringleaders, preachers, or particular offenders. The Scotch parliament issued a declaration for annulling the solemn League and Covenant. In Ireland a declaration was sent out against assemblies of Papists, Presbyterians, Independents, Quakers, and other fanatical persons. Vast numbers of Quakers were imprisoned. A proclamation went forth against killing, dressing, and eating flesh in Lent and on fast days, etc.; but licenses were allowed. There had been much arbitrary government in the Church, says Kennet, and many bishops and ministers had been ejected, whose places were filled in some cases by itinerant preachers; in others they had been left vacant. A service was appointed for the 30th January. Many pamphlets, tracts, and sermons were published, and controversy and discussion prevailed in all forms. The public mind was very unsettled. The Quakers could obtain no release except

by taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, which of course they could not do. Some persons were prosecuted for not reading the Book of Common Prayer. The advocates of the League and Covenant were sent to prison. Sir Roger L'Estrange and others were urgent in their demands for severity. The Quakers published an account of their persecutions.

Thus we might go on, filling pages with the bare enumeration of facts which shew that a deadly struggle had commenced, and that whatever provocation the sects had formerly given, or whatever rashness some among them might display, they were now the sufferers. It is beyond question that the dominant party contained many wise and good men, who could not approve of severe, arbitrary, and violent measures. It is equally certain, that there were those who, smarting under the remembrance of what they had borne during the Commonwealth, or anxious to reduce the existing chaos to something like order, or resolved to bring about uniformity of religion, cared little what measures were adopted, provided they were suited to the attainment of cherished objects. No one can read the annals of the time without perceiving that this was the case. But we cannot condemn all alike.

Sundry negotiations were entered into with the Presbyterians and others, for amicably settling the discipline and ceremonies of the Church of England. On March 25, 1661, the King issued a commission by which he appointed an equal number of divines and learned men on both sides, to consider and revise the Liturgy, and to consider all other matters of dispute, and to report upon them. On the episcopal side were eleven bishops, and the Archbishop of York, and eleven Dissenters on the other. To these were added nine episcopal divines and nine dissenters as substitutes for such of the first class as were unable to attend. So far, all seemed fair and equal, except that the president was an archbishop. Probably it was intended that all should proceed on just and honourable principles, but the reports shew that, from the first, there was no prospect of impartiality from men like Sheldon and others. Submission was required, and not agreement. Consequently, shame and defeat were the portion of the Dissenters, who could not cope with this violent spirit, and the determination to retaliate, which was opposed to them. Regarded by the light of authentic records, the whole affair looks like a farce, a solemn mockery. Apart from the wretched manner in which this business was conducted, there are features which we approve. It was right and proper to attempt to restore harmony to a distracted church. It was right and proper to introduce something like agreement

and uniformity by the common consent of those in possession of the pulpits. This agreement did not exist, but it was none the less desirable; and if men of different opinions could have been brought to make mutual concessions, and to follow one uniform practice, there would have been consolidated a peaceful and powerful ecclesiastical community. Elements in both parties forbade this, but posterity has cast upon the episcopal commissioners the obloquy of refusing concession, and of demanding obedience. At this time there was abroad a spirit of vindictiveness, which can easily be accounted for, but which we can well afford to blame. The high churchmen had, some of them, suffered much within the preceding nine or ten years. Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy* is not altogether a fictitious book; it is partial, it is violent, it is in many points very inexact, but it still represents real sufferings and indignities. This was the canker which fretted some men's hearts, and nothing could atone for the violence of the republican party but reprisals; they must be humbled and crushed. The day of power had now dawned upon the men who had been wronged and outraged, and with the accession of power appeared the resolution to have revenge. Of course some may have been moved by better motives, but those we describe were predominant in the councils of the time. We repeat our approval of the desire for general agreement and of uniformity, so far as was possible, because a church cannot truly prosper in which all forms of doctrine and ecclesiastical custom prevail. At that time, there were men in parish pulpits who had never been ordained at all. Of John Wesley, of Whitechurch, for example, Adam Clarke says, "That he was a lay-preacher," and "that he was an itinerant evangelist." He adds, "That he was not ordained, either by bishop or presbyters, by the imposition of hands, is fully evident." And again, that although called by the people, appointed by the trustees, and approved by the triers, "he had not instituted any code of discipline for their (his people's) regulation; and probably did not administer the sacraments among them, especially the sacrament of the Lord's Supper." This John Wesley was ejected by the Act of Uniformity. His case speaks for itself, and it is not for a moment to be imagined that it stands alone. In a few of the pulpits, ministers holding congregational views of church polity officiated; in many, those who followed the Presbyterian order; and in others, those who were Episcopalians. To call this confusion is to use a mild word, and to say that it was an inconsistency, will probably not be questioned. If parish churches are national property, they were yet never intended for indiscriminate use. The Government always claimed the power to

control them, so far at least as to determine who should and who should not minister in them. We see this not merely in the conduct of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, but in that of the Long Parliament itself, who pronounced all ministers ineligible who would not comply with the League and Covenant, etc. The occupants of these pulpits have often changed with the changes of the constitution of the Church in these realms. Interference has gone beyond this, and the civil power has restrained or deposed such teachers as were either heretical or evil livers; if it has not always done so, it has always claimed the right. The parliamentary government both asserted and exercised the right. The clergy whom it ejected, were ejected for all these reasons; they refused to conform to the state enactments respecting the League and Covenant, etc.; or they were heretics; or they were men of evil lives. All the clergy who suffered under the authority of the parliamentary party were not saints, though some of them were; others were idle, incompetent, irregular, or otherwise unfit for their holy office. Whether all who suffered by the Act of Uniformity in 1662 were really confessors or martyrs, is fairly open to question. In both cases there was enormous injustice and oppression; but the amount of these ingredients is more apparent in the latter, where there lacked nothing of bitterness and rigour, and where no element of mercy or consideration is to be found. No doubt the two thousand were a motley host. In church government, in doctrine, in manners, in zeal, in learning, in godliness, they exhibited far greater variety than we should find at this day. No doubt too they were impelled by different motives to refuse subscription. Some refused because they had not seen the book they were required to pledge themselves to; some because they regarded the proceeding as intolerable and tyrannical; some because they objected to certain doctrines; some because they could not consent to use certain formulas; some because they were not Episcopalians; and some on other accounts. Whatever their reasons, they were so far honest and sincere, that they sacrificed everything rather than say or do what they did not believe. Their consciences, it ought to be admitted, had the principal voice in the matter, because if they had made the requisite declaration, and surrendered to authority, they might have remained. The conditions offered were offered to all, and all were required to accept them. But this was rather in appearance than reality. The Church had been divided and at war. At length one party gets into power, and dictates the terms on which alone the other shall continue in possession of what it holds. These terms are in fact the Act of Uniformity,

which viewed in this light was neither more nor less than a notice to quit, or a summons to surrender. It was perfectly well known that some would surrender, and equally well known that others would refuse. Not only was this foreseen, but it was desired, and the Act was constructed in view of it. The Prayer Book itself was altered in the same spirit and expectation. It was made more offensive than its predecessor, by the insertions which were resolved upon. To serve a temporary purpose changes were effected in the liturgical standards which are a sore and a bone of contention to this day. Let the reader compare the Book of Common Prayer as it appeared before and after 1662. We pronounce no opinion as to the character of the alterations, but only as to the motive by which some of them found acceptance. Not only was the book rendered more unpalatable, intentionally to aggravate the humiliation and increase the difficulty of subscription; but the treatment to which many were subjected by way of foretaste was uncalled for. We can afford to own this also. Men who pray, "Remember not, Lord, our offences, nor the offences of our forefathers," can admit that their forefathers sometimes did wrong. Here then were three things; there was the haughty and vindictive bearing of the men in power; there was the alteration effected in the Prayer Book; and there was the Act of Uniformity. All these contributed to the catastrophe of August the 24th, 1662; or rather, perhaps, the third of these merely hastened the *denouement*. Possibly, a different view may be taken by others, who see no fault in the party they espouse, whichever it may happen to be.

We spoke of the haughty and overbearing behaviour of some of the Episcopal party, and we would illustrate this by numerous cases if it were necessary. But even this to some extent finds its counterpart in preceding events. What we may call the Genevan, more commonly termed the Puritan party in the Church, had always been opposed to and by the thorough-going Episcopalians. Under Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I., men of the Genevan school were often called to suffer. During the civil wars they, whether Presbyterian or Episcopalian, gained the upper hand, and then they too exerted their power upon their opponents. We have already hinted at the measures by which the Church constitution was altered. Not only was the Prayer Book abolished, but episcopacy itself, and the *Presbyterian Directory* and its concomitants substituted for them. Then too were many excluded from their benefices. It may be enough to quote on this point a passage from one of the suffering party. If we quote from those who suffered by the Act of Uni-

formity, we must also hear those who suffered by the acts of the republican parliament. The author to whom we refer is Isaac Basire, who, in *The History of the English and Scotch Presbyterianism*, said to have been printed in French in 1650, and published in English in 1659, says :—

“In the ninety-seven parishes within the walls of London, there were found upon account, that there were fourscore and five ministers driven by violence from their churches and houses ; and to number the suburbs and parishes adjoining to London, the number of the ministers were a hundred and fifteen, without comprising those of St. Paul’s and Westminster, where the deans and prebends ran the same fortune ; of this number, twenty were imprisoned, and of those who are dead by distress and anguish in divers prisons, in the holds of ships, and banishment, they reckoned five years since (*i.e.*, 1655) twenty-two ; but this number is almost doubled since, and the others dispersed and fled into strange countries, or otherwise oppressed and ruined. . . . In the other parts of the kingdom, many faithful ministers to the king had the like usage, especially those who possessed the fairest and best benefices ; for this was an unpardonable crime, and some of them were massacred by the furious Anabaptists as a sacrifice well pleasing to God.”

Into the minute accuracy of this statement we shall not go ; but that it contains truth, we have no doubt. Heylin, another writer of the same school, abundantly confirms it, and so do Walker and many more. But if this were wrong under one government it was wrong under another. Even such men as the John Wesley, already alluded to, ought not to have been vexed without lawful enquiry. Yet many were, and that before the Act of Uniformity was passed. We have referred to Baxter and Manton, and it is but fair to say, that when Episcopacy was restored, ecclesiastical benefices were offered to the leading Presbyterians ; to Baxter and Manton may be added Calamy, Bates, Bowles, and Reynolds. The last only was prevailed upon to accept the see of Norwich.

At that time, Charles does not seem himself to have had any strong personal feeling against the Presbyterians. His declaration proves this. It is entitled, “His Majesties Declaration to all his loving subjects of his kingdom of England, and dominion of Wales, concerning ecclesiastical affairs.”^a It commences :—

“How much the peace of the state is concerned in the peace of the Church, and how difficult a thing it is to preserve order and government in civil, whilst there is no order or government in ecclesiastical affairs, is evident to the world ; and this little part of the world, our own domi-

^a London : printed by John Bill and Christopher Barker, Printers to the King’s most excellent Majesty, 1660.

nions, hath had so late experience of it, that we may very well acquiesce in the conclusion, without enlarging ourselves in discourse upon it, it being a subject we have had frequent occasion to contemplate upon, and to lament, abroad as well as at home."

After alluding to the letter from Breda, the promises therein made and the opinions entertained respecting the state of religion in England, by the Reformed Churches in France, the Low Countries, and Germany, it proceeds:—

"When we were in Holland, we were attended by many grave and learned ministers from hence, who were looked upon as the most able and principal asserters of the Presbyterian opinions, with whom we had as much conference as the multitude of affairs, which were then upon us, would permit us to have; and to our great satisfaction and comfort found them persons full of affection to us, of zeal for the peace of the Church and State, and neither enemies (as they have been given out to be) to episcopacy, or liturgy, but modestly to desire such alterations in either, as without shaking foundations, might best allay the present distempers, which the indisposition of the time, and the tenderness of some men's consciences, had contracted; for the better doing whereof, we did intend, upon our first arrival in this kingdom, to call a synod of divines, as the most proper expedient to provide a proper remedy for all those differences and dissatisfactions which had or should arise in matters of religion; and in the meantime, we published in our declaration from Breda, a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man should be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matter of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom, and that we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament, as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to us, for the full granting of that indulgence."

All this sounds well enough, but the king goes on to complain of the restless and discontented among the over zealous, who had found fault with him, and among other things published that the doctrine of the Church ought to be reformed as well as the discipline. In consequence of these things the king resolves to invert the method he had proposed, and to pronounce some decision which should suffice until a synod could be called. Prevailing discord is attributed to "the passion and appetite, and interest of particular persons." But, says the king:—

"We must for the honour of all those of either persuasion, with whom we have conferred, declare that the professions and desires of all for the advancement of piety and true godliness are the same; their professions of zeal for the peace of the Church the same; of affection and duty to us the same; they all approve episcopacy; they all approve a set form of liturgy; and they all disprove and dislike the sin of sacrilege, and the alienation of the revenue of the church," etc.

The king repeats his declaration of attachment to the Church

of England as it is established by law, and thinks this is not disapproved by his forbearing to insist peremptorily "on some particulars of ceremony, which, however introduced by the piety, and devotion, and order of former times, may not be so agreeable to the present, but may even lessen that piety and devotion for the improvement whereof they might happily be first introduced, and consequently may well be dispensed with." Such concessions, it is hoped, will not be lost, and that the episcopal authority will be acknowledged to be the best support of religion; but then, in the primitive times, even the ecclesiastical power was always subordinate and subject to the civil. Still, the primitive bishops had more authority than would be desirable in such a government as that of England. Meantime, the State must support the government in the Church which is established by law. Eight articles follow, the subjects of which are:—

1. That the king will encourage true godliness; that the Lord's Day be applied to holy exercises without unnecessary divertisements; that insufficient, negligent, and scandalous ministers be not permitted in the Church; that proper ministers be appointed; and that the bishops be frequent preachers.

2. That suffragan bishops shall be appointed.

3. The jurisdiction of bishops, etc., is limited and controlled.

4. Refers to ordinations and other appointments.

5. Regulates discipline. This contains some remarkable language: "We will take care that confirmation be rightly and solemnly performed, by the information and with the consent of the minister of the place; who shall admit none to the Lord's Supper, till they have made a credible profession of their faith, and promised obedience to the will of God; according as is expressed in the considerations of the rubrick before the catechism," etc. This article provides for a monthly meeting of the rural dean, and three or four ministers of every deanery, to hear and consider complaints. Rural deans are to see that the ministers carefully instruct the young of their parishes in the grounds of the Christian religion, etc.

6. Bishops not to exercise arbitrary powers.

7. "We are very glad to find that all with whom we have conferred, do in their judgment approve a liturgy or set form of public worship to be lawful; which in our judgment, for the preservation of unity and uniformity, we conceive to be very necessary; and though we do esteem the Liturgy of the Church of England, contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and by law established, to be the best we have seen; and we believe we have seen all that are extant and used in this part of the world,

and well know what reverence most of the Reformed Churches, or at least the most learned men in those Churches have for it ; yet since we find some exceptions made against several things therein, we will appoint an equal number of learned divines of both persuasions, to review the same, and to make such alterations as shall be thought most necessary ; and some additional forms (in the Scripture phrase as near as may be) suited unto the several parts of worship, and that it be left to the minister's choice to use one or other at his discretion. In the meantime, and till this be done, although we do heartily wish and desire that the ministers in their several churches, because they dislike some clauses and expressions, would not totally lay aside the use of the Book of Common Prayer, but read those parts against which there can be no exception ; which would be the best instance of declining those marks of distinction, which we so much labour and desire to remove ; yet in compassion to divers of our good subjects, who scruple the use of it as now it is, our will and pleasure is, that none be punished or troubled for not using it, until it be reviewed and effectually reformed, as aforesaid."

8. Concerning ceremonies, which are important, and although in themselves indifferent, cease to be indifferent when once established by law. Dispensation is promised in regard to some. Kneeling at the Sacrament is preferred, but left to the decision of a national Synod, but liberty is allowed in the meantime. Ministers to be compelled to make the sign of the cross in baptism. No man to be compelled to bow at the name of Jesus. The use of the surplice to be left optional, except in the king's chapel, in cathedral, or collegiate churches, or in university colleges. The subscription required by the canon, and the oath of canonical obedience not to be enforced, but the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to be necessary to ordination, induction, etc. "In a word, we do again renew what we have formerly said in our declaration from Breda, for the liberty of tender consciences, that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom ; and if any have been disturbed in that kind since our arrival here, it hath not proceeded from any direction of ours."

This important document concludes with an exhortation to acquiescence and forbearance. "Given at our court at Whitehall, this 25th day of October, 1660." Some historians, as Rapin, who refers to Kennet, say that by this proclamation, scrupulous persons were not to be punished or troubled for not using the Liturgy at *present*, according to the seventh article ;

and that concerning ceremonies, no person was to be obliged to conform *for the present*. This may be implied ; but the original document does not contain any such words. Of course the regulations were provisional, and more need not be said. No one ought to find fault with them, considering the unsettled state of affairs at the time. Even the proclamation of January 10th, 1661, issued against the Fifth Monarchy men for their insane attempt, and unfortunately so worded as to prohibit all dissenting meetings, really leaves untouched the parish minister in his parish church.

A change was at hand, however, and when the king met his parliament, on May 8th, 1661, the Lord Chancellor employed language which clearly indicated that the royal mind was soured and vexed by what he had heard of seditious preachers. After describing them, the speaker says, "If you do not provide for the thorough quenching these firebrands, king, lords, and commons shall be their meanest subjects, and the whole kingdom kindled into one general flame." In his speech on July 8th of the same year, the king does not breathe one word upon the subject, but refers more than once to his declaration from Breda, and his resolution to stand by it. On the 20th November, 1661, the first day of meeting after adjournment, the king made another speech in parliament, in which he tells them : "It would not be strange that I come to see what you and I have so long desired to see, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons of England, met together to consult for the peace and safety of Church and State." He says also, "Let us not be discouraged ; if we help one another, we shall with God's blessing master all our difficulties ; those which concern matters of religion, I confess to you, are too hard for me, and therefore I do commend them to your care and deliberation, which can best provide for them."

We pass on to his Majesty's speech, on May 19th, 1662, but we find nothing in his own words bearing upon the subject. It was left to the Lord Chancellor, who followed, to complain of the refractoriness and ingratitude of some of the clergy, and to praise the Parliament for adopting stringent measures. He said :—

"You have, my lords and gentlemen, like wise patriots, upon your observation that the most signal indulgence and condescensions, the temporary suspension of the rigour of former laws, hath not produced that effect which was expected ; that the humours and spirits of men are too rough and boisterous for those soft remedies ; you have prepared sharper laws and penalties to contend with those refractory persons, and to break that stubbornness which will not bend to gentler applications ; and it is

great reason that they upon whom clemency cannot prevail, should feel that severity they have provoked. You have done your part like good physicians, made wholesome prescriptions for the constitution of your patients, well knowing that the application of these remedies, the execution of these sharp laws, depends upon the wisdom of the most discerning, generous, and merciful prince, who having had more experience of the nature and humour of mankind than any prince living, can best distinguish between the tenderness of conscience and the pride of conscience, between the real effects of conscience, and the wicked pretences to conscience ; who having fought with beasts at Ephesus, knows how to guard himself and the kingdom from the assaults and violence of a strong, malicious, corrupted understanding and will ; and how to secure himself and the kingdom from the feeble traps and nets of deluded fancies and imaginations ; in a word, a prince of so excellent a nature, and so tender a conscience himself, that he hath the highest compassion for all errors of that kind, and will never suffer the weak to undergo the punishment ordained for the wicked, and knows, and understands better than any man, that excellent rule of Quintilian, *Est aliquid quod non oportet, etiamsi licet, et aliud, est jura spectare, aliud justitiam.*"

With every desire to do justice to Charles, we must observe that the allusion to his so tender conscience, looks rather ludicrous. There is more in the same speech bearing on the same subject ; but this is the principal part. Sir Edward Turnor, Speaker of the Commons, on the same occasion, in his speech to the king, was more explicit ; what he said was to this effect :—

" We cannot forget the late disputing age, wherein most persons took a liberty, and some men made it their delight, to trample upon the discipline and constitution of the Church ; the hedge being trod down, the foxes and the wolves did enter, the swine and other unclean beasts defiled the temple. At length it was discovered the Smeectymnian plot did not only bend itself to reform ceremonies, but sought to erect a popular authority of elders, and to root out episcopal jurisdiction ; in order to this work, Church ornaments were first taken away, then the means whereby distinction or inequality might be upheld amongst ecclesiastical governors ; then the forms of common prayer, which as members of the public body of Christ's Church, were enjoined us, were decryed as superstitions, and in lieu thereof, nothing, or worse than nothing, introduced. Your Majesty having already restored the governors and government of the Church, the patrimony and privileges of our churchmen, we held it now our duty for the reformation of all abuses in the public worship, humbly to present unto your Majesty a bill for the *Uniformity of Public Prayers and Administration of Sacraments*. We hope the God of order and unity will confirm the hearts of all the people in the nation to serve him in this order and uniformity."

Sir Edward Turnor little knew what an apple of discord he placed before the king and the British people that day ; and as little did Charles II. imagine that, after the lapse of two centuries,

it would be referred to as the crowning folly and injustice of his reign. We judge not, but the myriads of Nonconformists now existing among us are a sufficient proof of the vanity of attempting to fetter the consciences of a great and independent nation. In this case the evil might have been less if the haste of the court party had not been so great, and if the modifications of the Prayer Book had made it less and not more objectionable to the Puritans. Some may be surprised to find so little in the king's speeches, prior to the passing of the Act, which points to such an ultimatum. But we must remember that at that period, it was at least politic not so openly to contravene declarations in favour of liberty of conscience, even if the king's mind had changed, as it no doubt had. There was a strong party in Church and State who longed to inflict reprisals, as we have said above, and who left no stone unturned to accomplish their purpose. They carried everything with so high a hand, that the king's favourite scheme of a conference was a source of new hatred and contention, and supplied a plausible argument for the employment of force. They devised and framed the obnoxious alterations in the formularies of the Church, and they conceived and framed the Act of Uniformity as it was called, but which became an Act of Manyformity, if we may coin a word to express our idea. There were dissenters before then; they are traced back by painstaking explorers to the very first days of the English reformation, and they survived all the pains and penalties which were inflicted upon them. The Congregationalists alone, in the pamphlet already mentioned, are represented by twenty-five ministers and public preachers in and about London. Within the Church itself there were doubtless many who were not Episcopalians, and who did not use the Book of Common Prayer; but still they were within, and probably a prudent comprehensive measure was possible which should have won them over and kept them. Instead of this, it was enacted by the bill which received the royal assent on May 19th, 1662, that all who did not comply with its provisions by the 24th of August in the same year, should be silenced and ejected. And they were silenced and ejected. Collier and many others put down the number at two thousand ministers, and no man knows how many of the laymen went with them. Such was this great Nonconformist-making Act, which was meant to put an end to nonconformity.

We turn for a moment to the Book of Common Prayer as it appeared before and after that period; and we find differences of two sorts: in the proper lessons for Sundays and holy days, and in the forms themselves, where the changes were more

numerous, and some of them serious, as in the communion service. Such of our readers as think proper may pursue this enquiry. In the meantime we may suggest that Burnet is not to be relied on when he says, "The convocation that prepared those alterations, as they added some new holy days, St. Barnabas, and the conversion of St. Paul, so they took in more lessons out of the Apocrypha, in particular the story of Bel and the Dragon." Both St. Barnabas, and the conversion of St. Paul, were already in the book; but Bel and the Dragon was introduced for September 23rd. The offices for the 30th of January and the 29th of May would not please all, and are ascribed to Sancroft by the author just named, who adds that "such care was taken in the choice and returns of the members of the convocation, that everything went among them as was directed by Sheldon and Morley. When they had prepared all their alterations, they offered them to the king, who sent them to the House of Commons, upon which the Act of Uniformity was prepared by Keeling, afterwards Lord Chief Justice." The very conference which had been held contributed to this result. The court party were determined to make no concessions to those who pleaded conscience; to make the terms of subscription more rigid; and to secure an act of uniformity; all which they accomplished.

We may refer to Bishop Parker, and hear what he says in his *Memoirs*. As a vigorous royalist he omits nothing which may tend to throw obloquy upon those who differed from him; but fairness requires us to listen to both parties. Having reported that the king issued his writ for the summoning of convocation, he says they confirmed and made—

"Some little alterations in the liturgy according to the different circumstances of times, brought their decrees to the king, lords and commons, to be abetted with their authority. Hence arose that famous law, commonly called the Act of Uniformity. By which law it was enacted that all clergymen should use only the Common Prayer in the public worship; and unless they used it, they were to be deprived of all ecclesiastical benefices before the feast of St. Bartholomew. Moreover, they were to abjure the solemn League and Covenant; and renounce it as contrary to all the laws of God and nature, and this kingdom. The consequence of which must be, either the Presbyterian ministers would return into the peace and unity of the Church, and also abjure the bond, and as it were the sacrament of their treachery and rebellion, or else they must quit all their benefices in the Church, and all the opportunities of doing mischief. Hereupon there was a great confusion among the faction: they run backwards and forwards with hurry and consternation; they entered into a new association against this law, promising themselves, that if all of them should refuse to comply, the Churches would not stand without them; preachers would everywhere be wanting; and the people would on every

hand beg for the repealing of the law, lest, through the scarcity of preachers, their souls should suffer a famine of the Word of the Lord. But the greatest hopes of the faction depended upon their friends at court; for they being admitted into the secret counsels of the king, and the highest offices of the state, did only clog and obstruct the public affairs; give a check to the laws that were made against the factions; appear as advocates for their faults; and make it their chief endeavour to prevent the Church and State from settling upon their old legal foundations."

Parker proceeds to shew how their endeavours to influence the king well nigh succeeded, and—

"Obtained from him that the matter should be suspended for a little time; and therefore, whereas the law ought to be in force the next Sunday, they prevailed to have the council called but three days before, for the effecting their purpose, lest perhaps any one should unseasonably step in before the time to prevent their designs; which yet unexpectedly happened through the prudence and fortitude of one man, namely, that great prelate Gilbert Sheldon, then Bishop of London, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. For, the council being held, he came of his own accord (for he was not yet called to the privy council), and pleaded for the law with that sharpness of wit, that copious eloquence, and that weight of reason, that he did not so much persuade, as command, the assent of the king, the duke, the council, and all that were present, and almost the petitioners themselves, to his opinion. He told them that the suspension of the law came almost too late; that by the command of the law he had ejected all who had not obeyed it in his diocese the Sunday before, by which he had so provoked their anger and hatred, that if they were again restored, he should not live henceforward in a society of clergy, but in the jaws of his enemies; neither could he dare to contradict a law that was passed with so great approbation of all good men, so general a consent of Parliament, and with so much deliberation. And farther, that if at that time so sacred a law should be repealed, it would expose the lawgivers to the sport and scorn of the faction; and lastly, that the State and Church would never be free from disorders and disturbances if factious men could extort whatever they desired by their impudence and importunity. They that were present at the council being overcome by these and the like reasons, did with great alacrity and earnestness consent to the immediate execution of the law. Whence it happily came to pass, that whereas there was but one day to intervene between the change of counsel and the event of the matter, almost all the Presbyterians who feared no such thing, and on the contrary were joyfully secure, did on a sudden, almost in the twinkling of an eye, perceive themselves defeated by one stroke, and turned out of their parishes to their great surprise and astonishment."

Happy would it have been, had it been nothing worse than great surprise and astonishment. But continues Parker:—

"By this seasonable interposition, the bishop freed the Church of England from these plagues for many years. For thus it happened luckily, happily, and prosperously, and indeed very providentially, that

the schismatics entangled themselves in their schism by covenant and agreement, entering into a new association, being deceived by the large promises of the London teachers, that they would not obey the law, and thence imagining that they should defend themselves by their multitude. And whereas the courtiers would have persuaded the king, that there would be preachers wanting in the city of London, upon that Sunday, the very prudent bishop of that diocese, who had computed the number of the faction, had ready at hand an equal number of orthodox divines, and those eloquent and learned, who, the sign given, did as it were come out of ambush and take possession of the pulpits. And though from that time the schismatics tried all their art that they might be received again into the bosom of the Church, yet he guarded every pass and avenue with such diligence, that when they saw their attempts so often baffled, they at length sat down, being no further troublesome with their schism, than barely that they were schismatics as long as he lived."

It is commonly reported that 2000 ministers were induced to resign their livings by the Act of Uniformity. This act has been most strongly condemned at home and abroad, by churchmen and by dissenters; but it is just possible that if it had been followed up by an edict of perfect toleration, we should have heard but little of it now. The sequences of this act were more questionable, more rigorous and severe than the Act itself. What they were, we cannot now find time to tell.

THREE PETITIONS TO KING PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR, FROM A MONK IN THE TEMPLE OF SERAPIS.

THERE is a MS. on papyrus in the British Museum, published in Boekh's *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum*, and a second in the Vatican, published in Cardinal Mai's *Scriptores Classici*, which seems to be a continuation of it. The two together contain three petitions to King Ptolemy Philometor, by a Greek priest living as a religious recluse in the temple of Serapis, near Memphis, and the proceedings taken thereon. They throw much valuable light on monastic life as it existed in Egypt, in the second century before the Christian era. One of the duties of our monk was to perform sacrifices on behalf of the king, and he puts before the king, as his claim for a favour, the length of time which he had lived as a recluse. His cell was in the temple of Astarte, which was a portion of the large temple of Serapis. He did not live there in comfort, for he was ill-treated by the other monks, who looked upon him with jealousy, because he was a Greek. The

king grants him the favour asked for, which is that his young brother may be made an officer in the army. But though the request was granted by the king, it was not obtained to the monk's satisfaction. For the brother seems to have been sent away from Memphis, instead of being left there in garrison; and his pay, by which the monk hoped to profit, was also withheld from him.

The monk and his brother had been deserted by their father, in the time of the civil war between Philometor and Euergetes, and the invasion of Egypt by Antiochus, king of Syria, which had caused a sad disturbance to society.

Our word recluse, or *one in confinement*, which is borrowed from the Latin, is a translation of *κάτοχος*, the Greek name for these monks. In the hieroglyphics they are called the Ophtho, or *persons dedicated*. Their cells yet remain in some of the Egyptian temples, particularly in that of Philæ, where they are ranged round the court-yard. They are mentioned by Manetho, in his astrological poem;^a and also by Servius in his *Commentary on Virgil*, who says that they entered on their solitary way of life as boys, and that those who were dedicated to the god of the Nile were supposed to be living in retirement in caverns beneath the river. We know the statues of these men sitting on the ground in religious idleness, with the knees up to the chin, forming little more than a square block of stone with a head upon it. The only other class of priests mentioned in the petitions, are the shrine-bearers, whose statues we have in the position of kneeling on the ground, and holding before them the small model of a temple with the figure of a god on the front of it.

The first petition is dated in the year B.C. 157. The second and third petitions may have been written about two years afterwards; and the manuscript which contains a history of the whole proceeding was written before the death of the brothers, and therefore about the year B.C. 145.

To King Ptolemy, and Queen Cleopatra his sister, the mother-loving gods [Philometores] greeting.

I, Ptolemy, the son of Glaucias, a Macedonian, being one of the settlers from the Heracleopolite nome, whereas my before-mentioned father was one of the families that dwelt in the Heracleopolite nome; but changed his way of life in the time of the troubles, and deserted me and my younger brother, Apollonius; and whereas it has been my lot to be living as a

^a *Apotelesm.*, i. 235.

recluse in the great temple of Serapis, near Memphis, for fifteen years, and as I wish to obtain a command in the army for my aforesaid brother (because I am childless), whereby I, while living as a recluse, and he who is at large, may be able to live becomingly and may be helped.

I beseech you, the great mother-loving gods, having a regard to the above-stated number of years, whereby I have in no way whatever the necessities of life, except this refuge under you, O, great gods and protectors, that I may obtain the command asked for for my brother, if it shall seem fit; and that you bestow upon me also the protection which you grant to all similar religious persons; that [this petition] be directed to the proper officer, and that my before-named brother be received into the cohort of Dexilaus, which has its quarters in Memphis, and that they should give to him whatever they themselves receive in corn and food; so that I may be able to live becomingly, and to perform the sacrifices on behalf of yourselves and your children; and may you rule over the whole country that the sun looks down upon for ever.

And if this is done, I shall, through you, have the means of living for the rest of my life. May you be happy.

Below is written, perhaps by the petitioner, but more probably by Apollonius, the brother :—

I delivered this petition to the king and queen on the second day of the month of Thoth, in the twenty-fourth year of the reign.

The king seems then to have written the following words upon it, perhaps with his own hand, and set his seal to them as his signature :—

Let it be done. Let it be carried to the proper office.

The secretary then further added :—

It has been examined; let it be carried to the scribes.

Apollonius then continues his story :—

In the twenty-fourth year, in the month of Thoth, I delivered the petition to the king and queen. And I received it back from him and delivered it to Demetrius, after it had been sealed; and I received it back from Demetrius and from Ariston, and I carried it to the secretaries' office to Dioscorides the clerk, and then from Dioscorides to Chæremon, and from Chæremon to Apollodorus; and it made its return to the palace on the twenty-sixth [day of Chœac].

The following is the report which accompanied the petition back to the king from these several officers :—

Seeing that a petition was presented to the king and queen by Ptolemy, the son of Glaucias, a Macedonian, by which it was

stated that he had lived in confinement in the great temple of Serapis, near Memphis, for fifteen years, and that he was worthy that his brother should be received into the cohort of Dexilaus, and they should give him whatever they themselves received; and seeing that the petition had been sealed in these words:—"Let it be done, and let it be carried to the proper office;" it was returned in the year 24, on the twenty-sixth day of the month of Chœac, that the settlers in Memphis were allowed each one hundred and fifty pieces of brass, and three Artabas of wheat, of which they received one Artaba of wheat, and for the rest one hundred pieces of brass for each Artaba; and that this had been allowed in the accounts of Dexilaus and Theon, to those to whom it belonged, and that the pay of one hundred pieces of brass had been given every year; and it was further added that therefore as it was allowed, there should be granted to him [Apollonius] one Artaba of wheat, and for the rest at the rate of one hundred pieces of brass for each Artaba.

Then was made a second order of the king, when he had seen this report, on the ninth day of the month of Tybi in the same year the twenty-fourth.

Let it be done as is right.

Upon this the king's secretary writes to Demetrius, as follows:—

Let Apollonius, the Macedonian, be received into the cohort of Dexilaus, which is stationed at Memphis, and let there be given to him as much as the others receive, namely, one hundred and fifty pieces of brass, and three Artabas of wheat, of which wheat he is to have one Artaba, and a gratuity of one hundred pieces of brass for each of the rest. Dated in the year 24, on the tenth day of the month of Tybi.

At the same time an order was sent to Dioscorides the clerk:—

That he was to write to Sostratus, the scribe, telling him to follow out these orders, to point out to him [Apollonius] his place, and to explain to you how distribution should be made unto him regularly, by means of the substituted allowance.

Accordingly, Dioscorides writes to Sostratus:—

We herewith send to Sostratus a copy of the report from the scribes, so that you may do according to the particulars given by the scribes.

"Seeing that a petition was presented to the king and queen by Ptolemy, the son of Glaucias, a Macedonian, by which it was stated that he had lived in confinement in the great temple of Serapis, near Memphis, for fifteen years, and that he was worthy that his brother should be received into the cohort of Dexilaus, and that they should give him whatever they themselves received;

and seeing that the petition has been sealed in these words:— ‘Let it be done; and let it be carried to the proper office,’ it was returned in the year 24, on the 26th day of the month of Chœac, that the settlers in Memphis were allowed one hundred and fifty pieces of brass and three Artabas of wheat each, of which they received one Artaba of wheat, and for the rest one hundred pieces of brass for each Artaba; that this had been allowed in the accounts of Dexilaus and Theon, to those to whom it belonged; and that the pay of one hundred pieces of brass had been given every year; and it was further added, that therefore, as it was allowed there should be granted him [Apollonius] one Artaba of wheat, and for the rest at the rate of one hundred pieces of brass each Artaba.” And the other matters are to be as have been ordered.

And this order was carried to its return in the year 24, on the 9th day of Tybi; and within was written, “Let it be done as is right.” And a letter was written to Sostratus the scribe [as above] telling him to follow out these orders, and to point out to him [Apollonius] his place, and to explain to you how distribution should be made unto him regularly, by means of the substituted allowance.

Demetrius then writes to Dioscorides, as follows:—

Demetrius to Dioscorides, sends greeting.

We herewith send to you a copy of the letter which we have written to Sostratus the scribe, so that you may follow it out. Farewell. Dated in the 24th year on the 14th day of the month of Tybi.

Apollonius then continues his narrative:—

The four Epistles from Demetrius, the chief of the body-guard and the scribe of the forces, I delivered on the 19th day of the month of Tybi in the year 24; one to Posidonius the general, one to Ammonius the chief of the servants, one to Callistratus the scribe, and one to Dioscorides the judge or chancellor. From Dioscorides the chancellor I took two letters, one to Dorion the procurator, and one to Posidonius the general, on the 25th day of Tybi in the year 24.

Apollonius then repeats the mention of his carrying the four letters from Demetrius, giving however this time to Dioscorides the title of The King’s Friend. He then continues;

The order was given in, and the letter was delivered to the chancellor to be read; and I carried the order to Ptolemy the scribe of the records, and I carried the letter to Epimenes, and I then carried it to Isidorus the decider, and from him I carried it on to Artemon, and from him to Lycus, and he made a copy of it; and I carried it on to the office of final records to Sarapion,

and from him to Eubius, and from him to Dorion; and he made a copy of it; and then a second time to Sarapion and Eubius and Nicanor the clerk; and it was given to the chancellor to read; and I carried it to Epimenes, and I carried it to Sarapion, and to Nicanor the clerk; and he wrote two letters, one to Dorion the procurator, and one to Posidonius the general of the troops at Memphis.

Thus far the manuscript in the British Museum. From the manuscript in the Vatican it would seem that Apollonius at last received the wished-for appointment as an officer, but nevertheless was forced into the ranks as a private soldier, or else employed on some less agreeable service, which removed him from his brother, who wished to have him near, and to be benefited by his pay. Accordingly the priest Ptolemy the son of Glaucias a few years afterwards forwards a second petition, as follows;

To King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra, his sister, the mother-loving gods,

Ptolemy the son of Glaucias, a Macedonian, who has been living as a recluse in the great temple of Astarte, within the temple of Serapis, near Memphis, from the tenth year of your reign, sends greeting.

When you came into the temple of Serapis in the twenty-fourth year of your reign, on the second day of the month of Thoth, I delivered to you through the window, because I was not able to come down to you, a petition on behalf of my younger brother Apollonius, that he should be admitted into the army; and in respect of the temple of Astarte, in which I have been a recluse for the before-mentioned time, I begged that no one of the priests and shrine-bearers nor any other person should violently plunder me or insult me; for there are wicked men in the temple, and they besiege me because I am a Greek, so that I want help and a protector. And whereas the before-mentioned Apollonius has been enrolled into the first cohort in Memphis, and [yet] has been forced by the servants into the public services, and is not allowed to be with me, I on that account implore a favour from you, O King.

For those who besiege me, as soon as they know that he has been sent off on the public service, at that very time they violently besiege me. For I had been insulted by many in the year 25, so as even to be pelted with stones through the window; and when Posidonius the chief of the body-guard and general came upon them, and I delivered a petition to him on the first day of the month of Pharmuthi, he called the men up to him and chastised them.

Wherefore I beseech you, O Sun, O King, not to overlook me who am in confinement, but if it seems good to you, that you should order a letter to be written to Posidonius the chief of the body-guard and general, that he should set Apollonius free from the public service, so that he may be near me.

And may Isis and Serapis the greatest of the gods grant to you to rule over the whole land upon which the sun looks down, and to your children for ever. May you be happy!

It does not appear what attention this second petition gained, but it was soon followed by a third.

To King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra, his sister, the mother-loving gods, Ptolemy the son of Glaucias a Macedonian, who is in the great temple of Serapis, in confinement in the temple of Astarte until now, sends greeting.

I am ill-treated by Argæus, a servant of the company of Dexilaus; for he deprives me of the allowance of corn which you gave to me, O King. For when in the year [24] I beseeched you to grant to me a favour in respect of my brother Apollonius, and you did grant me the favour, and handed him over to the company of Dexilaus, yet the before-mentioned Argæus carried him away from me into the public services, and he deprives me of the allowance of corn, because I have no other protector against the wicked men in this place. And the priests and shrine-bearers and certain other persons, as soon as they know that he has been removed to the public service, being wholly deceived, violently plunder me and insult me, so much as to throw stones at me through the window. And when Posidonius, the chief of the body-guard and general, came upon them, I petitioned him through the door, and he called them up to him and chastised them.

Wherefore I beseech you, O Sun, O King, not to overlook me who am in confinement, but if it seems good to you to write to Posidonius that he allow Apollonius to be free from the public service so that he be near to me; and force him [Posidonius] to give to me the money and the allowance of corn for the time already past, and for the future to treat me properly, rightly, justly, and with kindness.

And may Isis and Serapis and the twelve gods who are in Heracleopolis grant to you to rule over the whole land which the sun looks down upon, and to your children for ever. May you be happy!

Astarte was a name for the Egyptian goddess Athor, or Venus; and more exactly perhaps for the goddess called by Herodotus the Phœnician Venus. Her temple however, here described as forming a part of the large temple of Serapis, was

not that mentioned by Herodotus, which would seem to have been in another part of Memphis.

The particulars of the young officer's pay cannot be explained with certainty. It was equal to four Artabas and a half of wheat. The measure of an Artaba is very uncertain; it was perhaps equal to three bushels; and then the pay was about fourteen bushels. This was probably the monthly pay. The symbol in the manuscript, here translated a piece of brass, must have meant that metal; it cannot have meant silver, or we should have the price of the wheat too high.

SAMUEL SHARPE.

ANCIENT ATHEISM AND SUPERSTITION.

As good and evil are almost invariably mixed in human affairs, the advance of science in modern times has given birth to many opinions adverse to a firm belief in revelation. Geology has brought into question the literal truth of the Mosaic cosmogony. Astronomy is held to be equally irreconcilable with the Scriptural narrative of the creation of the heavenly host.^a Ethnologists often treat with avowed contempt the genealogy of nations, as contained in the tenth chapter of Genesis.^b Egyptology carries the history of Egypt on what it contends to be a firm basis to a period anterior to the Mosaic chronology of the deluge, or even of that of the creation.^c The labours of the Assyrian

^a We may also add that the arguments for the *plurality of inhabited worlds* (arguments which have been much enlarged and improved since the days of Fontenelle), have also caused, among the laity, many serious doubts of the truth of revelation. That all the fixed stars and planets are inhabited worlds we should think no reasonable man could doubt:—with the sceptical deductions drawn from this theory we see not the slightest ground to coincide.

^b An instance of this will be found in Bohn's edition of Mallett's *Northern Antiquities*, edited by Mr. J. A. Blackwell. The editor (p. 26) thus expresses his opinion of the incongruity between the Bible and ethnology. "We might certainly, like the writers of a by-gone age, leave the ark with Noah, and make Shem, Ham, and Japhet the progenitors of mankind; but when we confine ourselves within the domain of science, we must necessarily proceed on principles more in accordance with physiological researches and historical facts." We do not pretend to blame Mr. Blackwell for this free expression of his opinions; we only lament the superficiality of his science. The modern ethnologists have accumulated a most valuable treasure of important facts; but they have blundered most egregiously in their attempts to arrange and apply them.

^c We need scarcely observe that the chronology of ancient Egypt is still a subject of warm debate among the learned. The Champollions place the commencement of the reign of Menei, or Menes, in the year 5867 B.C.; but the basis

explorers (which were at first hailed by certain of the clergy as a vast corroboration of Revelation),⁴ disclose historical facts of which the Hebrew records make no mention, although it should seem very difficult that they could inadvertently have omitted them. The Chaldean inscriptions seem to present some points not easily reconcileable with the early history of Genesis. The contemptible impostures which Professor Chwolson has disintombed from the libraries of Europe, and which modern credulity has received as happily preserved specimens of ancient Babylonian literature, while introducing confusion into all history, sacred and profane, have (it is to be feared) been principally welcomed as furnishing many points of attack against the Hebrew records.⁶ Glossology has proved, beyond dispute, the

of their chronological system has been disputed by Bunsen and Lepsius, and the theories of the two Germans are likely enough to be in their turn overthrown. It is even still disputed whether some of the earlier dynasties were successive or collateral. The monumental notices of the foreign wars of Egypt would be of the very greatest historical interest if it were possible to identify the names of all the nations which they encountered; but this has hitherto been found impracticable with respect to some of the most important among them. Upon the whole, a vast deal has been accomplished; and yet Egyptology is a science which has barely emerged from its cradle.

⁴ It is well known that when the attempts to translate the Assyrian inscriptions began to produce reliable results, many of the clergy loudly expressed their conviction that important *confirmations* of the scriptural history might be expected from this source. Less sanguine persons at once perceived that the Assyrian monuments might *illustrate* the Bible, but could not reasonably be expected to *confirm* those parts which were the objects of scepticism. Even scepticism was not disposed to question the *general* correctness of the history of the Old Testament subsequent to the accession of David; it was the *miracles* only which were called in question, and which were quietly, but firmly, laid aside by writers of the German school of criticism. Now nothing could be more absurd than to suppose that the miracles (such, for instance, as that which caused the destruction of the host of Sennacherib) would have been noticed in the cuneiform inscriptions, as if expressly to insult the deities of Assyria. The result has sufficiently shewn that the Assyrian inscriptions have hitherto *raised far more doubts* with respect to revelation than they have contributed to solve. Of course we do not believe that these doubts have any reasonable foundation; our only object is to guard ill-informed and inconsiderate persons from resting the truth of revelation upon collateral matters which have no necessary connexion with it.

⁶ It would be difficult to deny that the reception given to what have been termed Professor Chwolson's *discoveries* is, in a great degree, to be attributed to the prevailing religious scepticism of the age. Books of such antiquity as that which is claimed for these pretended translations from Chaldean MSS. would have been rivals of no slight importance to the Pentateuch itself. It is difficult to conceive a more ludicrous instance of the erroneous direction of the views of modern criticism than is presented in the case of these MSS. To our surprise, we find the very persons who would gladly treat the Pentateuch as a compilation of the sixth or fifth century B.C. receiving, with the readiest acquiescence, the pitiable rubbish of these Baghdádí forgeries. That they were the productions of Syrian impostors settled in 'Irâc 'Arabî in the tenth century of our era we believe no one will doubt, when the ephemeral popularity which they have gained shall have expired. Of course we readily admit that very respectable men have, from unimpeachable motives, received these documents upon Chwol-

startling fact that the Hebrew language, which appears from the writings of Moses to be at least as old as Nimrod and the foundation of Nineveh, nay, even as that of Babel shortly after the deluge, is in fact a comparatively modern language, composed of the *debris* of an earlier speech, and containing in its original biliteral roots a considerable portion of Teutonic. And even metaphysics have been compelled by those great refiners—who darken every subject which they mysteriously handle with their cobweb-arranging fingers—to confirm the too prevailing doubts of the existence of a Deity.

As Atheism is a negation, the most useful mode of attacking it may be to shew its results; and to point out how invariably the Atheism of the instructors of a nation is concomitant with the superstition of the vulgar; how the yoke of superstition at length becomes intolerable even to the vulgar mind; how Atheism then steps forward to its relief; and how, when its merits have been fully tested, it is found necessary to recur

son's authority. [Upon the subject of Chwolson's imaginary Nabatean literature, a long and elaborate article appeared in the *Times* newspaper of Jan. 31, 1862. We are probably not far wrong in assigning that paper to the learned Max Müller.—Ed.]

The merit of this discovery is due to Gesenius. It ought, however, to have been so obvious to any one who even carelessly looked over an Arabic lexicon, that the only subject for surprise is, that the first suspicion of so important a fact should have been reserved for the nineteenth century. Before we were aware of the discovery of Gesenius we had ourselves been led to the same conclusion, and had deduced from our observations the following rules:—

I. All the pure Chamo-Semitic roots appear to have been originally biliteral.

II. They were rendered trilateral upon settled and uniform principles, either,
1. By joining two biliteral roots, of such a description that the last letter of the first root should be the same as the first of the second. Thus *لَمَسَ* (*tetigit manu*) is formed from *لَمَ* (*prope fuit, tetigit*), and *مَسَ* (*tetigit*). It may be observed that *lamh*, in Keltic, signifies a hand. 2. By adding a preposition at the beginning or end of the biliteral root. 3. By prefixing to the biliteral root one of the letters *א, ה, ו, or י*. 4. By adding *י* in the middle of the root. 5. By doubling the last letter of the root.

III. Many of the original biliteral roots are Teutonic, some Celtic, and others may be traced to other languages.

The important result of this discovery is, that the Hebrew, which the Jewish Rabbins assert to have been the language of Paradise,—an opinion in which they have been supported by many Christians of distinguished learning,—is, together with its kindred dialects, proved to have been a derivative language, and either more modern than the Teutonic, or formed, collaterally with the Teutonic, from the wreck of a language earlier than either. In this surprising fact we have the evidence of great revolutions between the time of the deluge and the era when the Chamo-Semitic, with its trilateral roots, is first known to have existed; and for these revolutions we seem to have no adequate period of time allowed us, in the most enlarged system of Biblical chronology. This becomes of still more importance, because it is corroborated by the evidence of the Egyptian monuments, and by numerous other arguments which might be adduced, and which lead precisely to the same conclusion.

again to superstition, as a desperate relief from the kindred monster.

The same thing "has already been of old which was before us," and we may especially discern it in the example of that people which all the nations of civilized Europe agree in representing as the most enlightened of antiquity.

We propose, therefore, to recall to the recollection of our readers the old and familiar, but still instructive picture of Grecian Atheism and superstition, that modern Europe may, if it is wisely inclined, reflect upon the example of that acute and highly favoured people,—the great guide in science, and model in arts, and the true leader of modern civilization,—and may derive from them the instructive lesson, how inevitable is the fall from superstition to Atheism, and the counter-recoil, and how pernicious is the influence of each to the prosperity of a people.

These enquiries, we presume, will not be considered as foreign to the proper scope of a work dedicated to Biblical science, since the cause of truth cannot be better served than by exposing the errors and false steps of its opponents.

CHAP. I. *Early Greek Atheism and its Egyptian origin.*

The Grecian polytheism was based upon the chaotic philosophy; and the origin of that philosophy must be sought for in Egypt. In that country it appeared the natural offspring of the soil and its phenomena. It was precisely that theory of the origin of things which the annual new-birth of Egypt from the inundation of the Nile was likely to suggest, in the infancy of philosophy, to an inquisitive people. It may be useful, therefore, to take a cursory view of the staple philosophy of Egypt, rendered permanent by the traditions of a priesthood not much inclined to change, before we proceed to the Greek philosophy, constantly varying and changing its face from the variety of its teachers, and from the temper of a people fond of novelty, and infinitely more inclined to rash speculation than to laborious research.

According to Diodorus Siculus (whose statement in this respect may be accepted from its inherent probability, and the corroboration which it receives from other sources), the cosmogony of the Egyptian philosophers strongly resembled that of which Ovid presents to us the picture (poetically expanded and richly embellished), in the first book of his *Metamorphoses*. The Egyptian priests, in their esoteric philosophy, held that the materials of which the world was composed were originally mixed

in that confused mass which the Greeks termed *chaos*; and which seems equivalent to the *קוֹמָה* of the Hebrews. The Egyptians could not conceive the creation of matter; in their opinion nothing could be made out of nothing.^g They, therefore, held that matter in the shape of chaos was eternal. From this "rude and indigested mass," in which all the elements (confusedly intermixed yet constantly jarring), existed in perpetual strife, that happy and beautiful arrangement which the Greeks termed *cosmos*, and we the universe, was at some period engendered. If the Egyptians had admitted even of a plastic, formative, and arranging deity—for the idea of a creative deity was absolutely beyond their conceptions—their cosmogony would have been as simple as that of Milton, who like them believed in the eternity of matter, and who represents the Deity as merely arranging the universe out of chaos.^h But the Egyptian priests refused to admit the idea of a God; and they appear to have attributed the formation of the cosmos to the mutual attraction of congenial, and the repulsion of discordant particles.

At some period in the illimitable vast of eternity the rude mass was subjected to a change; the jarring particles of chaos separated, each elementary particle was attracted to its similitude; and each of the four elements, separated from the rest, assumed the position best adapted to its peculiar nature. Fire and air, from their inherent lightness, ascended upwards; earth and water gravitated downwards. The two former elements, light and unstable, were, from their nature, subject to a perpetual motion; and hence the sun and fixed stars revolved (according to Egyptian ideas), in a perpetual whirl round the earth; and the planets and comets were subject to changes in their courses of a still more complicated description.

By the separation of earth and water, continents, islands, rivers, lakes, and seas were formed; and it then only remained for the earth to produce the various tribes of animals which now

^g Nullam rem e nihilo gigni divinitus unquam.—Lucret., i., 151.

^h Compare *Paradise Lost*, ii., 884–916, and vii., 205–242. The original chaos, according to the poet, extended from the gates of heaven to those of hell. From matter, in this chaotic form, the universe, according to the Miltonic theory, was arranged by the *Λόγος*,—an idea which reminds us of the *νοῦς* of Anaxagoras. That Milton believed chaos to be eternal might have been inferred from the language of his poem,—

"Where eldest Night,
And Chaos, ancestors of Nature, held
Eternal anarchy."—*Par. Lost*, ii., 894–896.

Any doubts upon this subject have been completely removed by the *Essay on the doctrines of Christianity*, discovered in 1823. [In this work Milton says that the Logos, or Word, "was the first of the whole creation, by whom afterwards all other things were made both in heaven and earth."—Ed.]

inhabit it. This task, in the rich fecundity of its primal nature, it was competent to perform. In its original soft and moist condition, alternately warmed by the solar beams, and cooled by their absence, it possessed a generative vigour, which it ultimately lost, when it became hardened by the continued heat of the sun, and the action of the winds. During this primeval vigour of production, the slime of the earth produced the various races of beasts, birds, and reptiles, and lastly, man.

Such is the outline of the cosmogonical theories (so far as they can be vaguely and imperfectly collected from the Greek writers), of a people not yet enlightened by Darwinian speculation, and who rushed too hastily upon the idea of the multiform genera of animals in the primal ages of the world, without grasping at the gigantic conception that five genera at the most are sufficient for the necessities of primal production, and that out of these five genera a million of species might spring, each gradually perfecting itself by a law inherent in its nature. The later Egyptians conceived and asserted that mice, in their own days, sprung (to their certain knowledge, founded on observation), from the slime of the Nile; but they could not grasp the great *truth* that these mice might be perfected into elephants in one divergence, and to men in another. Such profundities were reserved for the enlightened speculations of the nineteenth century, and for men who are convinced (for reasons most familiar to themselves), that monkeys must have been the not very remote ancestors of mankind, apes their cousins, and the gorilla a still nearer relation.¹

There were great and obvious difficulties attached to the Egyptian cosmogony. Matter, in its chaotic form, they asserted to have been eternal; the duration of the world might be defined by time. For innumerable centuries—indeed for a period which

¹ The flattering reception given to M. du Chaillu's travels can scarcely be attributed to the intrinsic merit of the work. It is true Mr. Spurgeon, who lectured on the subject of these travels at the Metropolitan Tabernacle, assured his hearers that "*it would take ten De Foes to write Du Chaillu's travels in Africa;*" but Mr. Spurgeon's critical opinion will do little injury to the fair fame of De Foe. Its only effect will be to remind the world of the confidence of the late Alexis Soyer, on a similar occasion, when that Frenchman ventured to flatter M. Scribe in terms equally extravagant. We believe that if the great genius of Mr. Darwin had not excited a popular rage for monkeys, the gorillas would have been handed over, for a valuable consideration, to itinerant showmen. As it is, nothing can be more natural than that these monsters should be warmly embraced and welcomed by sympathizing friends, who perceive in them the living indications of a profound philosophy. For ourselves, we should say to these esti-

mable philo-gorillists, in the words of the Koran, *كَوْنُوا قِرَدَةً خَلْسِيْنٍ*.
(Surats, ii. 62, and vii. 165.)

time could not measure—the *ὅλη* of the world must have remained in its rude and inorganized state. The principle which first introduced order into the mass must always have been inherent in it, unless we admit of some collateral and independent motive power. If the principle of order were inherent, and not collateral, it would naturally be objected that this principle could not have remained dormant for countless ages, and then on a sudden have roused its energies, and asserted its activity. Rejecting the idea of a plastic and formative deity, there remained nothing to suggest but the influence of chance or destiny, and such vague phrases, which satisfy the vulgar ear, without possessing any intelligible meaning. We shall see, as we advance, how the Greek philosophers, when they borrowed the chaotic theory from Egypt, floundered with respect to this first motive principle.

The physical system of the Ionic school of philosophy, which was confessedly borrowed from Egypt, and which (as taught by Anaxagoras), agrees in its leading views with the theory attributed to the Egyptians, leaves us no reasonable ground for doubting that the details of the Egyptian philosophy, as given by Diodorus Siculus, are essentially correct. But there have not been wanting in modern times, writers of some eminence who have boldly denied the Atheism of the Egyptian philosophy. Among others, Cudworth defended the Egyptians from this impeachment; and J. C. Wolfius, in a work intended as a general gaol-delivery for sects and nations charged with Atheism, supports the opinion of Cudworth. They urge the argument (which, of course, is perfectly correct), that the Egyptians may be proved from history to have been a people rather inclined to superstition than to incredulity in matters of religion,—

“ Quis nescit qualia demens
Ægyptus portenta colat ? ”

But the charge of Atheism was never made against the *people* of Egypt; the Atheistic philosophy is attributed to their *priests*; and, as a general rule, wherever a people is found sunk in abject superstition, we may assume, as an almost invariable concomitant, that the priests believe in no religion whatever. The priests, who invented the oracles at Delphi, assuredly believed neither in Apollo, nor in Jupiter, nor in any of the Deities of Olympus. The priests of Egypt, whose iniquitous deceptions were brought to light when their temples were destroyed on the triumph of Christianity, neither believed in Isis, nor Osiris, nor in Ammon, nor in Khem, nor in Mut, nor in Num, nor in any of the eight Egyptian gods of the first order, nor in the twelve of the second,

nor in the seven of the third. They looked with the most profound contempt upon all the phantasmata which their inventive genius had originated; and they regarded only as bugbears for the people the denizens of their mystic Pantheon—the strange and monstrous series of ram-headed, cat-headed, hawk-headed, cow-headed, lion-headed, snake-headed, crocodile-headed deities, with their various colours, blue, green, red, and yellow; and their strange paraphernalia of caps, feathers, tiaras, horns, sheaths, full moons, crescents, sceptres, ansated crosses; and the remainder of the fantastic, and almost unimaginable trumpery which modern Egyptologists describe and descant upon with such careful, and often tedious, minuteness.

It is true that Champollion-Figeac (the learned brother of the great unraveller of the hieroglyphic system of writing of the Egyptians), complains with some bitterness that, “on the uncertain evidence of Greek and Roman writers, the ancient Egyptian philosophers, the institutors of one of the most illustrious nations which has ever existed,” [we can scarcely agree with the learned Frenchman in this warm eulogy], “should have been declared to be ignorant of the Divinity, sunk in the darkness of polytheism, adoring only material agents, blind, impious, and (to sum up the whole), Atheists.”

In his own view, the Egyptian religion was the sublime symbolization of a great truth. It was a pure monotheism, manifesting itself externally by a symbolical polytheism. “It is certain” (he continues), “that the Egyptians had elevated themselves by their reflection and long observation of nature, to the idea of the unity of God, of the immortality of the soul, and of a future state of rewards and punishments.”

Under the name of Ammon or Amon-Ra, the Egyptians (according to Champollion-Figeac), worshipped the one eternal Deity. In the numerous other gods of their Pantheon they merely recognized the personification of his attributes.

We certainly do not concur in this modern attempt to rationalize an execrable and debasing superstition. It is strange, indeed, that the French writer should not perceive how little in reality the case for the Egyptians is mended by his explanation. A rational religion elevates the mind, and purifies the morals. The great object and certain result of the Egyptian superstition was to oppress the intellect by an enormous weight of absurd and unintelligible legends; to reduce the popular mind into servile

¹ See *Egypte Ancienne*, par M. Champollion-Figeac, p. 244, 245. This work forms part of a series entitled, *L'Univers Pittoresque*, published by Firmin Didot, Frères, and which, from its cheapness and useful illustrations, merits to be better known in England.

subjection to a domineering priesthood; and to pollute the source of all ethical perceptions by obscene, disgusting, and unmeaning ceremonies. Such a religion never yet sprung from a class of men who were firmly convinced of the unity of God, the immortality of the soul, and the just distribution of rewards and punishments in a future state. There is nothing more mischievous than the attempt to give a colour of rationality to what is essentially irrational and absurd.

The Egyptian priests, it is well known, taught a future state of rewards and punishments. This increased their sway over the popular mind, by prolonging their imaginary influence into the precincts of a future world, in which they themselves no more believed than the Epicureans of Rome, at the time when Juvenal wrote of his countrymen,—

“Esse aliquos manes, et subterranea regna
Nec pueri credunt.”

We agree, therefore, with Plutarch in thinking that the Egyptian theology was so contrived as necessarily to lead the minds of the vulgar to excessive superstition, while it impelled more active and enquiring intellects, *εἰς ἀθέους καὶ θηριώδεις λογισμούς*.^k And though we may not, perhaps, have much respect for the authority of Eusebius of Cæsarea, we are compelled to agree with him when he terms the *religion* of the Egyptians *ἀσχημὼν ἀθεότης μᾶλλον ἢ θεολογία*.^l

We assume it therefore to be perfectly clear that the philosophy of the Egyptian priesthood (as distinct from the people) was really atheism based upon the theory of a chaotic cosmogony.

This doctrine of an original chaos had been introduced early into Greece, as we see from the poems of Hesiod; but it was not till the seventh or perhaps the sixth century before Christ that it was made the foundation of the physical system of a regular school of philosophy.

The brief records of the early history of the Ionic school, as long as it remained under the direction of Thales and his two immediate successors, Anaximander and Anaximenes, are certainly in a great part untrustworthy and fabulous. It was not till Anaxagoras removed this school from Miletus to Athens, that we gain a reliable knowledge of its principles. Nothing is more certain than that Thales borrowed his philosophy from Egypt. *Οὐδεὶς τε αὐτοῦ καθηγήσατο* (says Diogenes Laertius) *πλὴν ὅτ' εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐλθὼν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι συνδιέτριψεν*. The historical tradition is, in this instance, so well corroborated by the nature of the doctrines themselves when we find them clearly

^k *De Iside et Osiride*.

^l *Prepar. Evang.*, ii., 1.

expounded by Anaxagoras, that we can have no hesitation in receiving them as authentic.

We will not pretend to penetrate into the darkness which envelopes the earlier era of the Ionic school while it remained in Asia Minor, or to decide whether the philosopher of Miletus really believed that *water* was the great principle of all things; that the *earth* was water condensed, *air* the same element rarified, and that from air was engendered *fire*. It seems clear that no authentic writings of Thales survived even to the time of Aristotle, nor is it at all certain that he ever committed his philosophy to writing. Diogenes Laertius appears to speak of Anaxagoras as the first who composed a treatise of philosophy. The opinions of Anaxagoras therefore were well known; those of Thales, and his two immediate successors, Anaximander and Anaximenes (preserved only by vague tradition in Ionia) were probably as imperfectly known at Athens as those which Pythagoras had taught in Italy, and which were already becoming an enigma in Greece even in the fourth century before the Christian era.

If Thales really were the author of the paradoxical opinion that fire was produced from water, we may charitably attribute it rather to the condition of Greece in his day than to his own conviction. It was, perhaps, necessary to arouse the attention of the people by some startling assertion, in order to induce them to listen to the more solid doctrines which he had ultimately to propound. For this reason, Thales might represent fire as engendered from water; and Heraclitus, determined to excel him, might insist that water was engendered from fire. Every sect in Greece had its paradoxes, and without them we may presume that they would scarcely have obtained hearers.

What we know with certainty is, that when Anaxagoras taught the Ionic philosophy on the west of the *Ægean*, he represented chaos as the first condition of things, and it seems reasonable to suppose that he derived this doctrine from the founders of his sect. The opinions of Thales as to the existence of a God and the immortality of the soul, are also matters of doubt and discussion, and in all probability were greatly misrepresented at a later age. The atheism of the early Ionian school seems clearly established by the evidence of Aristotle, and the bye-name bestowed upon Anaxagoras. The founder of the Lyceum represents Anaxagoras, compared to previous philosophers, as a sober man among a crowd of drunken enthusiasts. While his predecessors regarded only the materials of which the world was composed, he for the first time (observes Aristotle) assigns an

intentional and intelligent cause to the arrangement of the cosmos.^m

The weak point of the Ionic philosophy was quickly discovered at Athens, and the acute Athenians probably laughed at the idea that fire, air, earth, and water, after having been intermixed from all eternity in one confused mass, should ἐξέλφυνς, and without any assignable cause (which had not at all times previously been equally operative), separate and arrange themselves into an order so harmonious and beautiful as to excite the admiration of the wisest of men, and to surpass by its vastness and perfection the utmost power of humanity to estimate and describe. To call in the aid of *chance* was merely to accumulate words without increasing ideas. In order to remedy this great flaw in his philosophy, Anaxagoras introduces for the first time the doctrine of a motive power in the arrangement of matter, which he termed νοῦς, or *mind*. Πάντα χρήματα ἦν ὁμοῦ (said the philosopher, in the beginning of his great work) εἶτα νοῦς ἐλθὼν αὐτὰ διεκόσμησε. This addition of the νοῦς,—

“Ὅς ἐξαπίνης ἐπαγείρας

Πάντα συνεσφίκωσε ὁμοῦ τεταραχμένα πρόσθεν,”

gained for its author the bye-name of *Nous*, which at once records the innovation of the philosopher, and attests the previous atheism of the Ionic philosophy. In reality, however, the *nous* of Anaxagoras added little or nothing of sounder doctrine to the atheism of his predecessors. It was a concession forced upon him rather than a voluntary escape from error. His Mind or Intelligence was merely a substitute for a deity which he did not choose to admit. It does not appear to have been represented as intermixed with matter in the original chaos, but as existing apart and acceding (ἐλθὼν) to the chaos for the purpose of arranging it. But what the *nous* was, where it had previously existed,—what were its powers and attributes,—of all these we are totally ignorant, and it is probable that the Athenians, who listened to Anaxagoras, remained in as great ignorance as ourselves. We only know that it was not God, but a bar interposed to render unnecessary the action of a deity. Others of the Grecian philosophers rejected the νοῦς, and substituted φύσις, the *natura* of the Latins. This was even more ridiculous than the *nous*, and in reality reduced the motive principle to its original nullity. Upon the whole, therefore, we may perhaps (without being too rash) assume that the chaotic theory, and the negation of a God, were, from the first, the doctrines of the Ionic school, and that these doctrines were borrowed by Thales

^m *Metaphys.*, i., 3.

from the priests of Egypt, from whom he is admitted to have derived his philosophy.

If it be asked why we thus disentomb the "dry bones" (as Dr. Stanley might term them)* of the oldest system of Grecian philosophy, the reply is obvious, that, in the age of Darwinian speculations upon the *origin of species*, it may be useful to induce our atheistic philosophers to compare their ideas upon the important subject of cosmogony and the origin of the human race, with those of two great nations of antiquity. If the primeval chaos appear to modern science an irrational dogma, let it examine its own theories in a manner equally unprejudiced; and they may eventually appear not less ridiculous. There is at least a *nous* to animate and enlighten the philosophy of Anaxagoras; but it would be difficult to discover anything like *nous* in the system of Darwin.

CHAP. II.—Grecian Polytheism, and its treatment by the Poets.

According to the common chronological systems, Thales was born in the second year of the thirty-fifth Olympiad, B.C. 639, and died in the first year of the fifty-eighth Olympiad, B.C. 548. But long before the Egyptian system of physics was taught methodically in the schools of Ionia, the doctrine of an original chaos had passed from the Nile into Greece, and had introduced the atheism which was its natural concomitant. We discover it first in the writings of the poets, and particularly in the theogony of Hesiod, who flourished, according to the Arundel marbles, about 944 years B.C. To Hesiod and Homer has been attributed the invention of the poetic theology of the Greeks, of which atheism was the basis and fable the superstructure. Herodotus treats the origin of this theology as a matter of yesterday. But though he speaks thus lightly of a period which he himself estimated at about four hundred years, it was a yesterday which he and his contemporaries knew only through the medium of wild fiction, and absurd and contradictory traditions. We must found our notions of the early history of Greece upon such lights as we can collect from the science of ethnology, and from a careful scrutiny of the various traditions of nations.

* Dr. Stanley, in the commencement to his *Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church*, compares ecclesiastical history, as it is treated by some writers, to the *valley of dry bones* described in the thirty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel. In order to "*lay sinews*" upon the bones, and "*bring up flesh upon them*," he enlivens his work by the introduction of characteristic traits, local descriptions, anecdotes, etc. By this mode of treating the subject he has of course produced an amusing work. His lectures, though very far from equal either in learning or in original investigation to the elder D'Israeli's *Curiosities of Literature*, remind us of those very agreeable volumes.

The Greek nation appears to have been composed of two distinct races; the *Hellenes* (who were probably Teutonic, and the original settlers), and the *Pelasgi*, who were certainly Semitic (probably from the borders of Assyria), and who, entering Greece as conquerors, became intermixed with the old inhabitants. The Greek language was formed from the intermixture of Teutonic and Semitic caused by this conquest. [?] In addition to these two original stems were colonies from Phœnicia and Egypt; the latter of whom may, perhaps, notwithstanding learned opinions to the contrary, be all placed during the dynasties of the Hyksos (or shepherd kings), for, at any other period, the Egyptians seem to have been little imbued with the spirit of colonization.

The original deities of Greece were therefore most probably a medley of the Teutonic, Assyrian (the Phœnician being nearly the same as the Assyrian) and the Egyptian theologies. Among these, we think, the Assyrian or Phœnician predominated; although Herodotus (from very doubtful sources of information) gives the preference to the Egyptian.

In the following statement he is entitled to more credence:—
 “Whence the gods severally sprang, whether or no they had all existed from eternity, what forms they bore—these are questions of which the Greeks knew nothing till the other day, so to speak. For Homer and Hesiod were the first to compose theogonies, and give the gods their epithets, to allot them their several offices and occupations, and they lived but four hundred years before my time, as I believe. As for the poets, who are thought by some to be earlier than these, they are in my judgment decidedly later writers.”

It will easily be seen how much meaning may be deduced from this passage of Herodotus. It seems to assume that almost everything which Greece believed of its deities, beyond the bare names, was a mere poetical dream. It attributes to the ancient poets of Greece such a vast influence, as to have completely modified and cast in their own mould the manners, religion, and mode of thinking of a whole nation. And, lastly, it would lead us (independent of the evident proof from their own writings) to infer that both Hesiod and Homer were atheists; for a sincere polytheist would neither invent new deities, nor attach any degrading legends to the old. This, however, we shall shew to have been the constant practice of Homer and Hesiod, in which they were followed by most of the subsequent poets of their nation. We propose, therefore, in the present chapter to con-

• Herodotus, ii., 53.

sider: 1. The theological system of the Grecian poets, and the inherent evidence that it was based on atheism; and, 2. The views of Homer with respect to the Grecian Hades, and the future state of mortals after death.

Sect. I. *The Theology of the Grecian Poets.*—The earliest complete system of Grecian theogony which has survived to modern times, is that of Hesiod. The Ascræan poet was evidently acquainted with the fundamental principles of the Egyptian philosophy,—which might either have been imported into Greece before his time by the colonies from the land of Kemè, or introduced by some of that class of wandering philosophers who, from the earliest antiquity, had visited distant nations in search of knowledge. To the chaotic system of Egypt he adapted the rude Pantheon of the Greeks, connecting the whole (after his fashion) by a genealogy of the deities, and a superstructure of poetic fable.

At the opening of his poem, the Muses are described as finding him feeding his flock at the foot of Mount Helicon. They bestow upon him as a sceptre a branch of green laurel, and bid him to celebrate the race of immortals. Thus authorized, or rather commanded, the poet expounds in verse to the Grecian world the history of the deities. The commencement of his system explains the whole.

I. "First of all things was chaos."* Chaos existed before the first of the gods, and as chaos could not make itself, it must have been eternal, while the gods (a race of yesterday) sprung from its womb. This is both Egyptian in its philosophy, and atheistic in its spirit.

II. From chaos sprung the Earth (the solid seat of the immortals, who possess the summit of snowy Olympus), and dark Tartarus, in the recess [or most retired part] of the earth, and Love.

III. From Earth proceeded Heaven, and Ocean; and,

IV. From Earth, Heaven, and Ocean,—the gods.

Such is the veil which Hesiod throws over his atheistic theory. By this he meant the initiated to understand, that chaos was the original of all things, and that earth, ocean, and heaven sprung from chaos, by the fortuitous adhesion of congenial elements,—which, in poetic phrase, he calls Love. To this philosophical system, he adds (as a fabulous superstructure for the vulgar), the gods and their theogony. But the gods (according to the system of Hesiod, and which all Greece adopted from him) were a race adverse to men—a sort of modification of the Evil principle.

* *Theogon.*, v., 116.

This view of the race of snowy Olympus was continually present to the Grecian mind. If a Greek philosopher chose to admit the deities in conversation, it was to throw upon them (as scapegoats) all the calamities of mankind. The poets (while they hypocritically praised them) were indefatigable in sounding their delinquencies. The vulgar sacrificed to them from fear, while they were constantly holding themselves on their guard, and protecting themselves by spells and enchantments against the malice and envy of the denizens of heaven.

Herodotus himself represents Solon (the wisest of his age) as saying to Cræsus, "Cræsus, you ask me concerning human affairs, and I answer you as one who thinks that all the gods are envious, and disturbers of mankind."⁷

The Greeks might praise Jupiter (as sycophants), but they really considered him the Ahriman of their theology. The poetic version which the Greeks invented of the origin of evil, is at once beautiful and laughable.

Prometheus (one of the inferior deities) was the Ormuzd (or Good principle) of the heavenly race. Of all the deities he was the only one who ever sincerely and disinterestedly benefited mankind. By some of the poets he was represented as the maker,—by all as the unwearied benefactor of the human race. This he did with a perfect knowledge of all that he was to suffer for their sakes, from the indignation of the foul Ahriman, Jupiter.

"All things I foresaw;
To me no evil happened unprepared."

The Chained Prometheus, 101.

"Willing, aye, willing, I offended Jove.
This I deny not: seeking to assist
The race of mortals, I myself have suffered."

Ibid., 256.

Chained to the rocky side of Mount Caucasus, as a punishment for his theft of fire for mortals, the beneficent deity enumerates all the inestimable services which he had rendered to the race of mankind, concluding, in one sweeping clause, as follows:—

"Learn in one word the summary of all:—
All mortal science from Prometheus came."

Ibid., 505.

This deity (the only one whom the Grecians could reason-

⁷ Herodotus, i., 32. The above is from what Gibbon terms "Littlebury's lame translation." The original Greek, which is more emphatic, is as follows:—
Ὁ Κροῖσσε, ἐπιστάμενόν με τὸ θεῶν πᾶν εἶναι φθονερόν τε καὶ ταραχῶδες, ἐπειρωτῆς ἀνθρωπότητων πρηγμάτων πέρι;

ably have worshipped from any other motive than fear, but to whom, with the usual ingratitude of mankind, they erected not a single temple) belonged to a family which had suffered much from the rage and envy of Jupiter.

Iapetus married the fair-haired ocean-goddess Clymene, by whom he had, 1, the magnanimous Atlas; 2, the greatly-glorious Menœtius; 3, the wise and subtle Prometheus; 4, the foolish Epimetheus.*

On the shoulders of Atlas Jupiter placed the expanse of the heavens; and compelled him to groan for ever under the enormous burden. Menœtius was punished for his overweening pride, and was struck down to Erebus by the thunderbolt of Jupiter. The punishment of Prometheus has been immortalized by the most sublime dramatic poem of Greece. The foolish Epimetheus was made the unconscious engine of opening to mankind the fatal box of evil.

Incensed at the favours bestowed by Prometheus upon mortals, the implacable Jupiter fiercely announced the fatal gift of evil which he intended to bestow upon mankind.

“Him thus, in anger, cloud-compelling Jove
Addressed,—‘Oh craftiest of the gods above,
Son of Iapetus,—how vast thy glee,
Assisting mortals, and deceiving me!
But brief the triumph which thy fraud shall trace,
Sad for thyself, and sad for human race:
For fire (thy gift) thy master shall bestow
On man’s presumptuous race,—perpetual woe.
Evil their fate; and this their witless mood
Shall grasp and cling to, as their greatest good.’
He said, and smiled,” etc.”

The Cretan-born then commanded Vulcan to mould a female figure of clay,—beautiful as the immortals themselves, but endowed with human voice and language. Life was breathed into the figure; and all the deities combined to endow it with gifts. Minerva taught it feminine arts, and the skill of the loom; Venus bestowed the graces, troubled desires, and consuming cares; Mercury infused into the bosom of the beautiful creature a supereminent faculty of perverting the truth, an undaunted impudence to support her falsehoods, a soft and insinuating eloquence, and all the arts of deceit, with a slight propensity to strife.

This is, of course, an ingenuous caricature of woman, in the true Greek style.

* Hesiod, *Theogon.*, v., 507—511.

* Hesiod, *Oper.*, etc., i., 53.

The female thus endowed by the gods was called Pandora. Mercury carried the smiling mischief to the foolish Epimetheus. Now Prometheus, well knowing the envious disposition, the cruelty, and treachery of the gods, had strictly charged his simple-minded brother to refuse any gift which the celestials might offer to him, and to send it back to Jupiter. But the indocile Epimetheus received Pandora without scruple; not the less so, that she brought with her a magnificent "*pithos*," or casket, which might be supposed from its tempting exterior to contain no ordinary riches. This casket was presented by Pandora to Epimetheus, who, in an evil moment, opened the fatal box, from which rushed out immediately all the ills and calamities which have since afflicted the human race. Perceiving the mischief he had done, Epimetheus hastily closed the lid, and retained hope at the bottom of the box.

The fable is no doubt admirable of its kind; but what a picture it presents of the opinion which the Greeks had conceived of their deities!

Homer is in no respect more flattering in his portraits of the gods than his predecessor Hesiod. There is no injustice or cruelty,—no weakness, meanness, treachery, or infamy,—which he is not ready to impute to the inhabitants of Olympus. He describes the contention between Achilles and Agamemnon, which was the groundwork of the *Iliad*, as the work of Apollo: "For he being enraged against the king, excited an evil pestilence in the army, and the people perished." Agamemnon had given the provocation, and the people are, by the appointment of the god, the sufferers for the crime of the king!

"Quicquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi."

Such was the justice of the Delphic deity—the oracle-giving Apollo! It is true the gods sometimes took an entire city or people under their protection; but they were ready to sacrifice their unhappy clients (without the slightest fault on their part) for any motives of rage or vanity.

In the fourth book of the *Iliad*, Jupiter reproaches Juno for her insatiable hate against Troy, and thus affectionately appeals to her better feelings:—

"What is the enormous provocation which Priam and his children can have given you, that you should thus incessantly seek after the destruction of the Trojan people? I presume, if you were to enter the gates and lofty walls of Troy, and were to devour up raw the good king Priam (*εἰ δὲ σὺ γ' ὠμὸν βεβρώθοις Πρίαμον, κ.τ.λ.*), and his sons, and the rest of the Trojans, you would at length be satisfied." [Jupiter evidently looks upon his consort as an ogress, and with excellent reason.] "Put an end, on any terms, to these perpetual jars between us. You have my

permission to act as you please. But bear this in mind, that if I should afterwards choose to destroy any of the races peculiarly favoured by you, you will then have no ground of complaint. Of all the cities and nations in existence, none has paid me such constant and sincere honours as sacred Troy, its king Priam, and the whole valiant race of the Trojans; none has ever bestowed such lavish sacrifices upon our altars.”

Yet this well-deserving race the just deity is ready to sacrifice to the hatred of his wife, in order to procure domestic peace.

The answer of Juno is the exact counterpart to the speech of her lord. The goddess replies :—“Three cities are more beloved by me than all the others upon earth,—Argos, Sparta, and Mycene with broad streets. Take them, and destroy them: I make no objection, so as I may only wreak my hate upon Troy.” Never was a fairer offer made, nor ever one more obligingly accepted; and well were the Trojans repaid for their holocausts to Jupiter, and the Argives and Lacedemonians for the bullocks and he-goats which they had burnt on the altars of the implacable Juno.

But Homer is not satisfied with rendering the gods hateful; he also contrives to make them contemptible. There was once (according to the greatest of poets) a war in heaven, in which Juno, Neptune, and Minerva (the wife, the brother, and the daughter of Jupiter!) feeling the reign of that tyrant intolerable, joined their forces against him, and seizing the ruler of the gods, bound him fast with chains! Ruined was the great autocrat of heaven on this occasion had it not been for Thetis. The silver-footed goddess called to his assistance the enormous Briareus, with the hundred hands, and conducted the monster up to Olympus. The immensity and terrible figure of Briareus alarmed all the hostile gods, who, unable to contend against him, unbound the tyrant, whose reign they detested.”

Another unpleasant discovery of the weakness of the Olympian deities, is made in the fifth book of the *Iliad*. Venus, endeavouring to withdraw her wounded son Æneas from the combat, is herself wounded by Diomed. The unfortunate goddess borrows the chariot of Mars to ascend to heaven, and relates her sufferings to her mother Dionè. The maternal goddess exhorts her to bear the calamity quietly, although she admits it is certainly vexing. To comfort her, she reminds her that the human race, and the gods, had mutually inflicted great evils on each other. Many griefs had mankind caused the gods; many in return they had suffered from their hands. The god of war himself,—the

^t *Iliad*, iv., 39—49.

^u *Ibid.*, iv., 50—54.

^v *Ibid.*, i., 396—406.

strong and armipotent Mars,—had been seized by Otus and Ephialtes, and thrown, bound with strong chains, into a brazen dungeon, where he remained eighteen months (for in these matters Homer is usually circumstantial); “*nay, he would perhaps have perished,*”^{*} if Mercury had not delivered him by stealth.

So that (although Homer, in common phrase, terms the gods “immortal”) it appears that they were no more immortal in his mythology, than the ^{جن} or *genii* of the Arabs.

The good Dionè also cites the example of Juno, who had a three-forked arrow fixed in her right breast by Hercules; and of the terrible Pluto, through whose shoulder the same hero discharged another of his arrows, and laid him helpless on the pavement of Hades, like one of his own ghostly subjects,—the dead. To get cured of the wound, he was obliged to ascend to Olympus, and place himself under the hands of Pæan.

Such is the general impression which Homer (according to Herodotus, one of the inventors of the Grecian theology) gives of the virtues and power of the inhabitants of Olympus.

The tragic poets take up the subject with interest.

In the *Prometheus Chained*, Æschylus exerts himself with extraordinary vigour to expose the depraved tyranny of the ruler of Olympus. Prometheus (the beneficent principle) is dragged by “Strength” and “Force” to the craggy side of Mount Caucasus. Vulcan is employed to chain him with adamantine fetters to the rock. While the god of fire is unwillingly fettering the kindred deity, the two ruffianly monsters, Force and Strength, insult him by brutal reproaches. To all this, the indignant deity makes no reply. It is not till the three are retired, that he bursts out into the noblest soliloquy which is to be found in the reliques of the Grecian drama.[†] The chorus of ocean-nymphs then approaches—a sympathizing band. To their friendly ears Prometheus declares his wrongs, and relates the indelible obligations which Jupiter had received at his hands. When this god was contending with his father Saturn for the dominion of heaven, Prometheus declares that it was to *his* counsels that the Cretan god was indebted for his triumph. The benefits Prometheus had conferred on man had effaced in the breast of the inexorable tyrant the memory of these unparalleled services. The whole drama is in the same strain.

Euripides, in a more easy and quiet manner, contrives to present an equally detestable picture of the deities.

His beautiful tragedy of *Hippolytus* is opened by the goddess

^{*} *Iliad*, v., 381—402.

[†] *Prometh. Vinc.*, 88—113.

Venus, who introduces the story. The Paphean goddess announces it to be her invariable principle, to overthrow every one who treats her worship with neglect:—

“For even the immortal gods receive with pleasure
The honours paid them by man’s humbler race.”

As an example of this rule of action, which she has adopted, she instances the case of Hippolytus, the son of Theseus, who invariably speaks of her as the worst of the goddesses, and prefers the friendship and society of the huntress-goddess Diana. To punish this, and effect her revenge, she has inspired his beautiful mother-in-law Phædra with a violent passion for him. The innocent Phædra (who had committed no offence, but, on the contrary, always treated the goddess with honour) struggles vainly, in the utmost misery, against the irresistible impulse:—

“The wretched victim groans beneath the pangs
Of torturing love; and struggling with her doom,
In silence perishes.

“But” (exclaims the goddess), “the matter shall not end thus: I will reveal the affair to Theseus, which shall cause the death of Hippolytus. It is true Phædra (an admirable princess) will also perish, but I care little for her calamities, so long as I can revenge myself upon Hippolytus.”

This is an excellent counterpart to the dialogue between Jupiter and Juno, in the fourth book of the *Iliad*. The great lesson which the chief masters of Grecian poetry endeavour to inculcate is, that the morals of Olympus were such as even a community of cut-throats, or the denizens of *lupanaria*, would be ashamed of upon earth. Let any one read over (if disgust does not render it impossible) the mythological history of Jupiter, and he will see that no miscreant ever expired on the gallows, or the wheel, who was guilty of a hundredth part of the crimes imputed by the poets to the father of the gods, and the ruler of Olympus. The general character given by Pope of the gods of antiquity, in the *Essay on Man*, is as true, as it is spirited and poetical:—

“Gods partial, changeful, passionate, unjust,
Whose attributes were rage, revenge, or lust;
Such as the souls of cowards might conceive,
And formed like tyrants, tyrants would believe.”

We say nothing of the unbridled licentiousness of the comic poets, respecting the deities worshipped in Greece. So unprincipled a writer as Aristophanes could not be expected to have venerated the deities of his country, if they had been faultless

models of virtue and benevolence. The comic writers, especially those of the old comedy (if we may judge from Aristophanes), resembled, with respect to the deities, the Roman slaves in the *Saturnalia*; and without one particle of the point, wit, humour, and good sense of Lucian, exceeded that writer in the boldness of their attacks upon those very gods to whom the city was raising, at a vast expense, the most superb monuments.

The toleration of the excesses of the comic drama shewed that the Greeks worshipped the gods only from fear and superstition; and that, while they bent before their altars, they at once hated and despised them. In truth, if the deities of the Hellenic mythology had been genuine gods, the conduct of Greece would, in a great degree, have justified their treatment of the human race.

A thousand temples, a thousand superb statues were erected to Zeus (or Jupiter),—the malevolent principle of Grecian Polytheism. To Prometheus,—the just, the beneficent, the noble, the self-devoted,—not a single temple was raised in all Greece. The only honours paid him were a solitary altar in the Academy at Athens, and annual torch-races in the Ceramicus. There was (it is true) *one* statue in Phocis, which a few well-minded persons supposed to represent Prometheus, but which others contended, with greater probability, to be a statue of Æsculapius. All the arts, which the thankless Grecians acknowledged to have received from Prometheus, were employed to celebrate the honours of his persecutor. Under such circumstances, the impudence of the Greeks was great to complain that the gods were disturbers of mankind. The ridiculous worshippers of these gods were fit subjects only for a "*reign of terror*."

Sect. II. *The Hades of the Greek Theology, as depicted by Homer*.—Having shewn how gloomy a view of the influence of the gods on human life is inculcated by Homer, Hesiod, and the tragic poets of Greece, let us next inquire into the poetical view of a future state, as exhibited in the picture of the Grecian Hades.

The Erebus of the Greeks is evidently derived from the Phœnician '*Ereb*' (evening, *hesperus*, *vesper*, or the west). Greece borrowed the name and the idea equally from the Phœnicians. The latter people (who planted colonies in *Bætica* at a very early period) appear to have invented all those fables respecting the west, which afterwards amused the Grecian poets.* In the Atlantic Ocean (as lying beyond what had pre-

* The familiarity of the early Greek poets with the myth of Atlas and his daughters, and the important part performed by this family in the fabulous legends of Greece, must have been remarked by every one who has critically

viciously been deemed the limits of the world) they planted their "Islands of the Blest." On its African shore were the fabled gardens of the Hesperides; and in Mauritania, or in the island of Teneriffe, was Mount Atlas, the supporter of heaven. Hesperus (the father of the guardians of the golden apples) was the brother of Atlas, and the country which derived its name from him, seems to have been placed in Bætica and Lusitania, between the Bætis, and the Sacred promontory.

This therefore was the land of evening, or the sun-set; and wonderful were the fables which the Phœnicians related of this magic and terrible land, to alarm the credulous Greeks, and to deter them from venturing to the richest and most beautiful country of the ancient world. They were told that when the sun sank into ocean, beyond the sacred promontory, a hissing noise was heard throughout the seas, like the quenching of red-hot iron in water; that as night approached, the gods and demons took possession of the country round the promontory; and that, after sun-set, it was impossible for any human being to approach it.^a

This then was the original Erebus, the Hesperian land of the Greeks. Opposite to it, in the Atlantic, were the islands of the Blest; and the cloud-capped Atlas, the supporter of heaven, if (as some writers contend) that mountain is to be identified with the Peak of Teneriffe. The Romans, even after the time of Augustus, treated that part of Spain, which lay west of the columns of Hercules, as beyond the limits of the world ("*extra orbem*");^a we may therefore well suppose that, in the age of Homer, this was exactly the place in which the Grecians would locate "the world after death."

It is true that Hesiod may be deemed by some to have spoken of Erebus as an abode located under the earth (though the word he uses is ambiguous); but this was not the Homeric idea, as we shall shew in the sequel. Homer adhered more closely to the pure myths of the Phœnicians. Notwithstanding

studied the Hellenic mythology for ethnological purposes. At the time when the tale of Atlas and his progeny became first familiar in Greece, it seems certain that no Grecian vessel had ever penetrated to the extreme western limits of the Mediterranean. All these tales must have been borrowed from the Phœnicians, who certainly seem to have furnished the larger part of the fabulous history of the Greek divinities. Gibbon, speaking of the Grove of Daphne, near Antioch, observes, "The spot was ennobled by fiction, and the fancy of the Syrian poets had transported the amorous tale from the banks of the Peneus to those of the Orontes" (*Decline and Fall*, c. 23). We believe the truth to be that the myth of Apollo and Daphne, like that of Venus and Adonis, was of Syrian origin. The resemblance between the vale of Tempe and that of the Orontes (between Antioch and Seleucia) has often been remarked.

^a Strabo, iii.

^a Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, v., 19.

Grecian derivations, it may be doubted whether Hades was not really a word of western origin, and derived from the Teutonic "shade." When Orientalism and Teutonism clashed in Greece, the mixed population produced from the two possibly retained Hades, as the Teutonic name of the world of shades, or spirits, and adopted *Erebus* as its Oriental equivalent.

Tartarus appears to have been a Greek corruption of *Tarshish*, or *Tartessus*, the chief city of the Phœnicians in Bætica. In placing the Hades of Homer in the south of Spain, beyond the columns of Hercules, and in the country between Tartessus and the Sacred promontory, we follow Strabo, who could not help being struck by the coincidences which exist between the Homeric Hades, and that part of Spain which lies to the west of the Bætis :^b—

"We may suspect that Homer had heard of Tartessus, and that he alludes to it, when he speaks of that place, in the extreme west, where—

‘The sun’s bright orb
In ocean sets, while, following in its train,
Night spreads her shadows o’er the fertile plain.’

For it is evident that *night* (a word of evil omen) presents a kindred idea to that of Hades, and Hades to *Tartarus*.

"Any one therefore, on hearing the description of Tartessus, would be tempted to conjecture that Homer confounded this word with Tartarus (the extremity of the subterranean regions), and added, after the poetic fashion, to the realities of the spot, a superstructure of fables."

And, further on :—

"Homer, hearing from the Phœnicians of the wealth and other natural advantages of that fruitful province of Spain, fixed here the final abode of the virtuous, and the Elysian plains, to which Menelaus was informed by Proteus that he was destined to emigrate :—

‘For not in Argos shalt thou yield thy breath :
In realms far distant fate has doomed thy death.
The gods will lead thee to the Elysian plains,—
Earth’s furthest bounds, where Rhadamanthus reigns.
An easy life the fertile realm affords ;
The soil spontaneous pours its golden hoards ;
Nor snows, nor showers in this soft clime prevail ;
The ocean-zephyr cools the burning gale.’^c

Let us examine how far this theory agrees with the details of the tenth and eleventh books of the *Odyssey*. The reader must be guarded against adopting the version of Pope, who certainly did not understand his original, and who has perverted the meaning of Homer, by adopting the idea of a *descent* to Hades ; when, in fact, it is perfectly obvious from the narrative, that

^b Strabo, iii.

^c *Odys.*, iv., 563—568.

there was *no* descent, and that Ulysses never quitted the realms of upper air. When Circe (according to Homer) consented to the departure of Ulysses from her island, she informed him that he must seek the palace of Pluto, to consult the shade of the Theban Tiresias, to whom Proserpine had imparted the gift of foretelling the future.^d A north wind (Boreas) would (she added) propel his sails and carry him to the ocean, where were the grassy shores and groves of Proserpine. Here he was to enter the dark palace of Pluto. Her further directions will appear as we proceed. The following morning Ulysses and his followers set sail for Erebus, or Hesperia. Circe (by her magic power) favours them with a wind so powerful as to impel them, in a single day, to the end of their journey. It is evident that this rapidity of course was entirely supernatural, since a day's sail, according to the rate of ancient navigation, would scarcely have carried them fifty miles; but the magic of Circe conveyed them, in the same period, to the furthest limits of the ocean.^e Here they arrived at the city and nations of the Cimmerii. The only Cimmerii with whom the Greeks of Homer's time were acquainted, were probably those of the peninsula which we now term the Crimea. But it is obviously impossible that these could have been the Cimmerians whom the poet describes Ulysses as visiting.

Strabo^f supposes that Homer transferred, by a poetic license, the seats of the Cimmerii from the shores of the Euxine to the south of Spain. But considering the adventurous navigation of the northern nations, it is not at all improbable that a colony of the Cimbrî of Jutland (originally, perhaps, the same people as

^d *Ibid.*, x., 487—495.

^e A reference to the following passages in the *Odyssey* will prove that Homer intended to represent Circe as impelling the ship of Ulysses by a supernatural wind produced by her magic power (x., 504—508; xi., 7, 8). It seems clear that the vessel was carried beyond the western boundaries of the Mediterranean, which is termed πόντος (x., 10) and θάλασσα (xii., 2), and that it finally reached the Atlantic, which Homer terms the Ocean (Ὠκεανός). The latter word was properly applied by the Greeks to that great circumfluent sea beyond the pillars of Hercules, which they imagined to surround the habitable world. The word *ocean*, as Bochart observes (Chanaan, 708) is, in fact, derived from the Phœnician *am, circuire*, "Unde Græcis fuit nata vox Ὠγήν, quod Oceani fuit priscum nomen. Hesychius, Ὠγήν, Ὠκεανός."

^f There is no improbability in the supposition that the Cimbrî or Cimmerii should have been the same people. The northern nations were continually fluctuating between the Baltic and the Euxine, following the course of the great rivers, as the Vistula and Borysthenes. The Cimbrî seem to have had a peculiar fancy for locating themselves in peninsulas, probably as being more easily guarded against invasion. Hence we find them in Jutland in the north, and in the Crimea in the south. With the venturesome navigation peculiar to their race, a colony of this people might easily have sailed from the Cimbric Chersonesus to Bætica, and settled in the latter country before the time of Homer.

the Cimmerii of the Euxine) may have sailed from the north, and established themselves, by force of arms, to the west of the Bætis. Of this rich and beautiful territory (the sunny land of Andalusia), Homer, following perhaps the tales of terror which he had heard from Sidonian sailors, gives a truly hideous account. According to his description, it was a country covered by perpetual darkness upon which the sun never shone.⁹

Here Ulysses and his companions anchored. After bringing to shore the victims—two sheep and a ram, which were carried by Perimedes and Eurylochus, Ulysses, attended by these two companions, proceeded along the coast to the spot described by Circe. Here he dug a ditch a cubit wide, and of the same depth; into which they poured libations. The victims were sacrificed, and the blood poured into the ditch.¹ Thus far, it will be observed, there is no *descent* to any subterranean region; nor is anything of the kind mentioned in any part of the eleventh book. Everything passes on the surface of the ground, amidst the darkness of the Hesperian region, which is certainly the only Erebus which Homer intended to describe. No sooner was the blood of the victims poured out, than the ghosts of all ages and sexes collected round the ditch with a hideous clamour. The drawn sword of Ulysses restrained them from too near an approach to the ditch, that they might not drink the blood of the victims till Tiresias appeared. On his approach he was permitted to drink the αἷμα κελαιών; the virtue of which was to communicate to the ghosts the faculty of speaking the truth. Tiresias then foretells to Ulysses his future adventures, and explains the route he is to pursue, and takes his leave. On quitting the hero, the prophet returns to the palace of Pluto. According to Pope's translation:—

“The phantom prophet ceased, and *sunk* from sight
To the black palace of eternal night.”²

But there is nothing in the original Greek to indicate that the palace of Pluto is a subterranean mansion. Then, after an interview with the shade of his mother Anticlea, Ulysses permits the miscellaneous crowd of ghosts to approach; and, as they successively drink the blood, they recognize the hero.

The only apparent allusion to a subterranean world (which appears to have even the least weight), is where mention is made of Castor and Pollox, “who, even under the earth, are treated with peculiar honour by Jupiter; for they live and die on alter-

⁹ *Odys.*, xi., 15—29.

¹ *Ibid.*, xi., 36.

² *Odys.*, xi., 149, 150,

Ὡς φαμένη, ψυχὴ μὲν ἔβη δόμον Ἀΐδος εἰσὼν
Τειρεσίῳ ἄνακτος, ἐπεὶ κατὰ θέσφατ' ἔλεξεν.

nate days.”^j But even this is ambiguous; and in this passage the words *véρθεν γῆς* may have allusion merely to the sepulchre.

When Achilles approaches, he is congratulated by Ulysses on his happy fortune; since, when alive, he was honoured by the Greeks as a god; and now, after death, he reigned the monarch of the dead.

And now comes the Homeric view of a future state of existence, and of the sort of bliss which, after death, was allotted to the most excellent of mankind, and the greatest favourites of the gods. The son of Peleus replies mournfully, “Illustrious Ulysses, speak not to me of the honours of the dead: far rather would I be a peasant, serving for hire a man too poor to allow me sufficient food, than reign the monarch of all the dead who have ever perished.”^k

Such were the notions of Elysium which the inventor of the Hellenic theology communicated to Greece.

After this Ulysses witnesses the punishments of several eminent culprits, Tityus, Tantalus, and Sisyphus, whom ancient scandal treated as the true father of the son of Anticlea.

But during all this period spent in Hades, Ulysses never once quitted his ditch, or his sacrifice; so that all the allusions to a descent into the subterranean world which are to be found in Pope’s version, are merely the additions of the translator.

The last of the shadowy heroes is the Eidolon of Hercules; for though the hero himself was removed to the gods, and was then in Olympus, his Eidolon seems to have been compelled to do penance in Hades, to atone for his rash invasion of hell during his life-time, and his theft of Cerberus.

The heroic *Κυνολόπος*, as he is termed by Aristophanes, addresses Ulysses in mournful tones, and complains of the many sorrows which he had suffered while he was yet under the rays of the sun.^l The interview is short: Hercules returns to the palace of Hades; and the crowd of ghosts soon becomes so numerous, that Ulysses, prudently fearing lest Persephone should display to him from Hades the horrible head of the Gorgon, abandons his ditch, returns back to his ship, and sets sail again for the island of Circe.

Nothing can be more comfortless than the notions which Homer inculcated to the Greeks of Hades (or the life to come), and the condition of the soul after death. Unhappy as the condition of mankind in this world might be, it was incomparably superior (according to the Scian bard) to the eternity during

^j *Odys.*, xi., 301—303.

^k *Ibid.*, xi. 487—490.

^l *Odys.*, xi., 616—625.

which the soul was to exist, after the brief day of its mortal toils had passed by. The condition of the *blessed* in their meadows of Asphodel was more unhappy than that of the poorest labourer upon earth; while the *wicked* were condemned to eternal tortures. So that *while virtue was inadequately rewarded, crimes, on the other hand, were severely punished.*

Such is a system of theology in the hands of poets; for, when a poet treats of religion or philosophy, he considers more what will adorn and give interest to his poem, than what he himself believes to be rational, probable, and true. But, with the vulgar among the Greeks, these poetic fables, from the reverence paid in after ages to the genius of Homer, became a religious creed.^m The Greeks believed that Homer was a perfect master of all sciences. Even Strabo, an essentially prosaic writer, whom one would believe to have been as little influenced by poetry as any man, wastes a considerable part of his work, and renders himself ridiculous, by a dull and extravagant attempt to prove that Homer, among his other great qualities, was an admirable geographer.

One may suppose, therefore, with what credulity this theology was received, and what a pernicious effect so execrable a system produced through Greece and its colonies. Its consequences on the public mind of Greece, and the remedy which was at length offered to relieve the people from so intolerable a burden, we will endeavour to point out in the ensuing chapter.

CHAP. III. *The Recoil from Superstition to Atheism.*

A philosophical historian, whose work was the execration of the clergy of the last generation, and has become the text-book of ecclesiastical history for many of their successors, presents to his readers a fascinating picture of what he terms "*the beautiful mythology*" of the Greek and Roman poets. His view of the *practical effects of polytheism* is not less flattering;ⁿ and both, we believe, are equally delusive. According to Gibbon, polytheism was the most tolerant of religions; and the atheistic philosopher of Rome (preserving a prudent outward respect for the religion of the vulgar) lived in a blissful and enviable harmony with the devoted worshippers of Jupiter and Apollo.

It is certainly from no feeling of bigotry that we impugn this rose-coloured portrait of Paganism. If we believed that

^m Whoever considers the influence which Milton's *Paradise Lost* has exercised over the religious opinions of a great portion of its readers will cease to be surprised at the effect produced by the Greek poets on the minds of their countrymen.

ⁿ Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, ch. ii. and xv.

the blended powers of Atheism and superstition could produce such happy effects, we would at once avow our opinion, without being in the slightest degree the more inclined, on that account, to become converts either to the one or the other. But we may surely accept the testimony of the Pagans themselves with respect to the religion which they professed. In the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid we have a well-connected view of what Paganism believed, with respect to the transactions between gods and mortals, deduced "from the first origin of the world," to the days of Augustus. If we refer to this history of polytheism, we find it to contain one continued record of the cruelty, injustice, lust, envy, and jealousy of the gods, and of the unmerited evils which they were continually inflicting upon the race of mortals.

The earth, according to the views of Grecian and Roman polytheism, was at once the slaughter-house and Paphos of the gods; and mankind perpetually "plagued by their lust, or punished by their hate," would (even in the estimation of the most persevering offerers of Hecatombs) have been but too fortunate to be relieved from the horrors of this "*beautiful mythology*;" and to be assured that in truth it was merely fabulous. A people who believed that the gods viewed their prosperity with envy and jealousy, could have had no kindly feelings for such capricious deities; yet this opinion of the *envy* of Olympus was (strange to say) the common creed of polytheism. We have already quoted the opinion of Solon, which is confirmed by a remarkable passage in the *supposed* letter from Amasis to Polycrates. *Ἐμοὶ δὲ αἱ σαὶ μεγάλαι εὐτυχίαι οὐκ ἀρέσκουσι, ἐπισταμένφ τὸ θεῖον ὡς ἔστι φθονερόν.*^o This is a sentiment which would have found an echo in every Grecian bosom. A philosopher in a calm retreat at Buriton or Lausanne might take a very different view of the effects of Polytheism:—

"Suave, mari magno turbantibus æquora ventis,
E terrâ magnum alterius spectare laborem."

We peruse with interest rather than disgust the historical description of some remarkable battle in the pages of Livy or Gibbon; and, on the same principle, a world so picturesquely peopled with gay and fantastic beings, as that which the bards of polytheism have imagined, presents to the mere reader a scene of enchantment in poetry or romance. But the case was far different with the real believer in the legends of the poets: his own fate might be that of Actæon; and he could not even enter a grove without some slight precautionary tremor.

^o Herodotus, iii., 40.

When Pindar presented his *νέκραρ χυρόν* to the fortunate conqueror at the Olympic games, it was well understood, both by the poet and his hero, that a few lines only, in a very subdued style of laudation, should be appropriated to the latter; and that the remainder of the ode should be dedicated to the gods (whom both the victor and poet secretly detested), lest the animosity of a race so irritable and implacable should be awakened by the triumph of the human athlete.

We will not enlarge upon the debasing moral effects of polytheism,—the obscene processions and hymns at the Dionysia,—or the unbounded lasciviousness of the worshippers of Aphrodite at her Cyprian festivals,—nor even upon that constant state of terror which led the Greeks, uneasy in the present, into a perpetual attempt to explore into the future, which carried them on journeys to every oracle, and made them the dupes of every diviner. What we insist upon is, that every considerate Greek was heartily sick of the yoke of polytheism, and would have been delighted to grasp at any panacea which might promise to deliver him from so intolerable a burden. This deliverance was boldly offered by Epicurus, who assured his countrymen that the gods (for even the atheistic schools admitted gods, to save appearances, "*verbis ponunt, re tollunt deos*") never troubled themselves with the affairs of mortals, but dwelt in a state of happy *ἀταραξία* in a remote corner of the universe, careless and ignorant of the world and its concerns. They had no share in the arrangement of the Cosmos, which was produced by the fortuitous concussion of atoms; and as the soul died with the body, man, delivered from the fear of the gods and the terrors of Hades, might pursue his natural inclinations in confidence and security. How great this deliverance was deemed, let Lucretius inform us—

"Humana ante oculos fæde cum vita jaceret
In terris oppressa gravi sub RELIGIONE,
Quæ caput a cœli regionibus ostendebat,
Horribili super *aspectu* mortalibus instans;
Primum *Graius* homo mortaleis tollere contra
Est oculos ausus, primusque obsistere contra.
Quem nec fama Deûm, nec fulmina, nec minitanti
Murmure compressit Cœlum, sed eo magis acrem
Virtutem irritât animi, confringere ut arcta
Naturæ primus portarum claustra cupiret.—
Quare *Religio* pedibus *subjecta* vicissim
Obteritur, nos exæquat victoria Cœlo."^p

Not less emphatic are the terms of the Epicurean Velleius, in the treatise of Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*,—

^p Lucret., *De Rerum Naturâ*, i., 63—80.

"Imposuistis in cervicibus nostris sempiternum dominum, quem dies et noctes timeremus. Quis enim non timeat omnia providentem, et cogitantem, et animadvertentem, et omnia ad se pertinere putantem, curiosum et plenum negotii, Deum? Hinc vobis exstitit primum illa fatalis necessitas, quam *εμπαρμένην* dicitis, ut, quidquid accidat, id ex æternâ veritate, causarumque continuatione, fluxisse dicatis. Quanti autem hæc philosophia æstimanda est, cui tamquam aniculis, et iis quidem indoctis, fato fieri videantur omnia? Sequitur *μαρτικὴ* vestra, quæ Latine divinatio dicitur, quâ tanta imbueremur superstitione, si vos audire vellemus, ut haruspices, augures, harioli, vates, conjectores nobis essent colendi. *His terroribus ab Epicuro soluti*, et in libertatem vindicati, nec metuimus eos, quos intelligimus nec sibi fingere ullam molestiam, nec alteri quærere, et piè sanctèque colimus naturam excellentem, atque præstantem."²

These were not the opinions of private philosophers merely: long before the time of Lucretius, universal Rome had testified its approbation when the same sentiments were expressed by Ennius.

"Ego Deûm genus esse semper dixi, et dicam cœlitum;
Sed eos non curare opinor quid agat humanum genus."

Here then was *the recoil from superstition to Atheism*; and how little republican or imperial Rome gained by the change, we may learn from every page of its history.

Conclusion.

There is a class of men who may be properly described as "men of the times in which they live,"—"the vegetables of their era." These men are essentially contracted in their ideas: bound up in the "ignorant present," they are incapable of deriving lessons from the past, or of using its light to penetrate into the future. They have a plausible knowledge of the hubbub of strange doings, and stranger opinions, which are passing and current before them, but they can never discern the tendency of a doctrine till it is flagrant to all the world; nor attempt to apply a cure, till—

"The doctor called, declares all help to late."

Slaves to the popular views of their day, however superficial, if you ask them to recur to the past for a lesson, they imagine you are sending them back to school. Refer them to Livy, in whose pages the most profound politician of modern times³ was content

¹ Cicero, *De Nat. Deorum*, i., 20.

² Macchiavelli's *Discorsi sopra la prima deca di T. Livio*, contain an admirable collection of the most profound axioms of political philosophy. There is, of course, much which is objectionable in them, but they will always form a valuable study for those who are capable of the requisite discrimination.

to study that art in which he exceeded all other men ; and they tell you that an Englishman of the nineteenth century should study politics only in the parliamentary debates,—an opinion which will sufficiently explain many adverse circumstances in our foreign relations of late years.

A very learned judge compared a case, on which he had to decide, to a Banbury cheese.* We, copying so eminent an example, might compare the present age also to a Banbury cheese, in an incipient state of decomposition, and the men whom we have described to the smallest of the mites, which are creeping among the inequalities of its surface. It is not, of course, to such authorities as these that we make the proposition of recurring to the age of Pericles, and that of Cicero, for examples of the wretched condition of a people who are in a state of fluctuation between atheism and superstition. Writing for an incomparably more intelligent class of readers, we may safely leave them to draw their own deductions from that picture of the past which we have, however imperfectly, endeavoured to recall to their memories. We shall not therefore attempt, with the detail which might otherwise be necessary, to “point a moral” from the lamentable experiences of the great nations of antiquity. Others, if they please, may compare the *semi-Romanists* of our time to the *polytheists*, and their *neo-Christian* opponents to the *Epicureans*, of antiquity. We leave it to them to enquire, whether it is more irrational to travel a hundred miles to consult an oracle, or to purchase a papal plenary pardon for all the sins of a life from an Augustinian or Dominican friar, who disposes of these indulgences among the drunkards of a pot-house, and who assures his credulous hearers, that “*for twelve pence each, they may redeem the souls of their fathers out of purgatory.*” We refrain also from examining the doubtful question, whether the atomic theory, or that (warmly applauded in the *Essays and Reviews*) which makes mice the progenitors of men, is in reality the more supremely absurd. We resign all these discussions to those whose genius inclines them to the task. But what we assume with confidence is, that the English nation has no advantage in wisdom over the Greeks and Romans, and that if the old contest between atheism and superstition is to be renewed, it will produce no better effects now than formerly.

In the seventh and eighth centuries, the amphitheatre of Titus at Rome (then preserved in a comparatively uninjured state), excited so much admiration in the breasts of the Anglo-

* See the judgment of Bridgman Ch. J. C. P.,—in *Rundale v. Eeley* and others. (Carter, 171.)

Saxon pilgrims, as to produce among them the proverbial saying, "Quamdiu stabit Colyseus, stabit et Roma: quando cadet Colyseus cadet Roma: quando cadet Roma, cadet et mundus:"—

"While stands the Coliseum, Rome shall stand,
When falls the Coliseum, Rome shall fall,
And when Rome falls,—the world."*

Are we not justified in believing that our National Church is the Coliseum of England (happily less injured, at the present day, by the outrages of time than its Roman prototype); that with it the national fortunes are inseparably bound; that its fall will be the fall of Albion; and that with Albion the rational freedom of the world will expire?

Trusting that the country may yet be aroused to protect the most valuable of its institutions, we would address it in the words of the Arabian poet:—

قَدْ رَشَحَوْتُكَ لِأَمْرٍ أَنْ فَطَنْتَ لَهُ
فَارَبَا بِنَفْسِكَ أَنْ تَرْعِيَ مَعَ الْهَمَلِ

Fate has destined thee for great things, if thou couldst comprehend its intentions.
Take then good heed of thyself; and wander not with the sheep who have no true pastor."

H. C.

HEBREW FESTIVALS:—THE PASSOVER.*

THE laws in the Pentateuch relating to the great feasts may be considered in an agrarian or in an historical point of view. Which of these suggests the primitive facts of the case? and how came that kind of intermixture to take place that we now find existing in the records? The most ancient passage relating to the subject is to be found in Exodus xxiii. 14—17, which is

* Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, c. 71. * Byron's *Childe Harold*, iv., 145.

* Abū Isma'īl Toghrāi,—*Lamiyato 'l-'Ajām*, 59.

* The following article has been extracted and abridged from the *Commen-
tatio de primitiva et vera festorum apud Hebræos ratione ex legum Mosaicarum
varietate eruenda*. The contributor is a clergyman who is anxious to place the
views here advanced before the eye of the English reader, in order to their
fuller investigation, and not, we believe, as expressive of his own sentiments.
It is needless to say that the original author, Dr. Hupfeld, is one from whom
much may be learned, even by those who differ from him on some great ques-
tions.—ED. J. S. L.

a portion of the larger section, Exodus xxi.—xxiii. 19. The first of the feasts here mentioned is evidently historical and memorial; the others are agrarian. Both of the last of these festivals refer to the harvest, and the distinction (though other views have been expressed) between the two consists in this, that the one, as the feast of first-fruits (cf. Numb. xxviii. 26; Lev. xxiii. 16), celebrated in one day the consecration of the harvest to Jehovah, whereas the other, that of “ingathering,” was an ordinance of festivity having reference to the prosperous termination of the season. The “end of the year” at which this took place refers to an ancient agrarian measurement of time, older than the period of Moses. In this passage the clause, “*as I commanded thee*,” refers us to a law in which the feast of unleavened bread must have been first established. First of all, however, we advert to another copy of our law which is contained in Exodus xxxiv. 18 *sqq.*, and which is expressed in almost the same words.

This chapter treats of the renewal of a covenant between Jehovah and the Israelites after their backsliding, and contains the account of a renewal of the tables and a repetition of the principal laws. There is a general similarity between this passage and the other, and both conclude with the precept, “*thou shalt not see the a kid in her mother’s milk.*” We find however in this passage, for “feast of harvest,” “feast of weeks,” (cf. Lev. xxiii. 17), and “first-fruits” of thy labours is defined by “fruits of wheat-harvest,” which also accords with Lev. xxiii. 17, where wheaten bread is evidently referred to. There are other variations between the two passages, and it is observable that π , which usually signifies a “*joyous festival*,” is here contrary to custom joined with $\pi\pi$. Having gained no light from this passage, we now turn to other laws respecting the festivals to see if we can find any which appears to explain the connexion between the feast of unleavened bread and the Passover. In our search for a law of this kind, we meet with several not much before this passage in chap. xii. and xiii., which narrate the departure from Egypt, and the events relating to it. And, first, in chap. xiii. we find the feast of unleavened bread established in memory of the Exodus.

Exod. xiii. 3—10.—Here, besides a rather more copious detail in general, we find an interdiction *in toto* of all leavened bread. There is no mention of the Passover, but there is another rite instituted in remembrance of the event which the Passover also commemorated. For the redemption of the firstlings (verses 11—16) was ordained in remembrance of the slaughter of the first-born of Egypt. There is a double record

of the Exode corresponding with a division of time—the feast of unleavened bread in remembrance of the day in which they went out, and the consecration of the first-born to Jehovah in memory of the destruction of the first-born of the Egyptians on the preceding night: and it was on this very night that the Passover was celebrated. In examining in detail the structure of this passage, we are led by several considerations—the chief of which is a want of proper connexion between the principal parts—to consider this whole passage,* the most important and ancient portion of which are verses 1, 2, as somewhat fragmentary.

Since in the third verse Moses is represented as giving commandment, and acting as the interpreter of some previous command of Jehovah, we may still hope to discover the edict of the Deity Himself, which leads us to Exod. xii. 15—20, in which the chief points of the edict of Moses occur again. Other matters are much more exactly defined. The seven days are marked out, not only by the month, but by the number of days, (viz., the fourteenth to the twenty-first). There is to be a holy convocation both on the first and seventh days. The cessation from labour on their holy convocations is to be so entire, that nothing but the participation of food is to be allowed. The prohibition of leavened bread is sanctioned under the penalty of death, and leavened bread is to be removed on the first day. There are great difficulties, however, as to the right interpretation of this passage. Certain things are ordered to be done on the first day, which hardly consist with the perfect repose commanded, as the removing of the leaven out of the way, and the baking of unleavened bread, which could not be done till the leaven was removed. The bread which was to be eaten at the beginning of that day, viz., the evening of the fourteenth, ought to have been ready. Again, according to another law laid down in the same chapter, the Paschal lamb was to be killed and eaten while the destruction of the first-born of the Egyptians was going on, and on the dawn of the following day the departure for Egypt was to take place. It would be inconsistent with the holiness of the Sabbath to suppose that all those things

* The institution of unleavened bread is here inserted into the midst of the "consecration of the first-born," which latter is continued again, verses 11—16. In the beginning of the chapter we find Jehovah giving a general command, whereas in verse 11 *sqq.* the speech, not of *Jehovah*, but of *Moses* is continued as from verse 3 in the accustomed formulas. The law in verse 1, 2, is doubtless the most ancient one on the subject, and has probably been brought into a place properly foreign to it. There is the same confusion relating to the precept about the unleavened bread. The formulæ of Deuteronomy are observable in this passage, cf. Deut. v. 15; vi. 8, 21; xxvi. 5 *sqq.* The plural, verses 3, 4, is suddenly changed in verse 5 into the singular.

could happen on that day. Nor, considering the number of things which must take place on the beginning of that day, would the time allow of it. Neither can we suppose that unleavened bread was eaten from the beginning along with the Passover, when we find from verses 34 and 39, that the Israelites took their dough away with them before it was leavened, and did not bake unleavened bread till they had reached their first station. The notice of the unleavened bread in this passage wants also a heading or preface, and thus we are altogether inclined to think that here it is out of its proper place. There is no natural connexion between it and the preceding precept concerning the Passover, and its natural place would be at the end of verse 51, with the proper formula (now prefixed to the law of the first-born) before it. But this law is preceded by another law, commanding that the memory of the same day should be celebrated by another rite, the Passover—viz., the killing and eating of the Paschal lamb.

To the law delivered on this subject by Jehovah to Moses and Aaron, and the regulations enforced by Moses on the attention of the assembled elders of the people, was added (Exod. xii. 43—50) another command of Jehovah concerning the same rite, to the same men, in which its sanctity is particularly enforced. A third is found in Numb. ix. 10—14, the time for keeping the Passover again having returned when the children of Israel were in the desert. There were some persons who were required to abstain from it on account of uncleanness, contracted from contact with a dead body. As these persons were offended at their compulsory abstinence, Jehovah was consulted by Moses, and it was ordered that in such cases the rite should be celebrated by such persons on the same day of the month following, etc.

In these laws, then, concerning the feast of the Passover, and that of unleavened bread, a double feast in commemoration of the same day seems to have been instituted; and of these, the Passover had reference to the night preceding the Exode, and the destruction of the first-born at that time, while its rite was a nocturnal one; the feast of unleavened bread had reference to the day itself, and to the prosperous issue of the Exode. Of these one alone was *properly* a feast distinguished by the eating both of flesh and bread, as was the case with the rest also; only the use of this unleavened bread was to be continued for seven days, and terminated by the next Sabbath or feast. Now there are grave difficulties in the way of the conclusion just mentioned. First, that although the Passover was a nocturnal rite, it is said to be a memorial "this day," a formula

peculiar to the Exode, and its memorial, the feast of unleavened bread (verses 17, 41, 51; xiii. 3, 4). It is secondly called a π improperly, as we have before remarked; we would therefore transpose verse 42 to verse 14. This latter verse contains expressions throughout belonging to the feast of unleavened bread, to the law, concerning which (though it is difficult to know exactly where to place it) it should be relegated. Probably, as we have already seen that the law itself should be placed after verse 51, this verse should precede it there. The supplement, verses 43—49, though belonging to the Mosaic legislation, refers to a Canaanitish, not an Egyptian population, and is not in its proper place here. The Paschal law itself, a *festum μνημόσυνον*, ought not to be expected *before* the Exode, and when the Israelites were in such a state of anxiety and suspense (chap. xi., xii.). If it be objected that they were advised by a Divine revelation, the details of the ordinance and order of events from verse 29 form an insuperable difficulty. They were to be in the utmost state of readiness, nay, extreme haste, a condition at variance with the solemn decorum of a sacred repast, and requiring rather a mind free from outward cares. In verse 31 they were urged to go quickly, and carried their yet unleavened cakes with them. The whole tenor of the event precludes the supposition that a Divine monition could have prepared them to expect this, and to celebrate the ordinance in due form. Hence these two rites were mnemonic, recalling the memory of the event. Yet we cannot dis sever this Paschal law from its context, for nothing is clearer than that, though it was mnemonic, it yet also served the purpose of guaranteeing the Israelites against harm when the Lord was destroying the first-born of the Egyptians. Hence it was necessary that it should be established before the event, and be observed immediately. It is difficult, indeed, to conceive how this can be reconciled with the mnemonic character of the rite, or be made to consist with the character of the Deity.

There are other difficulties in the law, but if it has been shewn that the cause or occasion itself of the rite is confusedly narrated, and contains inconsistencies, it may be assumed that this law was afterwards accommodated to this time and place.

With respect to the law of unleavened bread, too, we can find no reason why the rite should be instituted at a time when there was no leisure for promulgating and hearing it, much less of observing it for seven continuous days, a thing which certainly did not and is not said to have occurred.

Now the laws in which these statements are embodied are found in Exod. xii., xiii., and though they are not equal in antiquity to the law of feasts which we commenced with (Exod.

xxiii. 14), they are amongst the more or most ancient sources of the Pentateuch; for we may easily recognize in them, especially in that one relating to the unleavened bread, the hand of that Elohists, the most ancient writer of Mosaic events, whose most common formulæ as אֱלֹהִים; אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהִים; אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהִים; אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהִים, and whose general style of expression may be at once recognized.

Whence it follows, that we do not possess the true primitive form and principle of the feasts in the most ancient monuments of the Pentateuch. If this be allowed to be the case, all that we find there relating to the origin and significance of each of the two great rites falls to the ground, and if this be admitted, the whole of this historical or memorial view becomes untenable, nor is there any other which we can substitute in its place. We must then look to the rites themselves. It is these alone that can guide us in the investigation of their own meaning. We must first examine the usage of the Hebrews themselves before we have recourse to the analogy of other nations. And, first, with respect to the rite of unleavened bread, our attention is naturally drawn at first to the use of unleavened bread in rites and offerings. Every bloodless offering, אֵלֶּיךָ, was unleavened, i.e. not seasoned with leaven, or honey, but with salt (Lev. ii. 11—13). Such we find to have been the usage with burnt-offerings (Judges vi. 19) and thank-offerings (Lev. vii. 12), especially for the consecration of priests and Nazarites. Such was doubtless also (though not expressly stated) the shewbread. This unleavened bread, as being holy, could only be eaten by priests who were purified, and in a holy place; Lev. vi. 9—11; x. 12 sqq.; xxiv. 9. Hence אֵלֶּיךָ came to be used for the pay and sustenance of the sacerdotal order. Now this singular reverence for unleavened bread did not proceed from any idea so rude or unlovely as the remembrance of a fast. Again, salt was used instead of leaven: why, then, is the question, was salt used as a condiment in preference to honey and leaven, which were so strictly forbidden? This usage of salt is easily deduced from its excellence and employment in sacred observances and symbolic rites. Leaven, on the other hand, originates in corruption, and hence gives the idea of something impure and corrupt. Such was the view taken by other nations also, as for instance the Romans, who interdicted the use of it to the Flamen Dialis.* But since in the feast of unleavened bread it is said to be eaten by all the congregation, it may be asked, how it could be peculiarly the sacred and sacerdotal food?

* A. Gell. Noct. ett. xv. 19. Plutarch enquiring the reason of this (*Quæst. Rom.* 109) says, ἡ ζυμη και γεγονεν εκ φθορας αὐτη, και φθειρει το φυραμα μωγνυμενη . . . και ὁλως εἰουκε σφηις η ζυμωσις.

We must suppose that the whole of the people partook in some degree of the sanctity of person and office which properly belonged to the priests. This was certainly in some measure the case, as is evinced by the significance of the rite of circumcision. The consecratory character of this rite is often expressed and inculcated both in the law and by the prophets. We may conclude that this feast of unleavened bread, continued for seven days, was an ordinance of consecration. By this the Israelitish people were probably inaugurated every year to the sacred dignity which they bore, and were initiated into their sacred rites. The time also, at the beginning of the year, would be well adapted to such a ceremonial. Hence only the true members of the population, as purified before God, could partake of this rite. These were, 1. Males *only*; 2. Indigenous or home-born; 3. Persons circumcised; 4. Persons purified (women being excluded).

The rite of the Passover, departing as it does in many respects from the nature of the rest, has given rise to more controversy than any of them. It is quite clear, however, that it was a sacrifice, as it is often called so in the Old Testament. Most later authorities consider it to have been a sacrifice of atonement, *i.e.*, as being offered up at the beginning of the year, which is as it were rising again from the winter, to atone for the sins of the past, and to avert punishment by appeasing God, and to regenerate as it were the life of man, together with nature, and the year. But this theory, plausible as it is, seems to have no agreement with the principle of the piacular rites of the Hebrews. These had no reference to the changes of nature and of the heavenly bodies, but were concerned only with the sins of men, as well private individuals as of all the people, (for whom the expiation, the yearly rite—the “day of atonement,” was instituted). In these again the eating of the flesh of the victims is denied the offerers, and allowed only to the priest, and not even to them when the whole congregation was to be expiated. Now since the flesh of this sacrifice belongs to the offerer and his family, it is clear that it may be classed rather with the peace-offerings. It is observable, however, that the priests *have nothing whatever to do with it*; the paterfamilias being the priest, and the door-post and lintel taking the place of an altar. The origin of the rite dates undoubtedly from ante-Mosaic antiquity, and is analogous to that mentioned in Exod. xxix. 1—36 (coll. xl. 1—16); Lev. viii., for the consecration of the priests, together with the holy things. This consisted of a sin-offering, a burnt-offering, and a ram of consecration, with a basket of unleavened bread. We may also compare the con-

secration of the Nazarites after the fulfilment of the time of their vow. Here again there is the ram of consecration and the basket of unleavened bread, (only here the shoulder of the ram with the unleavened bread is presented to the officiating minister), Numb. vi. 13 *sqq.* This ram of consecration belongs to the genus of "peace-offerings," as is clear from Exod. xxix. 28 (coll. Lev. vii. 30, *sqq.* 35; x. 14, etc.; Numb. vi. 14, 17); and to the species "thank-offerings," since whatever of the flesh or bread was left till the morning was to be burnt, Exod. xxix. 34—a characteristic of the thank-offering. Now observe the points of similarity between this rite of consecration and the Passover, and feast of unleavened bread; 1. Nearly the same victim—a ram; 2. The sacrifice is almost entirely eaten, (the breast of the ram of consecration being given to the consecrator, Moses makes no real difference); 3. The eating of unleavened bread joined with the sacrifice; and that, 4. For seven successive days; 5. Whatever each day was left till the morning was to be burnt up; 6. The blood of the sacrifice was to be *sprinkled*.

Hence we may now determine what was the nature of the Paschal sacrifice and of the feast of unleavened bread. The ordinance was generically eucharistic (תָּרַח), and specially concerned with consecration—the consecration of the congregation of the Israelites yearly, by their separate families, to the sanctity of a sacred and sacerdotal people, and continued and completed by the eating of unleavened bread. The beginning of the year was the time selected for it. The blood sprinkled upon the doorpost and lintel of the house belongs as truly to the atonement and annual expiation of a house, as that which is sprinkled over an altar operates in its way, and which is described in Lev. xvi., with reference to the great day of Atonement on the seventh month (cf. Exod. xxix. 20, 36; Lev. iv. 6 *sqq.*, 17 *seqq.*; viii. 15, 30; xiv. 14; xvi. 14). This rite employed in the consecration of the tabernacle (Exod. xl. 1, 17) was observed even at the very beginning of the year (the first day of the first month). In Ezekiel, in the consecration of the *new* tabernacle, the blood was sprinkled not only upon the horns of the altar, but on the pillars of the house, and of the court gate, from the first day of the year for seven days. This seems to have been derived from the consecration of Exod. xl. 1, and also from the Paschal rite. Hence then there was an expiatory element in the sacrifice (as there was to some extent in all of them). The details may be now seen to harmonize well with this explanation. First, those permitted to partake of it must be circumcised and clean, as if invested with sacerdotal purity and sanctity; again, it was obligatory upon them all, on penalty of death. Just as circumcision

was instituted as a sign of divine favour and of communion with God, so the Paschal rite was a sign and pledge of the maintenance of the covenant implied by circumcision, and of continued communion with God. They were obligated to it, because as it concerned the expiation and consecration of the whole people and its families, and the land itself, no one could consider himself as free from its binding force. Its being eaten entire, without a bone being broken, and none of it being taken away from the house, but eaten in the same day and in the same house, flows from a double principle, 1. That God's appointed sacrifices were only to be offered and eaten in a sacred place and at a sacred time, the sacred place being, in this instance, the house purified with the blood of the sacrifice. In like manner, when the priests were consecrated, they were bound to remain in the tabernacle of the congregation, Lev. viii. 33, 35. 2. That they belonged only to sacred uses and persons, and were to be strictly dissevered from all that was common, whence this sacrifice was to be eaten whole and undivided; without any of it being left.* We may also suppose the idea of a common supper, the symbol of a holy congregation of worshippers, to be attached to this custom. We thus find a theory which seems satisfactorily to account for the particulars of these feasts. Beginning in remote antiquity, and leading into the heart of the Mosaic observances, in respect of the consecration of the Israelites as a body, it approaches the threshold of Christianity. Circumcision is a type of baptism, a sign of grace and covenant with God, by which we are called to be a holy people; the Paschal lamb and rite constitute a sign and pledge of continued grace and covenant with God retained, by means of which a holy communion is renewed and strengthened with God and with the other members of the Church—apt type of the supper of the Lord!

H. F. W.

* Cf. Exod. xii. 9, with Lev. iv. 11.

ERASMUS, THE GREEK TEXT OF THE APOCALYPSE, AND THE VAUDOIS VERSION.*

WE do not wish here to speak of a codex, the existence of which has been hitherto unknown. We treat of one of those which Erasmus formerly used for his edition of the Greek Testament, and which has for a long time been considered wholly lost. It has been recently rediscovered, and by its means we are able to judge of the work of Erasmus much more accurately than was before possible. We do not mean at all to exaggerate the bearing of this discovery. It cannot be compared with that of the Sinaitic codex by the learned Tischendorf, which is in fact of infinitely greater importance. Yet the discovery we have in view is sufficiently interesting, considering the influence which the Greek text of Erasmus has exercised upon the text received since his time.

Let us first enter into some details respecting the work of Erasmus. While the scholars assembled at Complutum or Alcalá de Henares, in Spain, were preparing, under the auspices of Cardinal Ximenes, the celebrated Complutensian Polyglott, which was for the first time to give the Greek text of the New Testament, a bookseller of the university city of Basel conceived the idea of a similar project. This was Frobenius, a native of Suabia, who had established since 1491 his flourishing book-selling and printing establishment in that city. Frobenius was a very distinguished man in his party; endowed with a generous, enterprising spirit, profoundly convinced of the importance of his profession, he shrank from no sacrifice when the question was about publishing works fitted to inform the public. He has, moreover, the merit of having abolished in countries on this side of the Alps the heavy Gothic characters hitherto employed, and of having introduced those of the celebrated Aldus Manutius of Venice, which strongly resembled those of handwriting. This was why he was called the Aldus of the Germans; and according to many, he surpassed his model. He is also praised, and justly, because of the pains he took, and the sacrifices he made,

* The following article by Professor Herzog of Erlangen is contained in the February number of the *Supplement Théologique* of the *Revue Chrétienne*. We are not aware whether the paper has been printed elsewhere, but it contains facts of considerable interest, and information which will be new to many. To Delitzsch's own account of the Erasmus Codex we called attention in our last (p. 496), and it was our purpose to add something more about it, but the piece we have translated and printed will answer the purpose better than anything of our own.

to procure a better sort of paper. We take these details from a work full of erudition, which two scholars of Basel published on the occasion of the commemoration of printing, celebrated in that city as elsewhere in 1860, namely, the *Beiträge zur Basler Buchdruckergeschichte*, by Emmanuel Stockmeyer and Balthasar Reber. In this work we find a long list of works from the presses of the indefatigable Frobenius, a list which has at its head the whole Latin Bible, corrected after the Hebrew and Greek text.

Yet Frobenius would not confine himself to a new and improved edition of the Vulgate. As his increasing fame had merited for him the confidence and friendship of Erasmus, who afterwards consented to become sponsor to one of his children, and as Erasmus was the man marked out beforehand by public opinion for such a work, Frobenius proposed to his celebrated friend the undertaking of an edition of the Greek text of the New Testament. To this end he made him very advantageous offers, which Erasmus was by no means insensible to, for he liked to say jocularly that *penia* (poverty) was the half of him, a mere jest of course. Moreover he foresaw the importance of such a publication, but in those times of the infancy of the art of criticism he could only have a very confused notion of the difficulties of its execution. This is why, when already encumbered with labour of different kinds, (he was among other things engaged upon an edition of St. Jerome for Frobenius), he undertook this new task in September, 1515. He saw at once that he must settle the text by collating the different MSS. he had before him. But the printing, once begun, advanced so rapidly that it was impossible to do the work with any exactness. Apart from the Apocalypse, Erasmus used especially two MSS.; one contained the gospels, and the other the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles: he modified the text of these MSS. only very little, and after two other Basel MSS. As early as March, 1516, this edition of the Greek text of the New Testament appeared with a new Latin translation and notes. Its title is sufficiently pompous, and leads to the belief that the editor used many more MSS. than he really did. He added to it the following exhortation:—"Whoever loves true theology, let him read, let him learn, and after this let him judge. But let no one take offence at the changes made in the text; let him rather examine if the changes are improvements." Evidently Frobenius had a reason for so much haste in this matter. It was known that the fifth volume of the *Complutensian Polyglot*, which contained the Greek text of the New Testament, had been printed since 1514, and that the papal approbation alone was waited for, in order to its publication. Frobenius wished to avoid concur-

rence with this work, although it could scarcely be to his disadvantage, seeing that the Polyglot was very dear, and that few copies reached the rest of Europe; and besides, Frobenius aspired to the glory and merit of priority for his edition.

In his letters to his friends, Erasmus does not disguise the imperfections of his work. He says that his New Testament is "rather precipitated than truly edited;" he speaks of the intention and the need of executing a new edition entirely revised. But he never truly performed this intention. The second edition of 1519 remains far beneath the pompous notices which Erasmus had prefixed to it. The text is modified in some hundreds of places, and some typographical errors are corrected; but this second edition exhibits, not only new typographical errors, but deteriorations which must be set down to the rashness and ignorance of the corrector. The following year (1520) the fifth volume of the *Complutensian Polyglot*, for which the papal approbation had been at last obtained, came into the hands of Erasmus. This text of the New Testament, notwithstanding the slender critical means at the disposal of the scholars of Alcala, and the imperfections necessarily resulting from them, was, in the judgment of many critics, better than that of Erasmus, so that Delitzsch regrets that it has not become the basis of the received text. Erasmus afterwards published three new editions of the New Testament, in 1522, 1529, and 1535, without making of the Alcala edition the use it deserved. It is in the third edition (1522) that he admits, only upon the authority of the Codex Montfortianus (which Tischendorf thinks dates from the fifteenth century), the famous passage, 1 John v. 7, about the three heavenly witnesses.

Nevertheless, these editions of the New Testament, which were greatly benefited by the editor's reputation, had a brilliant success; greater than that of the editions of Griesbach, Lachmann, and Tischendorf in our own day. The New Testament of Erasmus was saluted as the dawn of a new day for theological science and the whole Church. The friends of the Reformation possessed themselves of it, and made it the basis of their labours and translations, as Luther in particular for the version which appeared in 1522. Ecolampadius, whose learning was very much respected in Germany, had said, in 1519, "Can there be anything better and more perfect than the edition of the New Testament by Erasmus?"^b The text of Erasmus was afterwards corrected in various ways, and at many times; but it became nevertheless one of the bases of our received text, from

^b Preface to translation of Sermons by Gregory of Nazianzum, newly discovered.

which Lachmann has first dared, in our own days, to emancipate us. For the Elzevir edition of 1633, whose editor said in the preface, "Textum ergo habes nunc ab omnibus receptum," and which was in fact for this reason very soon generally received, has for its principal basis the third edition of Robert Stephen, of 1550, which is, above all, a reproduction of the fifth edition of Erasmus.

Let us now come to our subject, properly so called. The few MSS. which Erasmus used for the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, did not contain the Apocalypse. The Greek text of this last book was then extremely rare. Happily, Erasmus knew that Reuchlin had a copy. He found it hard to obtain it: "*Ægre extulimus ab inclyto viro Capnione vetustissimum codicem*," etc. From this codex the text of Erasmus was prepared. It afterwards went astray, and all trace of it was lost. Professor Delitzsch, however, re-discovered it in the spring of 1861, in the library of the princely house of Oettingen Wallerstein, at Mayhingen, in Bavaria. (It is still in the hands of Delitzsch). The identity of this MS. with that used by Erasmus is undoubted. It bears upon its cover the following inscription: *Apocalypsis pro DM Jo. Reuchlin, LL. Doct.*; i. e., "The Apocalypse belonging to Mr. John Reuchlin, LL.D." Erasmus says that the MS. of Reuchlin contains, besides the text, a commentary upon the said book. This is the case with the MS. now discovered. Reuchlin did not raise difficulties without cause before giving it up, for he never saw it again. It was still at Basel in the hands of Frobenius when Reuchlin died, in 1521, and Frobenius did not scruple to keep it. His son Jerome gave it in 1553 to some one who records the fact upon the first blank leaf of the MS. It is unknown how it came to the Oettingen Wallerstein library.

The writing of the Codex in cursive letters gives it a place among MSS. of a relatively recent date; it is well known that uncial MSS. are the most ancient. Delitzsch, by comparing the writing of our codex with parts of other MSS., has concluded that its date is the eleventh or twelfth century. It is very far from being the *Vetustissimus Codex* of which Erasmus speaks. When he allows himself to say, "Let no one despise our codex, for it is so old, one might believe it written in the apostles' times," he only shews us how rash men then were in judging of these matters, and at the same little versed in the art of criticism. The marginal notes by another hand, in which allusion is made, in connexion with certain prophecies, to Tamerlane and the Sultan Murad II., shew that the MS. was in the fifteenth century in the possession of a Christian living

under Turkish domination. As for the commentary which accompanies the text, or rather is intercalated among the fragments into which the text is divided, it was written by Andreas, Archbishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, who wrote in the second half of the fifth century. It was long believed that the Reuchlin Codex contained a second commentary on the Apocalypse, by Arethas, one of Andreas's successors, but it is now known to be an error.

Erasmus had been long suspected of not having made a conscientious use of the Reuchlin Codex; some theologians supposed defects in the MS. Nothing but conjecture was possible, because no one could verify this part of the edition of Erasmus. Delitzsch has executed the task of collation with a care and accuracy which leaves nothing to be desired. He has not stopped at general judgments, but has placed under the eyes of the reader all the elements by means of which we can form our decision. He has noted most of the differences which exist between the text of Erasmus, and the Reuchlin Codex. He has proved that Erasmus scarcely took the trouble to revise the copy he had made for the text; for he must have copied before printing, because it was broken up by the commentary of Andreas. Delitzsch has proved that the copyist often read and wrote wrong. Very singular is Erasmus's conduct. As to the end of the Apocalypse, the codex ends with these words, τὸ γένος τοῦ Δαβὶδ, in chap. xxii. 16; it therefore wanted five verses and a half, and some of these verses are a good length. Erasmus, like a clever man, as he was, got out of this difficulty dexterously enough. The Apocalypse must not be left unfinished, so he simply translated from the Vulgate; he owns it, but in a way to mislead the public. Once he says, there wanted "a very little," *perpauca*; another time we learn that there lacked "some words," *nonnulla verba*, in the Greek copies he used. This plural (copies) is contrary to truth, for Erasmus only had in his hands the single codex of Reuchlin for the Apocalypse. At last he owns that the MS. wanted one or two verses, *unus atque alter versus*.

Now let us quote a few specimens only of the deteriorations which the Codex Reuchlin underwent at the hands of Erasmus. Thus we read in his New Testament, at Rev. i. 9, "I John who also (*καὶ*) am your brother," etc. This *καὶ* originated in the following manner: wherever a new segment of the text commences, the word *κείμενον*, i. e. *text*, occurs in an abbreviated form in this MS. Now the leaf is destroyed exactly to this place, so that only the initial letter remains. Erasmus or his copyist took it for an abbreviation of *καὶ*, and Luther has

followed it in his translation, "Der *auch* euer Bruder;" the same *καὶ* is found in the French Bible of Martin, edition of 1834, *Moi Jean, qui suis aussi, votre frère, etc.*^c The second example is more significant. In chap. ii. 13, the text of Erasmus has *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐμαῖς*, which gives nonsense, and is found in no MS. discovered since. Erasmus made a serious mistake. The Reuchlin MS. reads, *ἐναῖς* for *ἐμαῖς*, but the *ν* is joined to the *ἄ* which follows, and almost has the form of *μ*, as often elsewhere. *Ἐν αῖς* seems to form but one word, yet the *ἄ* has the rough breathing which sufficiently shewed that it began a new word. Erasmus or his copyist took no notice of it, and so arose a singular variant which is to be found in no MS. Elsewhere the copyist has carelessly left out whole words, *e.g.*, chap. viii. 11; *τὸ τρίτον εἰς ἄψινθον*, where the MS. has *τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἰδάρων εἰς ἄψινθον*. Or Erasmus makes additions on the sole authority of the Vulgate, of whole words: *e.g.*, in xi. 17, "Who is, and was, and *is to come*;" *καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος* is not in the MS., neither has Tischendorf admitted the words, a proof that they have no critical authority. On the other hand, Erasmus faithfully reproduces the codex, where he might reasonably have been tempted to correct it, and where the Vulgate had a preferable reading; *e.g.*, xi. 2, "The court *inside* (*ἔσωθεν*) the temple;" where *ἔξωθεν* ought to be read; although more difficult in view of the words, "cast out," etc., which lead us to expect *ἔσωθεν*. Luther has admitted the variant of Erasmus, "Den *innern* Chor des Tempels." Even the Vulgate of 1590 adopted it more or less, "*infra templum*." In the edition of 1592, it is eliminated, "*foris templum*." These examples are from a multitude of others, which are, it is true, very often of small importance; but still it is proved that Erasmus has treated the text of his codex with great negligence, and cavalierly enough.^d

We do not wish to try the reader's patience any longer, and we pass now to another phase of our subject. The discovery of Delitzsch serves to confirm another discovery made by M. Reuss of Strasburg, which concerns the New Testament in the Vaudois dialect. There are several copies of this. That of Zurich has for a long time passed for a considerably old one, speaking relatively. It has been ascribed to the twelfth century, it is true,

^c This *also* is in the Dutch, English, and other versions, but is absent from some, as the old Italian, Swedish, Finnish, etc. [Tr.]

^d Delitzsch has signalled about eighty verses in the first eleven chapters only, where variations of all sorts occur, many of them far more extensive than those indicated by Dr. Herzog, who has dealt very tenderly after all with Erasmus in this matter. See Delitzsch's *Handschriftliche Funde*, passim. [Tr.]

with some precaution: *scriptum post annum* MC. Orelli, the learned philologist of Zurich, has assigned it to the second half of the fourteenth century. A very attentive examination of the Zurich MS. has led M. Reuss to other results. In the first place, he finds in it text-divisions which are only met with for the first time in editions of the Vulgate made between 1479 and 1489. Hereby the fore-mentioned dates were almost upset for the learned critic, and he prosecuted his investigations further. As he is well-versed in the different editions of the New Testament, we may say without exaggeration, more so than any scholar of our age, he was startled to find many passages which did not square with the Vulgate, but with the Greek text of Erasmus. This circumstance is very significant, for the Vaudois version, like the others made in the middle ages, is made from the Vulgate.

But it will not be out of place to quote the words of the learned Strasburg critic. "I have said that the romance versions must have been made from the Latin text. The Zurich MS. furnishes as many proofs of this as the others I have examined. But after the Reformation, in the sixteenth century, and when relations had been formed between the Vaudois and the Protestants of Germany and Switzerland, they began to revise the version they had hitherto used, according to the only text recognized by the Reformers, that is, the Greek text. This task, begun but not finished, is represented by the Zurich MS. In fact, in the four Gospels I have only found eight places where the translation follows the Greek against the Vulgate, and these passages might well be regarded as of little weight in this question; they are too isolated, and could be explained either by a certain exegetical liberty, or by variants in the Vulgate of which we are now ignorant. There are no more numerous traces of the fact in question in the smaller epistles of St. Paul; they are even more doubtful. . . But in the two epistles to the Corinthians, I count 19 distributed over a few chapters; in that to the Romans, 31; in the Acts, 50 (of which 43 are in the nine last chapters); in the epistle to the Hebrews, 27; in the catholic epistles, 49; and in the Apocalypse, 38. These numbers will appear more significant when I add, that in these books taken together, there are not forty passages, mostly of little critical importance, where the translation made from the Vulgate has remained intact in the presence of a different Greek text." After citing a certain number of examples in support of these assertions, M. Reuss thus concludes: "It is thus proved that the Zurich MS. is the incompleted labour of some learned Vaudois, who at the time of the relations instituted

between his church and the German reformed (after 1580), had undertaken to reconcile his romance New Testament with the Greek text, and used for this purpose one of the editions of Erasmus, or one of its counterfeits, which circulated in large numbers."

Now what is interesting to observe is, that the Vaudois text reproduces the Greek text of Erasmus not only in the passages where this is conformed to that of the Reuchlin MS. (*e.g.*, in ii. 2, the translator had first put *foro*, "outside;" this word has been erased, and replaced by *dedínez*, "inside;" it is therefore a reproduction of the word ἔσωθεν); but the Vaudois text follows the text of Erasmus even when he has altered the text of his MS.; for example, in viii. 11, the words τῶν ὑδάτων are left out. The most striking instance is supplied us by ii. 13, where the Vaudois text has *En li meo jorn*, "in my days," which is clearly a reproduction of the error of Erasmus. We know very well that the discovery of M. Reuss has no need of this confirmation, but it is not wholly useless to register it; it is fit to open the eyes of such as are not blind. Although it would be ridiculous to suppose that the Vaudois, before the Reformation, had consulted Greek MSS., and revised their version after them, it is now beyond doubt, that the author of the Zurich MS. performed his work after the edition of Erasmus; it is true it was upon the basis of a more ancient Vaudois translation, of which his work is a revision, or a new edition.

This fact deserves the attention of all who desire to know the true history of the ancient Waldenses. It is not our wish now to enter upon this subject, but we have here a new proof that the Vaudois literature is far less ancient than has been supposed since the commencement of the seventeenth century, on the faith of Perrin, Leger, and others, who either through ignorance, or haste, or party spirit, pronounced opinions regarded by modern science as altogether wrong. What is more interesting is, that we see the Waldenses making use of new information, and progressing in the knowledge of the Scriptures. It was that spirit of research and attachment to the Bible which gave birth to their religious community. Valdez, the founder of this community, not content with hearing the reading of the Gospels in Latin, which he did not understand, had translations made into his mother tongue, and to them explanations are added to bring out the sense. It was the same desire to extend their knowledge and understanding of the Bible, which prompted the adherents of Valdez, in the sixteenth century, humbly to request instruction from our reformers; and, as the learned investigations of M. Reuss prove, the same love of Biblical truth

produced the revision of their ancient Vaudois version by means of the original text which was brought within their reach. Legend falls, fable is dissipated, historical truth comes to light, and truth, here as everywhere, is more fair than fiction.^e

MONASTICISM IN THE WEST—BENEDICT OF NURSIA^f

PART FIRST.

MONASTICISM, as far as it had its rise in any external circumstances, arose mainly from two causes: the general depravation of society in the empire, and the decline of real religion in the Church itself. Under one aspect, monasticism may be viewed as the recoil of pure minds from the moral filth in which the world was wallowing; on the other, it may be regarded as a protest against the spirit of worldliness which had penetrated the life of professing Christendom. To these external causes are to be added the persecutions which ravaged the Church, and led men to fly to the deserts for their lives; and the fiscal arrangements of the empire, which made men happy to escape to the wilderness or to the barbarians, if by such means they might avoid the intolerable burdens of the tax-gatherer. But although these external causes aided the movement, they would never of themselves have been sufficiently powerful to have produced it. The true source of monasticism is to be sought in the inborn principles of man's nature. The craving after solitude the better to hold communion with God; the mortification of the flesh the better to rise to the level of the eternal spirit; the subduing of the animal nature the better to fulfil the requirements of the soul; the crushing of all human passion the better, by undisturbed contemplation, to arrive at the knowledge of the Infinite; the absolute annihilation of self the better to be merged into the all-pervading;—these are the sources in which monasticism takes its rise. But these are not all. The burden of sin, the desire to escape temptation, the fear of sin's punishment, the hope of propitiating the avenging Deity by present

^e Works to be consulted: *Handschriftliche Funde*, part i. (see *J. S. L.*, Jan., 1862, p. 496); and *Fragments littéraires et critiques relatifs à l'histoire de la Bible Française*, by E. Reuss. See also *Versions Cathares et Vaudoises*, in the *Strasburg Revue de Théologie*, 1053.

^f *The Monks of the West, from St. Benedict to St. Bernard*. By the Count de Montalembert, Member of the French Academy. Authorized translation. Vols I. and II. William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1861.

suffering instead of by everlasting pain, the idea of an exacting Nemesis which is to be found in all nations, have at all times, and in all countries, caused men to embrace the ascetic life with fervour. Christianity, which, by sanctifying all the different relationships of earthly life, and by pointing to the cross as an all-prevailing means of propitiation, should have warded off the evil of a selfish solitarism, became debased by superstition, and increased them by the measure of her own power. That Christ by his life and example had hallowed all the natural affections, was forgotten; that by his merits he had made an atonement, to which human effort could add nothing, was lost sight of; but the idea of God's holiness remained; and the fearful example he had given of his hatred of sin by the death of Christ, burnt itself into the minds of those who remembered not that the same sacrifice had given the highest proof of his tender love towards mankind. The God of Calvary was lost in the God of Sinai. Christianity retrograded to Judaism. Where the religious sense remained, love gave place to fear; where the religious sense was lost, the restraining principle of fear was not sufficient to hold those in check who knew nothing of the constraining principle of love. Thus in the dark ages two extremes of character, both springing from the same root, constantly meet us: the man whose impiety, cruelty, and lust make us shudder, and the man, who not content with serving God at his hearth and in his family, tries to win the favour of heaven by celibacy, fasting, and all kinds of unheard-of austerities.

The east was the cradle of monasticism. It reigned there long before it penetrated into the regions of the west. And when it did reach the western shores of Europe its aspect became changed. Western monasticism was very different from that of the east. In the east it was speculative; it occupied itself with every theological and metaphysical question which for so many years rent and convulsed the Byzantine church. Monks and anchorites let their imaginations run riot on the deepest mysteries of the faith; and sometimes, urged to fury by the influence of some favourite doctor, they would rush in crowds to maintain by violence some speculative opinion against patriarch or emperor. In the west, monasticism was more practical; it troubled itself little about theological discussions; excepting the school of semi-Pelagianism, propagated by Cassian among the convents in the vicinity of Marseilles, the monasteries were the abodes of submissive and unenquiring orthodoxy. The Asiatic monks had done little for the cultivation of barren lands; but wherever the hermits of the west settled, the arid rocks clothed themselves with the vine; or corn and fruit-trees

sprang up in the valleys. Austerities were not carried to the same pitch of fanaticism in the west as they were in the east. The west could boast of no Stylite, who had balanced himself for half a century on a lofty pillar. When on one occasion a monk of Gaul sought this religious elevation, the bishops wisely interfered, and put a stop to the fanatic's enthusiasm by the destruction of his pillar. The European monks were more peaceful than those of Asia. They might, indeed, occasionally lend their aid in the tumultuous demolition of some heathen fane, yet they were far from trying to assume, at least in the early period of their existence, the political importance which their brethren had attained. They threw themselves with practical earnestness into the work of their salvation, and then separated themselves from their fellows, or united together in a religious community.

The age that saw monasticism rise in the west was an age of faith. Men did not reason, but they believed. Their belief was gross, sensual, and superstitious, but it was strong. It was not so much a rational belief in the spiritual nature of God, as a hearty persuasion of the existence of the devil. Men's imaginations revelled in the unseen world. Spirits, good and evil, were the constant visitors of holy men. They appeared in tangible forms; they were sensibly seen and felt. The mind, untaught and centred on itself, watching with keenest interest the emotions of the religious life, impersonated its impulses, and attributed to external powers the strife that was being carried on within. The silence and solitude in which life was passed, fostered and cherished all these wild creatures of the fancy. If they read, their reading was the legends of the saints, telling how these holy men controlled the course of nature at their will, and summoned angels from heaven, for the accomplishment of their desires. They fasted to expel demons; they crossed themselves, because at that holy sign Satan fled away affrighted. In their festivals they celebrated the actual presence of the tutelar saint to whom their monastery, with its oratory, was consecrated; holy angels were present at their worship, attracted by the sweet singing of the monks. These beings were constantly about them, guarding them from evil, and preserving them from danger, and were often seen by human eyes when engaged in their kind office. Mysterious voices were heard making prophetic announcements; presentiments of coming blessing or impending harm were given; deaths were miraculously made known, and visions were granted shewing the departed saint on his road to glory, or already standing in ineffable bliss before the throne of God. The scenes among which they often settled

—the barren islet looking out upon the immensity of the sea, and continually resounding with the ceaseless dashing of the waves; the dark cavern, hollowed out in some inaccessible rock, whose noiseless solitude was only broken by the sad moaning of the wind; the deep sequestered valley cradled among volcanic craters,—deepened these impressions on their souls. Their solitudes ceased to be solitary; they were vocal with sounds, and peopled with apparitions. To have doubted any of the wonderful tales with which Europe was ringing, would have been to be wanting in faith. Mind reacted upon mind; and the very few, who hesitate to credit the daily miracles which were wrought by saintly abbots and immaculate virgins, dared not proclaim their unbelief, lest the ignorant people should have held them for heretics.

The credit of establishing monasticism in western Europe belongs to Athanasius. Driven from his see by the soldiery of Constantius, Athanasius had sought refuge among the solitaries of Egypt. He became the guest of Anthony, who, notwithstanding his utter ignorance of all learning, was one of the most strenuous defenders of the Homoousion. In the wilds of the Thebaid, Athanasius was able to learn the mode of life pursued by the fathers of the desert. They excited in him the deepest interest, and especially did the venerable Anthony seem worthy of his admiration. Upon his retirement to Rome, after another expulsion from Alexandria, he carried with him the fruit of his sojourn in Egypt, and initiated the Romans into the mysteries of oriental ascetism. Two holy monks, Ammonius and Isidore, belonging to the convent founded by Pachomius on the banks of the Nile, had accompanied him to Rome. These not only guaranteed the legends narrated by Athanasius, but furnished models which the young Roman might follow. In order to increase the veneration for the profession of ascetism, Athanasius published his life of Anthony. It was pre-eminently successful. A Latin translation followed it immediately. Enthusiasm reached its height. Consulars and senators laid aside the purple to assume the cowl and rough grey mantle of the monk. Young patricians of high birth and vast wealth hastened to swell the ever-increasing ranks. Noble matrons exchanged the sumptuousness of their palaces for the wards of the hospital. Fair young girls, of exquisite beauty and great opulence, devoted themselves to God in poverty and perpetual virginity. The name of monk, which a little time before was one of reproach and ignominy, was now sought as a title of the highest lustre. But opposition was not wanting. Fathers who saw their name about to become extinct in the celibacy of their sons; mothers who watched the

alienation of their children ; young men who found themselves deprived of the bride they loved, or the heiress they coveted ; wives deserted by their husbands ; officers who beheld their men deserting the ranks of the empire, that they might become the soldiers of the cross ;—raised an angry shout of hatred and defiance. But it was in vain. Monasticism fell in with the spirit of the age. It suited the religious feelings of the time. The seed had fallen on soil well prepared to receive it, and from henceforth, till comparatively recent times, Europe was to be inundated with those who styled themselves by pre-eminence “religious.”

Monastic life, however, was not wholly unknown in the West before the coming of Athanasius, as appears from a legend preserved in the acts of the martyrs, and worth recording. Among the ladies of Rome was one named Aglae, celebrated alike for her beauty and her wealth. Her manners, however, were not better than those which generally obtained there at the time. Boniface, the chief of the seventy-three intendants who farmed her estates, was her favoured lover. For some years she lived with him a life of pleasure, till some circumstance raised in her compunction. Having heard that they who honoured the bones of Christian martyrs would win their favour, and obtain their protection in the day of judgment, she sent Boniface to the East to procure the relics of some martyr to whom she might consecrate a chapel. As he was leaving her, he turned back, and said, half in pleasantry, but with some earnestness : “Oh ! madam, suppose my body should be sent back to you under the name of a martyr, would you receive it ?” She checked his lightness, but pledged her promise. He proceeded to Antioch, and there died a martyr, after having undergone most cruel tortures. His body was brought back to Aglae, who received it, and built an oratory in its honour at a little distance from Rome. She sold her estates, distributed her wealth among the poor, and took the veil of a nun. Other women, led by her example, gathered round her, and with these she spent the remaining thirteen years of her life in austerities and penitential discipline. The fame of her sanctity was great, and it was given her to work more than the miracle. At length, she died in peace.

The passion for monastic life did not long confine itself to Rome. It spread to Campania and Sicily ; into the recesses of the Apennines ; in Northern Italy ; beyond the Alps in Gaul ; and the Pyrennees in Spain. It even passed the sea, and planted itself in Britian and Ireland. But the organization of monasticism was not complete. There were many monks, but there

was no monastic order. Convents and monasteries were only groups of individual monks. It was required that some man should arise gifted with great legislative talents, and possessing enthusiasm sufficient to stamp his ideas upon western monasticism. These conditions were fulfilled in Benedict of Nursia.

Before proceeding to the consideration of the life of this extraordinary man, it is necessary to cast our eyes over the political, religious, or social state of the western world at the time of his birth.

Nothing can exceed the confusion which existed at this time in Italy. Corruption, despair, and death were everywhere; civil order and military discipline had alike disappeared. The Visigoths under Alaric had sacked Rome; the Huns under the terrible Attila had ravaged Italy. But four years before the birth of Benedict, Odoacer had deprived the weak Augustulus of the purple, which he himself disdained to assume. Anarchy and lawlessness reigned in the eternal city. Life was insecure; property was unstable. The new forces, which were to regenerate, were mingled in conflict and confusion with the old, which were to die. The old world was exhausted, the new civilization which was to take its place had as yet no being.

Religion was at the lowest ebb. The East was distracted with strife and heresy, which caused bloodshed and violence in almost every city. Rome plunged into the strife, more because her supremacy was at stake, than because she cared about monophytism. Felix and Acacius separate from and anathematize each other. A contested election for the papacy follows the death of Anastasius. The two factions of Symmachus and Laurentius contend with fierce hostility; the clergy, the senate, and the populace are divided; and Christian blood is shed in the streets of the city. Theodoric, the Arian, allays the strife, but only for a moment. Such was the state of religion.

The dismemberment of society was equally universal. Social crimes were committed in open daylight, and no one interfered to punish them. The lives of the clergy and laity were equally scandalous; purity of manners was a thing unknown. The only refuge left for virtue was the convent, and even it was insecure. The authority of law had perished. Science and art had disappeared;—vice, ignorance and superstition reigned supreme. But amid all this there was another feature of the age which must not be omitted,—the yearning after the supernatural. This is the key to the success of Benedict; without it his life is incomprehensible, and his influence unintelligible. The whole atmosphere was impregnated with this inexhaustible desire for the miraculous. Children were trained to expect at every in-

stant more than human interferences. The legends of the saints and stories of wonder-working monks were the mental food which nourished their young minds from infancy. A religious child constantly had asceticism held before him as the highest felicity of life to which it could aspire. And the superhuman was but another phase of the supersensual. Miracles were the reward that waited on him who thoroughly subdued the flesh to the better dominion of the spirit; they were at once the consequence and the proof of exalted sanctity. Men looked for them, and believed they saw that which they expected to see.

The life of Benedict from his childhood to his death is the most perfect illustration of the motives which then worked upon the minds of men. He is the embodiment of the spirit of the age, so far as regards the superstition and enthusiasm which characterized it. And he has found an admirable biographer in St. Gregory. Neander regrets that the life we possess is so little trustworthy and precise. But this is a mistake. The Roman bishop did not distort it, at least intentionally, nor did he make an effort to give the whole story a miraculous air. We may believe that he has given us an exact sketch of what he, and his age, believed about St. Benedict. We see the founder of the monastic order, not as he was really, perhaps, but we see him very much as he appeared to himself, and as he was regarded by his disciples and his contemporaries. History must condescend to speak the language of legend; the belief of the times is part of the record of the times; it finds much it cannot receive as true, but it cannot afford to despise that which was the primal, and almost universal, motive of human life. If there had been less legend in the life we possess of Benedict, it would be more true to the letter, but it would be less true in spirit. We have from the pen of Gregory a far more faithful picture of the great western monk, than we should have possessed if it had been written by some rationalistic forerunner of the Paulus or Strauss school.

Benedict was born in the year of our Lord 480, in the province of Spoleto. By his mother's side he was the last scion of the lords of Nursia; his father was of the noble house of Anicius, already celebrated in monkish annals by the sons and daughters it had devoted to monastic life. According to the custom which still prevailed, his parents sent him to Rome for the purpose of obtaining a literary education. But the pure-minded youth shrunk from the vices of the capital. He had probably read the lives of the anchorites of the East, and his whole soul was fired with a desire of emulating their fame. He gave up the study of letters, and turned his back upon the

delights of Rome. He was panting for solitude, hardship, and God. His faithful old nurse, Cyrilla, who had nursed him from infancy, alone followed him.

Fifty miles to the west of Rome, among a group of hills, the Anio hollows a deep gorge, which separates the country of the Sabines from that formerly occupied by the Eques and Hernii. The traveller, ascending by the course of the river, comes to a kind of basin, which opens out between two immense walls of rock, from which the fresh and transparent stream descends from fall to fall to a place named Sublaqueum. The picturesqueness of the site had attracted the attention of Nero. Confining the water of the Anio by dams, he constructed an artificial lake and baths, and built a villa, in which he sometimes resided. A strange event here occurred to him. In the midst of a feast, the cup which he was raising to his lips was shattered by lightning. The omen of the wrath of heaven caused the palace to be deserted, and it was at this time sunk in ruins. About two miles from Sublaqueum (Subiaco) lies a small village called Effide. Here the young patrician found a refuge. The rustic inhabitants, pleased with his modesty and sweetness of disposition, allowed him to inhabit a cell near their church. And here was the scene of his first miracle. Cyrilla, his nurse, had borrowed a stone sieve, commonly used in that part of the country, to make bread. It fell from her hands, and broke in two pieces. Cyrilla was in great distress. Moved by the sight of her trouble, Benedict took the pieces, joined them together, prayed over them, and returned her the vessel made whole. The wondering peasants, in admiration and awe, hung the miraculously restored sieve over the door of their church.

This event becoming known, the fame of the young anchorite spread abroad. But the hermit shrunk from fame. Quitting his old nurse, he sought a deeper solitude in the wild gorges of Subiaco. In an abrupt rock, facing the south, and overhanging the rapid course of the Anio, he discovered a narrow cave, into which the sun never shone. He took up his abode there, remaining unknown to all except a monk, named Romanus, who supplied him with the scanty fare he needed.

We meet now with a number of legends, exactly in accordance with the belief of the age, in which there is no doubt St. Gregory put the most implicit faith. The solitude of Benedict did not escape the notice of the arch-fiend, who already foresaw the damage which would accrue to his kingdom from the efforts and influence of the saint. The cave was at the foot of the hill on which the monastery of Romanus stood, but there was no pathway down the precipitous work. Romanus, there-

fore, was accustomed to let down the food by a rope, and a small bell attached to it gave the signal of its coming. Satan, in the hopes of causing the holy man to die of hunger, broke the rope, and flung away the bell. But it was to little purpose, for the inventive charity of Romanus was not to be so foiled. On another occasion, as Benedict was occupied with his devotion, the enemy of mankind appeared to him in the shape of a blackbird, and flapped him over the eyes with his wings so as almost to blind him. But Satan could assume more dangerous and seducing forms. While still a student in Rome, the imagination of the future saint had been struck by one of the Roman ladies who possessed great beauty. So great was the impression which her charms had left upon his mind, that, under the impulse of his excited senses, he was more than once on the point of leaving his retreat to seek her. The tempter assumed her form. The temptation was great, and the struggle terrible. But near his grotto there grew a clump of thorns and briers; he threw off the sheepskin, which was his only garment, and rolled his naked body among the brambles. Satan withdrew discomfited, and, awed by his daring hardihood, never again ventured to attack him through the senses.

Seven centuries later, another saint, of scarcely less renown in the annals of monasticism, came to visit the spot where this victory had been obtained. Drawn by his admiration, St. Francis, of Assisi, sought the wild site which was worthy to rival the bare Tuscan rock where the stigmata of the passion had been imprinted on himself. After prostrating himself before the thicket of thorns, and watering the sacred soil with his tears, he planted there two rose-trees.

"This garden, twice sanctified," says M. de Montalembert, in a passage which offers a good example of the spirit in which his book is written, "still occupies a sort of triangular plateau, which projects upon the side of the rock a little before and beneath the grotto which sheltered St. Benedict. The eye confined on all sides by rocks, can survey freely only the azure of heaven. It is the last of those sacred places visited and venerated in the celebrated and unique monastery of the Sagro Speco, which forms a series of sanctuaries built one over the other, backed by the mountain which Benedict has immortalized. Such was the hard and savage cradle of the monastic order in the West. It was from this tomb, where the delicate son of the last patricians of Rome buried himself alive, that the definite form of monastic life—that is to say, the perfection of Christian life,—was born. From this cavern and thicket of thorns have issued legions of saints and monks, whose devotion has won for the Church her greatest conquests and purest glories. From this fountain has gushed the inexhaustible current of religious zeal and fervour. Thence came, and shall still come, all whom the spirit of the great

Benedict shall inspire with the impulse of opening new paths, or restoring ancient discipline, in cloistral life. The sacred site which the prophet Isaiah seems to have pointed out beforehand to cenobites, by words so marvellously close in their application,—‘Look unto the rock whence ye are hewn, and to the hole of the pit (*cavernam laci*) whence ye are digged,’—is there recognized by all. We lament for the Christian who has not seen this grotto, this desert, this nest of the eagle and the dove, or who, having seen it, has not prostrated himself with tender respect before the sanctuary from which issued with the rule and institution of St. Benedict, the flower of Christian civilization, the permanent victory of the soul over the flesh, the intellectual enfranchisement of Europe, and all that charm and grandeur which the spirit of sacrifice, regulated by faith, adds to knowledge, labour and virtue.”^b

The same strain of admiration for monks and the monastic institution runs throughout the volumes. M. de Montalembert’s enthusiasm for anchorites and cenobites is unbounded. Protestants, and we think many Romanists, will be likely to call in question the assertion that monks were the flower of Christian civilization, and the intellectual enfranchisers of Europe. The deliverance of Europe from the darkness of the middle ages is much more due, after the introduction of Greek literature by the Byzantine emigrants, to the sturdy blows which Wyckliffe inflicted on the ignorance of the monks, and the spirit of free enquiry to which Luther and Protestantism gave birth.

Three years did St. Benedict pass in this desolate cavern by the Anio. So entirely was he cut off from all intercourse with the outer world, that he ceased to mark the progression of time, and had forgotten to note even the fasts and festivals of the church. A certain priest had prepared for himself some delicate food for the festival of Easter. A mysterious warning reproved him for indulging in luxury, while the holy servant of God was famishing in hunger. Who this holy servant of God was the priest knew not, but guided by a heaven-sent intuition, he was led up the steep rocks till he came to the cavern of Benedict. The saint knew not that it was Easter, and it was only after being assured that it was that high festival, and that God in his providence had wonderfully sent to him the food, that he ventured to partake of it. Some shepherds also accidentally discovered the place of his retreat. Seeing him in his coarse attire, which consisted only of skins, they at first mistook him for a wild beast, but on their approach they were so charmed by his gentleness, and the eloquence of the discourse he delivered to them, that they were won to Christian belief.

By these means the hiding-place of the hermit became

^b *Monks of the West*, ii., 11, 12.

known. The fame of his sanctity attracted crowds of admiring disciples, and numbers eagerly pressed forward to supply him with the means of support, asking in return to be fed with heavenly nourishment. The monks of the neighbouring monastery of Vico Varo desired to obtain the man who commanded such universal homage, as their abbot. He warned them that he should enforce the most vigorous and uncompromising discipline. They adhered to their determination, he suffered himself to be persuaded, and was installed as abbot. But the monks soon wearied of his harsh rule, and found compliance with the austerities he unflinchingly compelled them to observe, unbearable. They endeavoured to poison him. He made the sign of the cross over the cup containing the guilty potion, and it broke in two pieces as if it had been struck with a stone. Reminding them of his warnings, and praying God to forgive their intended crime, which he had thus miraculously prevented, he left them and retired again into his dearer solitude.

But it was a solitude no longer. Attracted by the fame of his virtue and miracles, men flocked to him from every quarter. The clergy and the laity, the Romans and the barbarians, the conquering Northman, and the conquered Italian, alike sought the abode of the holy recluse. Under the direction of Benedict they arm themselves with axes and hatchets, and commence rooting out the brushwood and clearing the soil. Miracles testify the approbation of heaven. A Goth, who had become a convert at Subiaco, let the head of his hatchet fall into the lake as he was cutting wood. He had immediate recourse to Benedict. Like Elisha of old, the Saint caused the iron to swim, and handed it again to the astonished barbarian with the words, "Take thy tool, take it, work and be comforted." The work went on apace. In a little while twelve monasteries arose among the peaks and clefts and valleys round Subiaco. In each of these Benedict placed twelve monks. Some of his followers he kept with him in order to train and direct them under his own immediate supervision, and thus he was raised to be the superior of a numerous community of cenobites.

It is characteristic of the times that, throughout the account of St. Gregory, the blackest crimes are placed beside the high-wrought holiness of his hero. We observed it in the conduct of the monks of Vico Varo; we now meet with it again in the attempts of the priest Florentius. Florentius was jealous of the fame and sanctity of Benedict, and moved with envy at the crowds of disciples who flocked to him, he determined to poison him. Some bread is poisoned, and sent as a present to the abbot of Subiaco. Miraculously warned of the treacherous

design, Benedict commands a raven to fly away with the infected food. Florentius, instead of shewing penitence for his fault, is only more hardened in his wicked designs. Despairing of effecting anything against the person of Benedict, he determines to wound him through his weak point—through his disciples. Collecting seven girls, he sent them, naked, into the garden of the monastery where the monks were at work. Benedict is at a loss how to act; at least, thinking that the interest of his children is at stake, he determines to disarm the enmity of Florentius by a retreat. He appointed superiors to the twelve monasteries which he had founded, and taking with him a few of his favourite disciples, he left the wild gorges of Subiaco, which had afforded him shelter for thirty-five years, for ever.

Scarcely had he set out on his departure, when a monk hastened after him to tell him that Florentius is dead. The evil-minded priest had been buried in the ruins of his chambers, which had fallen in, leaving the rest of the house untouched. Benedict, however, weeping over the fall of his enemy, and imposing penance on the messenger for shewing indecent joy, determines to pursue his way. Under the guidance of two visible angels, he comes to the ruins of an ancient castle, which lay on a high mountain, called *Castrum Cassinum*, about fifty miles from Subiaco. The hill, scarped and isolated, rises upon the boundaries of Samnium and Campania, in the centre of a large basin, half surrounded by abrupt and picturesque heights. The summit overlooks the course of the Liris, near its source, and the undulating plain which extends southward towards the shores of the Mediterranean, and the narrow valleys which towards the north, the east, and the west, lose themselves in the lines of the mountainous horizon. On one side the prospect extends towards Arpinum, where the prince of Roman orators was born; and on the other looks towards Aquinum, already celebrated as the birthplace of Juvenal, and known afterwards as the country of the Doctor Angelicus.

Paganism still held its sway at Cassinum among the country people. Benedict found here, in the very heart, as it were, of Christendom, a sacred grove, and a temple dedicated to Apollo, where these benighted people still brought their offerings. To these forgotten people he preached the Gospel; he zealously destroyed the stately and time-honoured edifice; overturned the idol, and cut down the consecrated grove. He then proceeded to erect two oratories on the site, dedicated to St. Martin, of Tours, the great monk-bishop of Gaul, and to St. John Baptist, the first of Christian recluses. Satan made a last attempt to defend his old domains, and offered many obstructions to the

building of the churches. The obstinate stones refused to move till Benedict compelled them by his prayers. They fell and crushed the builders, who were, however, healed by the intercession of the saint. A monastery gradually rose up round the chapels,—the famous Monte Cassius, the capital of western monasticism, which gave its laws to almost the whole of western Christendom.

Although Benedict had never been invested with the priestly character, his life at Monte Cassius was rather that of an apostle and missionary than of a solitary. He passed his time in preaching to the semi-barbarous peasants, and in instructing the lately converted heathen in the mysteries of the Christian religion. He superintended the building of the monastery, and directed the monks who had collected round him in the cultivation of the soil. The community of which he was the strict and vigilant head, flourished and increased more and more. New graces were continually added to his character. According to Gregory the Great he had, by his fastings and mortifications, acquired the gift of discerning souls, and could read the unexpressed thoughts of the heart. On one occasion it happened to be the turn of a young Roman noble, who had embraced a monastic life, to light the abbot at supper. As he held the candlestick the pride of the patrician swelled within him, and he said to himself, "What is this man that I should thus stand before him while he eats, with a candle in my hand, like a slave? Am I then made to be his slave?" Benedict, reading the proud language as it rose in his heart, reproved him sharply, gave the candle to another, and sent him back to his cell to repent of his haughtiness. He was also able, by spiritual observation, to follow monks whom he had sent on distant journeys; and by this means discovering their failings in their absence, he reprimanded them on their return for faults which they had committed on their travels.

His authority over the surrounding population was great, and his solicitude for their interest, both spiritual and temporal, equalled his authority. He not only preached to them the Gospel, but he healed the sick, cleansed the lepers, and cast out the devils of the possessed. He paid the debts of those who were in distress from the money which was poured into the monastery. He provided for their necessities by distributing the provisions of corn, wine, and linen which were given him. Once, in a time of famine, to the dismay and trouble of the monks, he gave to the poor all the bread that was in the monastery leaving but five loaves for the supply of the community. Of course we find that by the next morning a large quantity of flour had been bestowed on the convent by some unknown hand.

The following legend shews the relations existing between the conquering barbarians and the conquered Romans, as well as between the orthodox and heretics. The Goth Galla was an Arian. Inflamed by heresy, he was possessed with an inextinguishable hatred of all orthodox believers, and especially of every one who had embraced the monastic life. He traversed the country, panting with cupidity and rage, slaying the priests and monks who fell into his hands, and torturing the unhappy peasantry to extort from them the little property they still possessed. One of his victims, unable to bear up under the torture, thought to save himself by declaring that he had confided to Benedict all that he had. Binding his arms with cords, Galla commanded him to go before, and shew the way to the house of this Benedict. Thus they pursued their way to Monte Cassius; the peasant, the representative of the conquered race, bound hand and on foot; the proud Galla, the representative of the conquering invaders, on horseback in all the haughtiness of power. They arrive at Monte Cassius. Benedict was seated at the door of the monastery reading, and unattended. "Behold," said the peasant, turning to his tormentor, "there is the holy father Benedict of whom I spoke to you." The imperious Goth in loud passionate tones, rudely commanded Benedict to yield up on the spot whatever had been entrusted him by the peasant. "Rise up, rise up, and restore quickly what thou hast received from this peasant." At these words the man of God calmly raising his eyes from his book, fixed them slowly first upon the barbarian on horseback, and then on the Italian writhing under the tightness of the bands. His gaze acted like a spell. The cords which bound the arms of the captive loosed of themselves, while the ferocious Galla, trembling fell to the ground. Without interrupting his reading, Benedict called to some of the monks, and directed them to carry the fainting Goth into the monastery, and give him some blessed bread. When he had recovered from the shock, the abbot remonstrated with him on his injustice and cruelty, and warned him to amend his life under pain of a more fearful punishment from God.

But the highest of all miraculous power was granted to Benedict. He was enabled, by the power of God, to recall the life which had become extinct. One day, when he had gone out with the brethren to labour in the fields, a peasant, distracted with grief, and bearing in his arms the dead body of his son, came to the monastery and begged to see Father Benedict. Hearing that Benedict was labouring in the fields with the rest of the monks, he laid down the body of his son at the gate of the convent, and ran away at full speed to find the Abbot.

Benedict was returning from his work. As soon as the peasant perceived him coming, he threw himself at his feet begging him with many tears to restore him his son. Benedict moved by the man's grief stopped, and asked, "Have I then carried him away." "He is dead," replied the peasant, "come and raise him up." Benedict answered, "Go home, my friend, this is no work for us; this belongs to the holy Apostles. Why do you come to impose so heavy a burden upon us?" But the father continued his entreaties, and vowed, in his grief, that he would not go till the saint had restored to him his son. Benedict asked him where his son was. "His body is lying at the gate of the monastery." They proceeded to the spot. When they had arrived Benedict fell on his knees, and then, after the example of Elijah, laid himself upon the body of the child. Rising up, he extended his hands to heaven and prayed: "Lord, look not upon my sins, but on the faith of this man, and restore to the body the soul that thou hast taken from it." His prayer was hardly ended, when all present perceived that the body of the child trembled. Benedict, raising him by the hand, restored the child full of life and health to his father.

Such tales as these are history. They point to the feelings and beliefs which had penetrated society through and through. It did not seem strange to the peasant that Benedict should be able to raise his son, and restore him to life. Gregory the Great, who certainly was not behind his age, and who shewed eminent political talents, entirely credits the stories he relates. Nor is the parallel between Benedict and Elijah without its instruction. In the eyes of admiring Christendom, the monks and hermits occupied the same position as the prophet under the Jewish dispensation, and were believed to be possessed of the same power of performing miracles as Daniel or Elisha. In order to obtain a correct idea of the influence which Benedict exercised over his contemporaries, and a true picture of his life as it appeared to them, we must take into account the gift of miracles which all the world thought that he possessed.

The respect entertained for the Abbot of Monte Cassius was universal. Totila, the king of the Ostro-goths, was seized with a desire to see this Benedict, whose fame was already as great among the barbarians as among the Romans, and who was everywhere called a prophet. Desirous of testing the prophetic spirit which was attributed to the saint, he attempted to practise a deception upon him, by causing the captain of his guard to be dressed in the royal robes, and in the purple boots which were the distinctive mark of royalty. Riggo, thus accoutred, and accompanied with a numerous escort commanded by the three

counts who usually guarded the person of Totila, presented himself before the abbot. "My son," cried Benedict as soon as he perceived him, "put off that dress you wear, for it is not yours." Riggo, without venturing to approach, immediately returned to his master, deeply impressed with awe at the supernatural penetration of the recluse. Totila himself then ascended the mountain of the monastery. When he had reached the height and saw the abbot seated, waiting for him, it is said that he threw himself at his feet. The monk rose from his seat and raised him up. In the interview which followed, Benedict reproved him for his cruelties, and exhorted him to amend his life. He predicted the future that lay before him. "You shall enter Rome, you shall cross the sea, you shall reign nine years, and in the tenth you shall die." The king commended himself to the prayers of the holy man, and withdrew. But he carried away with him a salutary impression. The war was conducted with a humanity and clemency which seemed strange to his Gothic soldiery. His captives were treated with gentleness and kindness. When Rome surrendered after a long siege, he would not suffer the blood of any Roman to be shed. He was equally careful in protecting the women from insult. The date of this interview is uncertain, and it is therefore impossible to decide whether previously received religious impressions led him to seek counsel from one whom all Italy regarded as a saint, or whether he was awestruck into more thoughtful religiousness by the prophetic admonitions of Benedict. There are several other instances, mentioned by Gregory in his dialogues, in which Totila was obliged to reverence the sanctity of eminent Christians whom he had attempted to deceive, or whom he had begun to persecute.

But other barbarians were to follow who would not shew the same gentleness as the Gothic king. A noble, whom he had converted and who lived on familiar terms with him, one day found Benedict weeping. For a time he watched in silence; then perceiving that his tears were not stayed, and that they did not proceed from the fervour of his devotion, but from some hidden grief, he enquired the reason. "Ah! my son, this monastery which I have builded, and all that I have prepared for my brethren, has been delivered up by a sentence of Almighty God to the Pagans. With difficulty have I prevailed to obtain mercy for their lives." A prediction fulfilled forty years after by the destruction of Monte Cassius by the Lombards.

H. N. B.

[To be continued.]

THE SCIENCE OF LANGUAGE—MAX MÜLLER.*

THE science of language is a modern creation, so modern that we all feel how inadequate to its description is the old word philology. The expression, "comparative philology," partly helps us out of our difficulty, but even this is inadequate. What is wanted, is some word which, like astronomy, geography, geology, and others, indicates somewhat better the character of the science. Glossology would do, but it has been applied to something else. *Glossonomy* would be a good word, but who will venture to introduce it, although it is the laws and distribution of languages which is in question? For present purposes, we must then be content with comparative philology, as the designation of a science of extraordinary interest and value, and which has made nearly all its great discoveries during the present century. It was long ago observed that languages change, and that their elements are subject to those vicissitudes through which natural productions, and even man himself, must pass. Horace expressed an important fact when he said, in the well known passage of his *Ars Poetica* :—

"Ut sylvæ foliis pronos mutantur in annos;
Prima cadunt; ita verborum vetus interit ætas,
Et juvenum ritu florent modo nata; vigentque."

And again,—

"Nedum sermonum stet honos et gratia vivax,
Multa renascentur quæ jam cecidere, cadentque
Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus,
Quem penes arbitrium est et jus et norma loquendi."

He approached a great truth in these words, but he did not seem to realize the fact, that what is true of individual languages, or rather of individual words in languages, is also true of languages as a whole. They grow old and fall into desuetude; new languages are produced out of them, and these in turn decay. There are some forms of human speech of so firm a texture, so inflexible a structure, that they live on age after age, with very slight appearances of change; but as a rule, wear and tear, production and reproduction, do their work so effectually, as at length to alter the entire features of a language. In this way

* *Lectures on the Science of Language delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in April, May, and June, 1861.* By Max Müller, M.A., Fellow of All Soul's College, Oxford; corresponding member of the Imperial Institute of France. Second Edition, revised. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1862. 8vo.

language after language has gone into disuse and obscurity; language after language has been constructed and brought into use.

Modern philology goes far beyond the ordinary sphere of the grammarian and the lexicographer, and it returns them a hundredfold for all it has borrowed of them. Perhaps it would not be wrong to say, that the new science has already thrown so much light upon the nature and structure of languages, that a new race of lexicographers and grammarians is imperatively called for. Etymology is a different thing from what it was when Hickes wrote, or Harris, or Dr. Johnson, or Horne Tooke. There is no English work on the subject previous to the last few years, at all to be relied upon. Words are seen with new eyes, their parentage and genealogy have been investigated on sound principles, they are stripped of the hard shell, the outward form in which they have become encased, and they are set forth in their real character. External resemblances used to be everything, but now by means of recently discovered laws, words have been divorced which had long been unlawfully allied, and words are allied which were before kept asunder. So with other matters pertaining to speech. And what is true of words and grammatical forms is true of whole languages and groups of languages; they are now arranged and marshalled, and classified, by nations and tribes or families. What Linnæus did for botany, when he distributed plants into orders, classes, genera, species, and varieties, on a natural principle, has been done for languages. Professor Müller thinks there may be nine hundred of these, but there are few among them which have not had assigned to them their own proper places, and whose relations to the rest have not been determined.

The gentleman just named is one of the most successful cultivators of the science of comparative philology, or, as he prefers to say, the science of language, translating thereby the German *Sprachwissenschaft*. The list of his works is becoming considerable, and what is more to be noted, the public have set their seal of approval upon some of them so far as to call for new editions of them. This has been the case with his remarkably interesting book on the languages of the countries which were the theatre of the late Russian war. It is also the case with his elaborate *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*. And now we have a second edition of his *Lectures on the Science of Language*, which were delivered so recently as April, May, and June of last year. This is not merely hopeful as a sign of progress, but is a strong testimony to the confidence with which his general principles are regarded.

On the present occasion we shall limit ourselves to a portion

of the *Lectures on the Science of Language*, and to some questions which arise out of them. The author says, "My object will have been attained, if I should succeed in attracting the attention, not only of the scholar, but of the philosopher, the historian, and the theologian, to a science which concerns them all, and which, though it professes to treat of words only, teaches us that there is more in words than is dreamt of in our philosophy." The lectures are nine in number, on the following subjects:—1. The science of language one of the physical sciences. 2. The growth of language in contradistinction to the history of language. 3. The empirical stage in the science of language. 4. The classificatory stage in the science of language. 5. The genealogical classification of languages. 6. Comparative grammar. 7. The constituent elements of language. 8. The morphological classification of languages. 9. The theoretical stage in the science of language—origin of language. These are followed by genealogical tables of languages.

It is needless to say how deeply conscious Professor Müller is of the importance of his subject. "Language," he says, "has been called sacred ground, because it is the deposit of thought. We cannot tell as yet what language is. It may be a production of nature, a work of human art, or a divine gift. But to whatever sphere it belongs, it would seem to stand unsurpassed,—nay, unequalled in it,—by anything else. If it be a production of nature, it is her last and crowning production which she reserved for man alone. If it be a work of human art, it would seem to lift the human artist almost to the level of a divine Creator. If it be the gift of God, it is God's greatest gift; for through it God spake to man, and man speaks to God in worship, prayer and meditation." After shewing that other sciences have passed through successive stages until they have become worthy of their name, and that the same has occurred with regard to language, the author reminds us of a question lately much talked of, as to the true position of man in the scale of creation. He well observes, that "however much the frontiers of the animal kingdom have been pushed forward, so that at one time the line of demarcation between animal and man seemed to depend on a mere fold of the brain, there is *one* barrier which no one has yet ventured to touch—the barrier of language. Even those philosophers with whom *penser c'est sentir*, who reduce all thought to feeling, and maintain that we share the faculties which are the productive causes of thought in common with beasts, are bound to confess that *as yet* no race of animals has produced a language." He might have added that no race of men has yet been found without a language.

The next question is, whether the science of language is really a science and can be brought back to the standard of the inductive sciences. Professor Müller¹ not only claims for it a place among the sciences, but vindicates its position among the physical sciences. It is not a historical science like mere philology in the old sense of the term, because it views language not as a means but as the object of inquiry. Philology is conversant with this or that language, but comparative philology has to do with language as a whole, whatever its age, country or form. It is not necessary that the student of language should be a great linguist, his researches are founded upon the dictionary and the grammar or such portions of them as are within his reach. "He must learn to make the best of this fragmentary information, like the comparative anatomist, who frequently learns his lessons from the smallest fragments of fossil bones, or the vague pictures of animals, brought home by some unscientific travellers." The neglect of this vast study till recent times is remarked upon as something wonderful, not only taken in connexion with the study of other departments of learning, but in view of the nature of language itself. This leads to an observation, so full of meaning and so important, that we give it in our author's own words. "If you consider that, whatever view we take of the origin and dispersion of language, nothing new has ever been added to the substance of language, that all its changes have been changes of form, that no new root or radical has ever been invented by later generations, as little as one element has ever been added to the material world in which we live; if you bear in mind that in one sense, and in a very just sense, we may be said to handle the very words which issued from the mouth of the Son of God, when he gave names to 'all cattle, and to the fowls of the air and to every beast of the field,' you will see, I believe, that the science of language has claims on your attention, such as few sciences can rival or excel." There is a great amount of truth in this, and it would be practicable to show how the same combinations of letters under various modifications, can be traced among nations widely separated as the Ganges from the Thames, and among peoples as distinct as the Christians of England and the personal disciples of Zoroaster. We are not able to say how many roots language has sprung from, but we are not prepared to say that none have ever been invented by later generations, because we do not know. We do know that the majority of radicals in every class and order of languages is very ancient. but we should not like to say they are all equally ancient. The primal elements of all words, sounds, and letters have of

course existed in all time, but surely there is nothing in nature to prevent man from combining them in a truly new form to express a new idea. While, however, we venture to withhold our assent to the proposition as so absolutely stated, we believe that if one fact be more true than another, it is that all new forms and languages are made out of old materials, and that in this sense "nothing new has been added to the substance of language—as little as one single element has ever been added to the material world in which we live."

The second lecture, on the growth of language, in contradistinction to the history of language, opens with a reply to some objections to the claim of comparative philology to rank as a physical science. The first of these is, that language is the work of man, invented as a means of communicating his ideas when looks and gestures became insufficient, and improved in successive generations. If this is a fact, language is an art as much as poetry, sculpture, and painting, and man must have lived for a time ignorant of it. Many theories have been built on this foundation, and efforts have not been wanting to ascertain which was the part of speech first invented. Some, like Adam Smith have thought verbs came first; others, like Dugald Stewart have given precedence to nouns, all this is sheer absurdity, and only arises from misconception of what language is. Even those who admit the claims of linguistic studies to a place among the sciences are not all agreed as to where it should come. Part of them range it with the historical or moral sciences; and others, as Max Müller, with the physical, and he meets the arguments of his opponents with no little address and skill. He admits that at first sight, it does seem as if there was an historical life inherent in language, and he gives his view of the genealogy of languages as illustrative of this. Changes occur so generally that few languages could be recognized as the same after the lapse of but a thousand years. "The historical changes of language may be more or less rapid, but they take place at all times, and in all countries." These changes appear to be more violent and rapid among savage than civilized nations, and are hindered and restrained by literature, but in no case are prevented. Against all apparent facts to the contrary Max Müller argues, that it is not in the power of man either to produce or to prevent alterations in language. Language is not acted upon by the will of individuals, nor by mutual agreement, but it grows or develops like a plant in its proper soil. The so called growth of language involves, 1. Dialectical regeneration, and 2. Phonetic decay. The second of these is first considered, and illustrated, so that we see how portions of words have been

allowed to fall away in new combinations and forms. With regard to dialectical regeneration, the first thing to be noticed is the great number of dialects of existing languages. This propensity to form dialects is exceedingly common, and in spite of the proximity of those who speak them. Italy, France, Friesland, Greece, etc., supply illustrations. Dialects are not properly corruptions of languages, and according to Grimm "develop themselves progressively, and the more we look back in the history of language, the smaller is their number, and the less definite their features. All multiplicity arises gradually from an original unity." And yet, this statement is not wholly correct, dialects may point back to original diversities of language. For instance, may we not thus explain some of our own dialects? In some we find a leaning towards the Gothic or Scandinavian, and are reminded of Danish elements; in others, there is a deeper tinge of the Teutonic, reminding us of the Anglo-Saxon; in others, there is a large infusion of Latin, recalling the memory of our Norman French invaders and rulers. Elsewhere perhaps, relics of the old Celtic are more abundant. So that in fact our dialects may be very much due to the proportions in which the language is mixed or compounded. There may be local causes, but this seems to be the principal one in England. In some countries dialects have to be accounted for on other principles, and this is remarkably the case in some uncivilized countries where there seems to be a constant flux. As languages permit the formation of dialects within themselves, submit to change, and become obsolete, so they may give birth to languages. Thus, out of Latin, have sprung Italian, French, Spanish, and so on, not that these languages are wholly of Latin, but that it is their foundation, substance, staple. Out of it they have been modelled, and all else they contain is far less prominent and significant. Here, however, as elsewhere, the general character of the process, has been one of multiplication. As a rule, languages become less complicated and rigidly regular as they grow older. In this work of simplification, it must still be remembered that ancient laws and principles are respected, and all changes proceed in harmony with the genius of the original forms, in accordance with certain natural laws. These laws are not always the same, but they are so regular in their operation that if we know the form of a word in Latin for instance, we can usually tell with tolerable accuracy what it will become in Italian, French, and Spanish, but not always, for barbarisms occur in all languages.

Another objection to classing comparative philology with the physical sciences, is grounded on the circumstance that the

history of language runs parallel with that of man, and is closely intermingled with it. There is little in this objection, for although comparative philology may be aided by history, it is not altogether dependent upon it. History may tell us that as a people we are Celts, Saxons, Danes, and Normans. The philologist finds all these represented in our language, and so far history and he agree and confirm each other. He can help history by indicating the various proportions of the elements and the localities in which they prevail. But he will never be persuaded to call ours a Celtic-Saxon-Danish-Norman tongue, for he finds that it is at heart Saxon, that its life blood is Teutonic, and that all other elements are adventitious compared with this. Take them away, and the English remains; but take away the Teutonic, or Saxon as we call it, and the mere sweepings of the garner are left. Our grammar and our vocabulary associate us with the Flemings, the Dutch, the Frisians, and others of the low German branch. For instance, it would be impossible to find a sentence in any of the romance languages so much like an English one, as this from the Flemish, of St. John i. 1 :—

In den beginne was het Woord, en het Woord was by God, en het Woord was God.

Or this from the Dutch,

In den beginne was het Woort, ende het Woort was by Godt, ende het Woort was Godt.

Even Luther cannot come so near us :

Im Anfang war das Wort, und das Wort war bey Gott, und Gott war das Wort.

Still farther off is the Swedish :

I begynnelsen war Ordet ; och Ordet war när Gud, och Gud war Ordet.

We have not the Danish at hand, but this is rather more than less distant still. Now even if we could perform the impossibility of translating this verse into English by words in the romance languages, they would have to submit to the laws of a grammar from which they revolt ; and grammar rather than a vocabulary furnishes the touchstone of languages. We have robbed all nations of words, but our grammar comes from but one. " Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Celtic, Saxon, Danish, French, Spanish, Italian, German,—nay even Hindustani, Malay, and Chinese words—lie mixed together in the English dictionary." We may be pardoned for doubting the perfect accuracy of the following, " Counting every word in the dictionaries of Robertson and Webster, M. Thommerel has established the fact that of the sum total of 43,566 words, 29,853 came from classical, 13,230

from Teutonic, and the rest from miscellaneous sources." Now if by classical, Greek, and Latin, and their offspring alone be meant, and although by Teutonic, the Gothic, Scandinavian and German families are all comprised, there will remain only 483 words to be accounted for. Is it so? After all our literary activity, our commercial relations, and our Celtic descent in part, have we derived from them only 483 words? Some of our words are undoubtedly from the Hebrew, Arabic, and other Shemitic tongues. All know that such words as alchemy, algebra, coffee, and many more are Arabic; and if we may include all such as have reached us indirectly through Spain and Rome, for instance, we shall find them really numerous. Again, our connexion with India and China has added to our stock of words. It is not only *tea* for which we have gone to China, and to run *a muck* that we have visited the Malays, other words of eastern origin have found their way among us. Then what shall we say of the Celtic element? Surely 483 is much too low a figure, and M. Thommerel must be mistaken either in his etymologies or his calculation. It may often happen that a new word is introduced with some new article of commerce, or otherwise, and is at once adopted. Thus the words crimson, sherbet, damask, calico, nankeen, and cotton are to be accounted for. Merchantmen and voyagers have made us speak of cannibals and canoes, from the West India islands, and of tobacco, tapioca, sago, potatoes. The late James Kennedy^b thought that we borrowed the word hurricane from the Basque; and he was decidedly of opinion that many of our common words come from the Celtic. Mr. Garnett^c calls attention to the fact that a Syro-Chaldaic lectionary in the Vatican library explains the Greek word *hypodemata*, sandals or shoes, by the plural form *shuwin*, or *shooin*, a Shemitic word somewhat barbarised. It is of course antecedently probable that the Crusaders may have brought back with them sundry words of this description. Their "sandal shoon" perhaps borrowed their latter name from the east. Mr. Garnett might have added that his word is found with various modifications in Chaldee and Syriac, in Samaritan and Ethiopic, if not in Hebrew.

But we must go on to look into Professor Müller's third lecture on the empirical stage in the science of language. Although man cannot build up a language as he can construct a castle or a temple, and it is therefore in some respects his master, yet he can use it as he will, can study its forms and

^b *Ethnological and Linguistic Essays*. London: Williams and Norgate.

^c *Philological Essays*. London: Williams and Norgate.

phenomena, and analyse it as the chemist analyses a compound body. Vast as are the proportions, and mighty as is the power of this wonderful creation, it follows the bidding of a little child. Unlike Job's leviathan, we can take him for a servant for ever ; we can play with him as with a bird ; we can bind him for our maidens, and we can part him among the merchants. Those who understand his nature best, admire most "his parts, his power, and his comely proportions." The marvellous qualities of language early attracted attention, and among the ancient Brahmins it was deified and worshipped. Great honour was also paid it among the Greeks. But who first disentangled its web, and classified the parts of speech? Who first found out and defined the laws of grammar? Who first distinguished between roots and derivatives? We know not, but we may presume that the first rude attempts followed the introduction of letters, and the felt want of learning other languages. As a matter of fact, the only two ancient nations who wrought out systems of grammar were the Hindus and the Greeks.⁴ But neither these nor the Romans seem to have had any idea of the philosophy of grammar, and stopped at outward forms and mere mechanism.

The next stage in the science of language presents itself in what our author treats of in his fourth lecture as the classificatory period. This implies comparison. Languages are brought together and viewed in connexion with one another, and it is seen that they form themselves into family groups as it were. This was modern work, and although still incomplete, it rapidly approaches perfection. Possibly an impulse was first given to this work by the idea that Hebrew was the original language, and that all others could and ought to be traced to it. The failure of this scheme may have opened men's eyes to a more excellent way. Even before this, however, some progress was made in the right direction, but it was not till afterwards that much was done. Now, with the exception of a few whose prejudices are as unconquerable as their ignorance, no one objects to the classification of languages, and certainly no scholar is convinced that Hebrew was the original speech of man. The works of Hervas and Adelung, and the discovery of Sanscrit did more than all else to introduce the new era.

Frederick Schlegel's grand discovery of the affinities of the Indo-Germanic languages, established a bond of brotherhood between India, Persia, Greece, Italy, and Germany, and was an enormous step in advance. We now come to the genealogical

⁴ On this subject consult Max Müller's *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 158, etc.

classification of languages, and Max Müller's fifth and sixth lectures, in which he treats of this most lucidly, as well as of comparative grammar, and other relative topics. These, however, we must for the present pass over, reserving them and the remaining lectures for subsequent consideration.

We shall, however, before concluding, mention that the genealogical tables of languages at the end are thus arranged:—

I. Genealogical table of the Aryan family of languages, divided into two great classes, the southern and the northern. These classes are again divided into branches, including dead languages and living languages. The list is headed by the dead languages, Prakrit and Pali; Modern Sanskrit; Vedic Sanskrit; and their living representatives, the dialects of India. It ends with Iceland.

II. Genealogical table of the Semitic family of languages, divided into classes, dead languages, and living languages. At the head of the list are the dialects of Arabic still spoken; then comes the Amharic, and its defunct correlative the Ethiopic. The remaining dead languages of the family are thus arranged:—Himyaritic inscriptions; Biblical Hebrew; Samaritan; Carthaginian; Chaldee; Syriac; Cuneiform inscriptions.

III. Genealogical table of the Turanian family of languages in two divisions, northern and southern; the first of these divisions begins with the Tungusic class, and ends with the Finnish class; the second division begins with the Taïc, and ends with Tamulic. Most or all of the languages of this family are living.

The reasons for the threefold arrangement of languages are explained by these three propositions:—

1. Roots may be used as words, each root preserving its full independence.

2. Two roots may be joined together to form words, and in these compounds one root may lose its independence.

3. Two roots may be joined together to form words, and in these compounds both roots may lose their independence.

The first stage is represented by the Turanian, and has been called the monosyllabic and isolating, to which the Chinese belongs; the second stage is also represented by the Turanian, and has been called the agglutinative; the third stage is represented by the Aryan and Shemitic, and is called the organic or amalgamating. Mr. Müller calls the first *radical*, the second *terminational*, and the third *inflectional*. The majority of languages are terminational or agglutinative. The members of the vast Turanian family do not resemble each other so uniformly as the Shemitic, in which again the resemblances are more striking than in the Aryan. This want of family likeness arises from

the very constitution of the Turanian family. The resemblance of the Turanian class is grammatical, that of the others is more than grammatical, it is radical as well.

Without endorsing all he says, but listening always most respectfully, we hope Professor Müller's volume will attract by its beauty and learning not a few to this noble study.

MANES AND MANICHÆISM.*

It is the opinion of Dr. Flügel, that besides what is now known, more will be discovered respecting Manes, in Arabic, Persian, and Syriac manuscripts. He expects that the Syriac especially will contribute to our knowledge of the subject. The supposition appears plausible; but when we remember the odium which was heaped upon the name of Manes in the eastern Church, we shall see cause to expect but little from that quarter. Every one is aware that the Syriac MSS. in the British Museum are very numerous, and extend over many centuries. They relate to all kinds of subjects; and among them, if anywhere, we should look for information about Manes. Yet one who has carefully examined them, and noted all the principal names which he has met with, has found scarcely any traces of the arch-heretic. In one MS. the death of Manes is recorded, and he is assigned to the reign of Valerius and Gallienus. In another, under the date A.D. 262, it is simply said that "Manes the deceiver arose," that is, lived, or flourished. The first of these notices is probably derived from Epiphanius; the latter occurs in a chronicle.

The history of Manes and his heresies is of so much importance in the annals of the Christian Church and doctrine, that after all which has been written about it, we gladly welcome new contributions. Dr. Flügel has therefore done well by giving us the work indicated above. Manes, or, as the orientals write it, Mani, was born probably at or near Ctesiphon on the Tigris. The place is called Huha in the *Fihrist*, and this is identified

* *Mani, seine Lehre und seine Schriften. Ein Beiträge zur Geschichte des Manichæismus.* Aus dem *Fihrist* des Abû 'lfaradsch Muhammed Ben Ishak al-Warrâk, bekannt unter dem namen Ibn Abî Ja'kûb An-Nadim, im text neben Uebersetzung, Commentär und Index zum ersten Mal herangegegeben. ("Manes; his Doctrine and Writings. A contribution to the history of Manichæism. For the first time edited from the *Fihrist* of Abû 'lfaradsch Muhammad Ben Ishak al Warrik, known by the name of Ibn Abî Ja'kûb an-Nadim: the text with translation, commentary and index.") By Gustav Flügel. Leipsic: Brockhaus, 1861, 8vo, pp. 440.

with Coché by Flügel, who does not, however, observe that Coché is most likely a corruption of Cochaba, the Syrian name for Ctesiphon. According to the chronicle of Edessa, Mani was born in A.D. 240, but the Paschal chronicle places him earlier, stating that in the reign of Nerva, "Manes made his appearance, teaching and collecting followers." This would be about A.D. 97, which is absurd enough, and yet shews how obscure his history was. According to Eusebius, the Manichæan heresy broke out in the second year of Probus, or in A.D. 277. According to Suidas it broke out in the reign of Aurelian. Under the name of Manetēs he is by one authority associated with Marcion as flourishing in A.D. 137. The reason of this confusion is partly to be found in the fact that Mani held some of the views of Marcion, Cerdo, and other early heretics. He had in particular received the notion of two supreme Beings, like the Ormuzd and the Ahriman of the Parsees. Our own opinion is that the entire period of his active life was not very protracted, and lies mainly between A.D. 250 and 275. That he should be only thirty-four or thirty-five at his death is of course possible, if unlikely; and it makes rather for than against this view that the *Fihrist* fixes his "call" when he was twenty-four years old; and in the year A.D. 252, or ten years earlier than the Syrian chronicle. Mani professed himself the Paroclete which Christ had promised, and derived his doctrines from the Magians and the Christians. He seems to have wished to found a religion which should combine Paganism and Christianity. As Prinsep truly says, it was an endeavour "in the very court of the Persian monarch to incorporate the doctrines of Christ with the mysteries of Zoroaster in a system of his own." In the books which he wrote, Mani employed a peculiar alphabet, which, like his system, was based upon the Syrian and Persian. This alphabet, says the Arabic author quoted by Dr. Flügel, was that in which the Manichæans wrote their Gospel and books of precepts. Mani is said to have disseminated his doctrine far and wide, and mention is made of his disciples in India, China, and Khorasan. Among the doctrines which he taught are many which we cannot here enumerate, and for which we must refer to the pages of Dr. Flügel. That the system was dualistic is well known; and that it was founded on the assumption of two eternal principles, or beings, Light and Darkness. Of these, light is the noblest, and truly God, endowed with various excellencies. This light is without beginning, as also is the firmament and the earth. The attributes of light are good; and those of darkness, evil. Light and darkness are everywhere in contact. Satan finds a place in the system developed from elements which had no beginning. Satan

has the head of a lion, the body of a dragon, the wings of a bird, the tail of a fish, and the four feet of a reptile. The history of this devil is given; and a very terrible history it is. The struggles of good and evil were long and awful; and are intimately connected with the creation of the world and the experience of man. The two supreme principles appear to carry on eternal warfare, in which spirits and matter, man and other creatures take part. Mani gave ten commandments to his followers, enjoining certain articles of faith and religious practices.

There are some allusions to Bardesanes, which will not be without interest to such as wish to know more about that remarkable, but somewhat mysterious, character. At page 31, we are informed that "Muhammed Ben Ishak relates, that Mani made his appearance in the second year of the Roman Gallus, after Marcion had appeared about a hundred years before him, under the reign of Titus Antoninus, in the first year of his reign, and Ibn Deisan about thirty years after Marcion. Now Ibn Deisan derived his name from the circumstance that he was born on the river Deisan." Ibn Deisan is of course Bardesanes, called by the Syrians Bar Daisan, son of Daisan, for the reason assigned by Muhammad ben Ishak. Respecting him and his sect Dr. Flügel quotes a passage from the *Fihrist* in one of his notes, to the following effect: "*The Deisanites*. The founder of this sect, named Deisan, was so called from a stream upon which he was born; and indeed before Mani. Their systems of doctrine resemble one another; and a difference between them is only found in reference to the mingling of Light with Darkness. The Deisanites in relation to this are separated into two sects. The one maintains that the Light has mingled itself with the Darkness of its own free choice, in order to free it (from its condition); and when it was held therein, and wished to liberate itself from it, it was not able. The other sect holds, that the light wished to thrust out the darkness from it, when it perceived its harshness and evil character; but against its will became ever deeper involved in it. Altogether as man will remove from himself a body covered with sharp points, they pierce him; and at every effort to thrust them from him, ever wound him deeper. Ibn Deisan maintained that light was of one kind, and darkness of one kind: and some Deisanites hold that darkness is the root of light; and say, that light is living endowed with senses and knowledge; but the darkness, on the contrary, is blind, without sense and unknowing. Hence they are opposed to one another. The followers of Ibn Deisan were formerly at home in the marsh districts; and communities of them are found scattered in China and Khorasan, although no one knows a point of union, or a

temple of the same. The Manichæans, however, had many. Ibn Deisan is author of the book, *Light and Darkness*; of the book, *The Spiritual Nature of Truth*; of the book, *The Mutable and the Fixed*; and of many other writings. The leaders of the sect also wrote upon the same subjects, but their writings have not come to our knowledge."

Shahrastani also is quoted, as saying that, "If Deisan was earlier, Mani certainly took from him his doctrine, and differed from him only in reference to the Mediator." It is stated in the *Fihrist* that Mani's "Book of Mysteries" contained eighteen chapters, the first of which was "upon the Deisanites," and the twelfth, "on the doctrine of the Deisanites concerning Souls and Bodies." Dr. Flügel gives an extract from an Arabic work against the Deisanites, and remarks that Mani's allusions to the Doctrines of Bardesanes were not only frequent, but prove their influence and extension. There is no doubt whatever of the relations subsisting between many of the old heresies of the east. Among these were Mendaism and Sabianism, the followers of Mani and of Bardesanes, of Cerdo, Marcion, and others more or less known before and after the days of Mani. Mr. Macmahon remarks that it is the opinion generally, though not universally, amongst learned men, that the Chaldeans are the originators of that Ditheism which, hovering since the days of Zoroaster in the pagan schools, pushed its way into the hallowed precincts of the Christian Church, and was condemned under the title of the Manichæan heresy." The dark problem of the existence of evil, and how to reconcile it with the perfections of the Most High, led men to speculation and to theories which resulted in incalculable mischief. According to Plutarch (*Isis and Osiris*),—

"If nothing can come into being without cause, and if that which is perfectly good cannot be the cause of evil, then must there needs be a distinct principle in nature, as well for the production of evil as of that which is good. And, indeed, this seems to have been the opinion of the greater and wisest part of mankind; some of them plainly asserting that there are two gods of two contrary crafts or trades as it were to each other; one of them the cause of all that is good in the world, the other of all that is evil in it. There are others, again, who call the good principle only God, giving the name of demon to the evil being, of which number is Zoroaster, the Magian, who is reported to have lived 5000 years before the Trojan war. Now this philosopher calls the good principle Ormazdes, and the evil one Arimanius; adding, moreover, that as of all sensible beings the former bore the greatest resemblance to *light*, so the latter was most like *darkness*. Between these two, he supposes another intermediate being whom he calls Mithras, and the Persians from hence, the Mediator, etc. . . . Nor is that of the Chaldeans much different from it; for amongst

their planetary gods, as they call them, they hold two to be wholly of the beneficent kind, two of quite contrary dispositions, and the other three of a middle nature, partaking of both good and evil."

Plutarch of course was anxious to support a favourite idea by all the authority he could, and was therefore not only ready to suggest that Zoroaster was a witness of some 6000 years' standing, but that the Chaldeans virtually admitted the ditheistic or dualistic element. There can be little doubt that they did, but when it was introduced is uncertain. If there were no other evidence, we should confidently appeal to a slab in the British Museum, which any one can see figured in Bonomi's *Nineveh* (p. 327), and described as a "griffon pursued by the god Ilus with flaming thunderbolts." That the griffon is the personification of darkness and evil, and the other figure the personification of light and good, is hardly to be doubted. Indeed, the author very properly remarks respecting it,—

"This singular ancient Assyrian sculpture clearly embodies the doctrine of the contention of the good and evil principles which subsequently took root in Persia under the types of Ormuzd, the eternal source of light, and the antagonist Ahriman, the father of evil, who in a continuous struggle divided the dominion of the universe. The Assyrian artist has, however, decidedly given the victory to the good spirit, who is most unequivocally driving the evil one before him, and out of the temple, for this relieve was situated in an entrance."

This remarkably interesting slab teaches us a most valuable lesson respecting the prevalence of these opinions at Nineveh, at the early period when it was executed.

The infamy of Mani consists in this, that he pushed further and published more widely than his predecessors, that spurious compound of the worship of God and of the devil, that strange mixture of the spiritual and the material, of Christianity and Paganism, of religion and philosophy, which bears his name. The subject is, however, too vast for treatment in an article like this, and it must suffice for us to have pointed out or hinted at some of its bearings and ramifications, and only some of them.

According to one account, Mani was put to death, crucified, and divided into two halves, under Bahram ben Hurmuz; but, according to another, he died in prison. After his death, arrangements were made for supplying his place, at the head of his religion, which was nevertheless split up into sects. Mani composed seven books, one in Persian and six in Syriac. They include—1. The Book of Mysteries, in eighteen chapters, of which the first relates to the followers of Bardesanes; 2. The Book of Giants; 3. The Book of Precepts for heaven, and a chapter of precepts for those who are led astray; 4. The Book

Shabarkom; 5. The Book of Vivification; 6. The Book *Pragmateia*. The seventh is not given, but the titles of a collection of letters by Mani and his successors are put down probably instead. A curious chapter follows these, containing some account of the history of the Manichæans, and their dissemination in various lands.

Dr. Flügel's Arabic text is accompanied by a German translation, and upwards of four hundred notes abounding in details, fitted to throw light upon the different topics advanced. The proportion which these notes bear to the text will appear, when we say that they fill three hundred pages, while the translation only occupies twenty-five.

Manichæism laid hold upon the imaginative Paganism of the eastern nations on the one hand, and upon the Christian Church on the other. In both these respects its study is desirable, but especially in the latter; for generations it was the scourge of the Church, in which it deceived many whose tendencies were at all mystical. Augustine himself was at one time a Manichæan. There was a sophistry and subtlety in some of their propositions which all could not detect, and hence this nefarious system found adherents in Africa, Asia, and Europe. Although attacked by Eusebius of Cæsarea, Eusebius of Emesa, Sarapion of Thmuis, Athanasius of Alexandria, Apollinarius of Laodicea, Titus of Bostra, Augustine of Hippo, by councils of the Church, and by civil rulers, they lingered on to the middle ages under certain modifications; nay, at the present day, there is a sect in France, not far from St. Étienne, which professes some of their errors. With the exception, perhaps, of Socinianism, no heresy has exhibited more vitality, or caused more trouble than that of the Manichæans.

THE NABATEANS AND PROFESSOR CHWOLSON.*

OF the dissertations and essays mentioned below, we have before us only the first and last, but we name them all, as containing what may be called the literature of the subject. The account

* *Über die Überreste der Altbabylonischen Literatur in Arabischen Übersetzungen.* Von D. Chwolson. St. Petersburg. 1859.

Mémoire sur l'âge du Livre intitulé Agriculture Nabatéenne. Par M. E. Renan. 1860.

Mémoire sur les Nabatéens. Par E. Quatremère, in *Mélanges d'Histoire et de Philologie Orientale*.

Article on *Pre-Adamite Literature*, in the *Times* newspaper, January 31, 1862.

given of the matter by the writer in the *Times*, is in substance as follows. For the last four or five years a controversy has been carried on in German, French, and Russian journals concerning the discovery of a literature dating some 2000 or 3000 years B.C., and preserved in Arabic translations, which Professor Chwolson was preparing for publication. The most important of these works is entitled *Nabatean Agriculture*. This work, composed about 1300 B.C. by Kuthámi, was represented as a comparatively modern work, the dying echo of a literature which could be traced to the primeval dynasties of Babylon, and had reached its culminating point before the days of Noah. The work represented itself as a *résumé* of the opinions of a certain Janbuschad, the founder of a system of natural philosophy and monotheistic religion, who lived about 400 years before Kuthámi. Some centuries before Janbuschad, we are told of another philosopher named Dhagrit, and he speaks of a still earlier period of literature, of which the chief representatives were Masi, the Suranian or Syrian, his disciple Gernânâ, and the Canaanites, Anuha, Thamitri, and Sardana. This would bring us to 2500 B.C.; but before that time Kuthámi places Ishita, who was preceded by Adami, the founder of agriculture in Babylon, and also called "the father of mankind." Before Adami there flourished Azada the founder of a religion. At the same time lived Huhushi, a poet, Ankebuta, and Samâi-Neheri, who acquired a reputation by their works on agronomy; Askolebita, a famous astronomer, and Dewanâi, the most ancient lawgiver, also called "the Lord of mankind." In his time Babylon was a completely organized empire. There were long efforts towards civilization previous to Dewanâi; and among other ancient sages mentioned by Kuthámi is Tammuz the founder of the religion of the planets, who was killed and wept for as a martyr by his followers.^b Before his time everything is lost in the clouds of a fabulous antiquity.

Such is the character of what the *Times* calls *Pre-Adamite Literature*, and respecting which it is very properly remarked that its claim to the antiquity alleged must not be discussed on the ground of the Biblical chronology, the infallibility of which few scientific explorers would take for granted. The question "must be examined by the light which the most recent researches of the historian and the ethnologist have shed on the beginnings of language, religion, and civilization, among the different branches of mankind." If M. Chwolson has not

^b Tammuz forms the subject of a separate essay entitled, *Über Tammúz und die Menschenverehrung bei den alten Babyloniern*. Von D. A. Chwolson. St. Petersburg. 1860.

published the promised texts, he has not recanted his opinions, and yet M. Renan, in the *Mémoire* referred to above, has subjected them to a sifting examination. The source to which Professor Chwolson is indebted is an Arabic MS. in the Library at Paris, containing the treatise of Kuthámi. This MS. was discussed in 1835 by M. Quatremère, in the essay of which we have given the title, and which threw much light upon the character of the Nabateans, till then but little known. By means of a careful examination of all the Greek and Oriental writers say upon the subject, Quatremère ascertained that the name Nabatean belonged originally to the branch of the Shemetic race which early settled between the Euphrates and Tigris; that in the time of Nebuchadnezzar II., a Nabatean colony migrated to Arabia, and founded an important kingdom in the Wady el-Arabah. Petra was the capital of this kingdom. Neither the Bible nor Herodotus name these Nabateans, although the former often speaks of the district they settled in. Josephus applies the term Nabatean generally to the descendants of the twelve sons of Ishmael. The first to give detailed information respecting the Nabatean kingdom was Diodorus Siculus. The Nabatean kingdom rose to importance in the time of the Seleucidæ. The Nabateans were the faithful allies of the Jews, under the Maccabeans, but they were conquered by the Romans, and Nabatean cavalry formed part of Cæsar's army during his Egyptian expedition. For a time they commanded the commerce between Rome, Arabia, and India;^c they are spoken of by Strabo, by Pliny, Lucan, Ovid, Juvenal, as well as in the First Book of Maccabees, by Jerome, and others. Their coins are preserved in the museums. There were Christian bishops in their country in the fourth and fifth centuries, and, according to Epiphanius, the Nabateans were one of the chief sources of Ebionite heretics. Under A.D. 527, Baronius says that Justinian used Nabatean auxiliaries in the Persian war, as recorded by Procopius; and that their conversion to Christianity took place about the same time. If we may believe an Arabic author quoted by Assemani, the first Nabatean converts to the Gospel were gained in the times of the apostles. The importance of the Nabateans declined when a route was opened through Egypt for the commerce of India, and gradually the people themselves sank into oblivion. The Saracen conquest finished the ruin that had begun, and references to the once powerful Nabatean nation almost entirely cease, except occasionally in chronicles of former times. Eustathius had described the country as populous and

^c See *Journal of Sacred Literature*, "The Mines and Metals of Antiquity." January, 1862. pp. 265, 266.

fruitful, but all this passed away, and it became a waste, uncultivated, without flocks, and well nigh without inhabitants. Its very name seems to have been changed, and hence we find it called Barraab by the Saracens, according to some, while its people were called Dachareni according to others. At the present day the country is interesting to the traveller, for its historical associations, its antiquarian remains, and its connexion with prophetic oracles. Under the name of Edom, it often appears in the Old Testament, and the predictions of its utter ruin are regarded as fulfilled in an extraordinary manner in its overthrow and desolation.

We have referred the origin of the Nabateans to the east of the Euphrates, and a Shemitic stock. They are commonly regarded as Arabs, and are designated as such by various ancient writers, and by Johannes Zonaras, by Suicer and others. This opinion is objected to, and so is that which derives them from Nebaioth, son of Ishmael; Quatremère thinks they belonged to the Aramæan branch. The idea that they sprang from Nebaioth (Gen. xxv. 13) is ancient, and is based perhaps in part upon tradition, but most upon the resemblance of the words *Nebaioth* and *Nabathæa*. On the same principle Nebaioth, in Isa. lx. 7, is understood of the country. This view was advocated in the ancient Church, and is still commonly accepted. Nor is it utterly without reason, for as in Gen. xxv., Nebaioth and Kedar are enumerated among the sons of Ishmael, so in Isaiah lx., the flocks of Kedar and the rams of Nebaioth are mentioned in the same breath. Jerome says, "A Nabaioth, omnis regio ab Euphrate usque ad mare rubrum, Nabatena usque hodie dicitur." In modern times the same side has been taken by scholars of no mean reputation. Thus Gesenius^d explains it as a proper name of "Nabathæa; the Nabathæans, a people of Northern Arabia, of the race of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 13; xxviii. 9); possessed of abundant flocks (Isa. lx. 7); also living by merchandize and rapine (Diod., ii. 48; iii. 42)." He considers that the Hebrew *th* belongs to the original form of the word. In this opinion Fürst concurs,^e and remarks that the Nabateans inhabited Arabia Petræa, as appears to follow from Gen. xxi. 21; but later extended to Arabia Felix from Syria southwards, into the midland parts, lived in the neighbourhood of the Thamudeni, and are identical with the Napatæi of Ptolemy (vi. 7, 21), between Petra and Iatrippa (Medina). Under the same name, he truly observes that other peoples have been included. He adds that the Arabs know a people called *Nabth* in Babylonia and Meso-

^d *Heb. Lex.*, sub voce, *Nebaioth*.

^e *Heb. and Chald. Lex.*, sub voce.

potamia, with an Aramaic dialect. The Arabs use two forms of the word, one with *th* final, and one with *t*. The occurrence of Nabath or Nabathi in Arabian Irak has been noticed by others, as by D'Herbelot, who says the name is applied to the inhabitants of certain villages in that district. "The people are very rude, and therefore commonly pass for fools and blockheads among the Arabians. They give themselves only to agriculture, and it is from them that the other Arabs have learned this art; so that Arabic books are to be found under the title of *Falahah al Nabathiah*, that is, of the Agriculture of the Nabatheans." This work he ascribes to Ebn Aovam al Cothai, as it would seem, the Kuthámi of Chwolson. It may be observed that D'Herbelot does not allude to any connexion between the Nabathi and the Nabateans of Arabia Petræa.

Quatremère however, it appears, leaves little doubt that the Nabateans belonged to the Aramæan stock, and that their original seats were beyond the Euphrates, a conclusion which he fortifies by the concurrent testimony of numerous oriental writers. Nabat, in fact, was used as a synonym for Syrian and Chaldean. Thus Masudi says, "The Chaldeans are the same as the Syrians, sometimes called Nabat;" and he adds that "the inhabitants of Nineveh belonged to the Nabats or Syrians, who form one people, and speak one language; that of the Nabats differing only in a few letters, the bulk of the language being the same." Hence Quatremère fixed upon the original seats of the Nabateans in Mesopotamia, and viewed the Nabateans of Petra as emigrants from Babylon. This emigration he thinks took place about the time when Nebuchadnezzar invaded Judæa, and hence the silence of the Bible with regard to the Nabatean kings of Petra. Notwithstanding this clear deduction, the connexion of Nebaioth with Kedar, already referred to, renders it probable that *they* were connected, although it may be difficult to prove that Nebaioth is Nabatea. Pliny (v. 11) connects Kedar and the Nabathæi, calling the former Cedrei; and on the same side Ibn Kuteiba, and Abulfeda,^f are quoted as calling Nabath and Kedar the eldest sons of Ismael. To this it may be added, that the Targum has put Nabat for Kedar in Ezek. xxvii. 21.^g According to Jerome, the descendants of Kedar dwelt farther to the west than the Nabatæi; it must not be forgotten, however, that even Kedar is apparently located near Babylon in Psalm cxx. 5. To record all the facts and to follow up all the suggestions connected with this question is beyond our power. Masudi, whose testimony has been given, is an

^f *Hist. Anteislam*, p. 192.

^g Fürst, *Lex. Heb.*, s. v. *Kedar*.

important authority : he was born at Bagdad about the end of the ninth century, and embodied the results of extensive travels and researches in his works, one of which has been published in part by Dr. Sprenger in an English version.^k We leave our readers to decide whether they will prefer the authority of Josephusⁱ and his followers, who derive the Nabateans from Nebaioth, or that of Masudi and those who derive them from Nabat. We will therefore conclude all we have to say upon this branch of the subject by noticing the admirable chapter of Reland in his *Palestine*.^k After quoting many authorities, he says :—

“ In Arabian Irak, not far from Bussora, there are also villages in marshy places, and called Nabatean; but the name seems derived from another quarter than that of the ancient Nabateans, especially if we observe that these Nabateans of Arabian Irak are counted very skilful agriculturists, so that from them the neighbouring Arabs have learned agriculture; and books are extant about the agriculture of the Nabateans by Ibn Wachshia and others. Now the word *Nabata* means *crevit, germinavit, olera et plantas protulit*; and *Nabuto* means *herbs, plants*. So that I certainly should not doubt that these Nabateans were so called after the herbs and plants which they took such pains to cultivate; for the other Nabateans (*i. e.*, the neighbours of Palestine, whose capital was Petra) were so far from this custom, that they took no care to cultivate the fields; they planted nothing, and sowed nothing, as Diodorus writes (*lib. xix.*), for they were shepherds; and if any one had cultivated fields or built a house among them, he would have been liable to death.”

He adds a quotation from the Jerusalem Gemara, in which the Kadmonites are thought by Rabbi Judah to mean the Nabateans.

One thing seems certain, which is that the Irakian Nabateans down to modern times preserved their agricultural habits. Supposing them to have descended from an ancient Mesopotamian race, of the same name, we may fairly ask what proof there is that they ever wrote treatises on agriculture. D’Herbelot says, “ Ces gens sont fort grossiers,” and therefore they will furnish no argument to the advocates of the development theory, if they are sprung from the enlightened, powerful, and literary Nabateans supposed to have been in old time. The books on Nabatean agriculture are written in Arabic, while the Nabateans are supposed to have spoken Aramæan. Either, therefore, these books are translations, or were originally written by Arabic

^k *El-Masudi*: Historical Encyclopædia, entitled *Meadows of Gold*. 8vo. 1841.

ⁱ *Ant.*, i., 13.

^k *Cap. xvii.*, De Nabatæis.

authors. Their claim to be translations will not prove them such, and their claim to an enormous antiquity will go for little. We all know that among the Apocryphal literature of the Hebrews, there have been treatises ascribed to Adam, Seth, Enoch, Noah, and other venerable worthies. The book of Enoch still exists in Ethiopic, and some among us firmly believe in it. Traditions about the antediluvians have had a pretty extensive circulation in the east, as among Chwolson's friends, the Sabians. The vast chronology of Egypt was rivalled by those of the Hindoos, the Buddhists, the Chaldeans, and so forth. There is therefore nothing new either in the idea of an antediluvian literature, or of a chronology far more extensive than that of the Bible. So far M. Chwolson has precedents enough in his favour; the only mishap being that these precedents all involve unquestionable fictions.

It may be said that to prove another man false, is not to prove one untrue. We admit it. What then has the Nabatean literature to say for itself? We cheerfully acquit the Nabateans of Edom, of any part in its authorship. Nor are we unwilling to own that its production was either among or near the Mesopotamian Nabateans. It does not thence follow that it is of such wondrous antiquity, nor that its authors were Nabateans. An agricultural population is not commonly remarkable for literary tastes, and inasmuch as agricultural science was not a very recondite affair, it would be hardly needful to write treatises upon practical farming, which could be learned in a practical way. A few years ago, even among ourselves, the idea of writing anything very pretentious about farming was not entertained. Far more likely is it, that these treatises upon the agriculture of the Nabateans were composed by intelligent Arabs, who wished to instruct their own people. To deepen the interest of what they wrote, they would find it not inconvenient to mix up with their other matter legends of all sorts, partly borrowed from the Nabateans, and partly of their own invention. We have already been reminded by Reland of the significant circumstance that in Arabic the verb *nabatha* means to grow, produce, and cause to grow; and it requires no great stretch of imagination to trace the name of the Nabateans of Mesopotamia, to this root. If this be true, they were called the "farmers" or "agriculturists" by their neighbours, if not by themselves. The name of Kuthámi, or Kuthaii itself, may be a fictitious one, and explained on similar principles, as a "collector" or "gatherer."

But leaving these speculations, it is remarked that Kuthámi, of whom nothing whatever is known, is assumed to have been the author of the work translated (?) by Ibn Wahshiyah. Ku-

thámi never alludes to Christianity, nor to the kingdoms founded by Alexander the Great. Nor is it likely that he should, for what have these to do with agriculture? But he represents Babylon as a flourishing city, and the chief seat of religion in the east, and of Nineveh as still existing. Not at all improbable in a writer who wanted to set forth the immense antiquity of his subject. However, Quatremère received these as indications that the book was written between the time when Belesis delivered Babylon from the Median yoke, and the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus. All that wore a more modern dress was put down to the score of the translator, who was made the scapegoat in the case. The concessions of Quatremère were not lost upon Chwolson; and he went more thoroughly into the work, and far outstripped his precursor in the demands he made upon men's faith. He published in German the dissertation *On the Remains of Ancient Babylonian Literature in Arabic Translations*, now before us; and therein propounds the extraordinary theories with which we set out. Not satisfied with the age of Nebuchadnezzar, he went on back to the days before the flood, and made Adam himself only one of a series, the commencement of which is lost in an antiquity far greater. Kuthámi himself must have lived some 1300 years before Christ; and as Max Müller (?) says, "the date of Kuthámi once granted, the reader is carried on by a gentle pressure from one generation of Babylonian writers to another, till at last he finds himself at the feet of Tammuz, about 3000 B.C., looking backward into that distant past where even the eyes of M. Chwolson discover only the clouds of a fabulous antiquity." Supposing with Quatremère that the Arabic translation was made about 900 A.D., and that Kuthámi lived 1300 B.C., the book was 2200 years old when it was translated. Yet we do not find that the translator suspected this fact, nor that he found the language obsolete, or the principles of the book in any way superannuated. M. Renan objects to the supposed age of the book by another supposition, *i.e.*, that it is not such a book as would have been written at such a period in Babylon. There is force in this; but as we have so few remains of Babylonian literature beyond cuneiform inscriptions, it is rather difficult to say what the sages and *savans* of Babylon would have written.

The writer in the *Times*, to whom we are so much indebted in his most transparent article, touches on the linguistic argument to which we have alluded. As he says, Shemitic languages do not change much; but they do change, like all languages which continue to be spoken. Language is like everything else, it shews the effect of the wear and tear of use. The Hebrew

did this, till it found a mausoleum in books; the Syriac has done this, and the Arabic also. If Kuthámi wrote in Aramaic, or Syriac, we can well believe that it changed much in 2200 years. The earliest specimens of it almost worth naming do not go farther back than the Christian era. The Peshito version, a century or two later, may be considered as its perfect form. We have documents of every century for the next thousand years; and the gradual change and deterioration is so marked, that a man who can read the Peshito will be puzzled by the Philoxenian version (616—618 A.D.), and still more so by the *Church History of John of Ephesus*. Eventually the Syriac succumbed altogether to the Arabic and Persian, except among some obscure mountaineers in Oroomia, where it is spoken still, but in so changed a form that it almost constitutes another language, a true Neo-Syriac, as may be seen by the grammar and versions of the American missionaries. Most writers upon the subject have taken notice, with Bar Hebræus, that the Syriac language included several dialects, and we may add that this tendency to go off into dialects appears to have been peculiarly strong in the Aramean family. This argument against the permanence of the Aramaic original language during all the great changes which Babylon underwent during 2000 or 3000 years, is unanswerable, and M. Chwolson has not attempted to answer it.

M. Renan, with that critical sagacity which has always distinguished him, looks for and discovers more than this. He finds that "Kuthámi was acquainted with the scientific terminology of the Greeks, the institutions of the Achæmenian empire, the Jewish traditions in their more modern legendary and apocryphal form; that, therefore, he could not possibly have written before the beginning of the Christian era!" Some of these things were seen before, as we have mentioned, but they were all put down to the credit of the poor translator. But this is not fair to him; for these modern indications are often such as enter into the very structure of the work; and it is preposterous to suppose they formed no original part of it. Greek names of plants we could bear with in a translation, but in a book written 1300 years B.C., we should not be told that the Greeks consider the mallow to be moderately hot, good for assuaging pain, and softening hard tumours. Dioscorides would have spoken after this fashion; but no Greek author or physician three or four centuries before the Trojan war. This is not all; there are a number of decidedly Greek and Hebrew names, which may be easily recognized in spite of their Arabic disguise. Thus *Anthakia* is confessedly Antioch; and M. Chwolson can only say he believes there may have been an older Antioch than we are

acquainted with. *Achnucha* or *Hanucha* is unquestionably Enoch; *Adami* is as plainly Adam; and *Anuha*, no doubt Noah. In a similar manner Asclepiades, or Asclepius, is transformed into *Askolebita*. At page 89, Chwolson informs us that "*Aksus*, a city of the Ionians" (Greeks), certainly means no other than Ephesus; and we agree with him. Agathodemon is quoted at p. 93, and speaks for itself. Hermes looks very like a Greek, although he comes as *Armisa*. The allusions to the Ionians or Greeks need no explanation. *Ishita* may be the same as Seth; and *Nemroda* is Nimrod. Persian words occur in the name *Pehlevi*, in *Hom*, as the name of a plant, and in *Magian*. *Kayin* and *Sama* read like Cain and Shem. Tenkelusha has been identified with Teucros, and *Thamitri* with Demetrius. Of course, all these are not of equal weight, but taken together they weigh a great deal, and are quite sufficient to prove to any reasonable person that Kuthámi did not make his appearance at the period assigned to him. These indications of a comparatively recent date are too numerous to be due to a mere translator or paraphrast, and infinitely outweigh all the idle fictions of an imaginary chronology.

The references to Greece betray a period when the Greek literature was circulated in the East; and the references to Scripture names and Jewish opinions, as plainly point to a time when the Jewish writings and traditions had become widely known. The fictions about the antediluvians which obtained among the Jews and others, as the Sabians and Mendaïtes, are many of them enumerated in the Apocryphal Codex of the Old Testament by Fabricius. The reader will not do amiss to consult that work, for it will shew him how commonly the Hebrew names in Kuthámi are the very same as those which were tampered with by the Jewish inventors. Nor is it merely a question of names; the very things for which ingenious rabbis and others made those antediluvians famous, are the things for which their counterparts are famous in the work on Nabatean agriculture. This is shewn by the writer in the *Times*, and it may be seen still more clearly by those who will compare the work of Fabricius already named, with the volume of M. Chwolson. Later names occur, as *Ibrahim* for *Abraham*, and *Masi* for *Moses*, whose disciple *Gernana* is supposed to be his son Gerson. All these are mixed up with little regard to order or consistency, and no one can read M. Chwolson's honest statements without feeling that he is most egregiously mistaken, and is the apostle of a miserable imposture.

No one can justly wonder at the obscurity which overhangs the Nabateans, and that scientific enquirers can ask, whether

they are the sons of Nebaioth, and if not, whether some error has not crept into the Biblical genealogies, whether the Nabateans of Arabia Petrea are of the same family as those in Mesopotamia, or whether they are distinct. The names of peoples not much distinguished, were often written inaccurately, and nations and cities quite distinct were not seldom confounded. The confusion which was once confined to names may now extend to their subjects where we have no corrective indications. For instance, it would not be hard to fancy that the Nobadae converted in Justinian's time were Nabateans, but we have evidence which proves that they were Nubians. We have great respect for M. Chwolson's learning, but we are convinced he has often been misled, and that in this matter of Nabatean literature he is egregiously wrong. Figures are dangerous things to play with, but M. Chwolson handles them with reckless indifference. He wants to prove the vast antiquity of a book, and all chronology which opposes his theory must be made to square with it. He joyfully embraces the vast antiquity assigned by some Egyptologists to the monumental history of Egypt, and links with it a similar estimate for the Ionians, Italians, and others. The Italians he thinks must have separated from the Greeks not less than 2500 B.C.; and since these two nations must have lived together for a considerable period, he believes 3000 B.C. is not at all too early for their migration into Asia Minor. Such reckonings once granted, there is no difficulty in the allusions to Ionians or Greeks which are found in the Nabatean books. It is not at all to be wondered at either that Janbushad (1700 B.C.!) mentions Circesium. We, however, may be allowed to doubt the genuineness of documents in which Greek and Hebrew, ancient and recent names are jumbled together, as when Demetrius writes against Noah, and Moses corresponds with Demetrius (p. 90). The single fact that *Anuha* (Noah) wrote upon the subject of the vine, ought to have opened M. Chwolson's eyes (p. 28).

M. Renan has called attention to another circumstance, namely, that Ibn Wahshiyah translated at least three other ancient Babylonian books. These are, 1. On Poisons; 2. Mysteries of the Sun and Moon; and, 3. The Book of Tenkelusha the Babylonian. The work of Tenkelusha is extant, and resembles in its features that of Kuthami; and yet Tenkelusha is supposed to have lived fourteen or fifteen centuries later. Not only so, Tenkelusha is called the Kukanian, and so is Kuthami. In all probability Tenkelusha is a mythical personage, whose name has been adopted from the Greek Teucros by some ingenious oriental, who wished to father his own absurdities upon a

Babylonian savant. The habit of perpetrating literary forgeries was very common in the East during the early ages of Christianity, and possibly before. Heathens, Jews, and Christians all fell into this habit. Of the Jewish impostures we have spoken already, and of the Christian it would be easy to say much. There are many of them still extant, in Greek, in Syriac, in Arabic, in Ethiopic, and in other languages. If the sacred name of Jesus was affixed to some of these, no wonder that those of the apostles and their companions, and of all the great fathers of the primitive Church, were similarly made free with. It was easy then to launch a fraud of this kind without detection; criticism was not an art, and men generally were more anxious for the marvellous than for the true. As for Tenkelusha and Kuthámi the Kukanians, we begin to despise them. But this Kukanian; what is it? M. Chwolson discusses this matter (p. 32 *sqq.*), and is of opinion that it denotes a school of learned men. This school must have had a local habitation; and we may well ask how a school, which must have existed some seventeen centuries, could only leave its traces in two works translated by Ibn Wahshiyah? Our own conviction is that the word is most likely a corruption for Kukabian. *B* and *n* are very easily confounded in Arabic writing, as readily as *k* and *g*, and others in pronunciation. We are able at once to explain Kukabian, as an inhabitant of *Kukobo*, *Kaukobo*, or *Cochaba*, which we know to be another name for Ctesiphon on the Tigris.¹ If the Syriac form *Kaukobo* be objected to, we can appeal to Ammianus Marcellinus (24, 18), who says that Seleucia was called *Coché*. He is wrong in applying to Seleucia a name which belongs to its neighbour, but his indication is worth noticing. If *Coché* is not near enough we can quote Eutropius, who actually confounds the *b* and the *n*, when he says, "*Cochen et Ctesiphontem nobilissimas urbes cepit*," where we are not inclined to consider the final *n* as a mere sign of the accusative case (lib. 9, 12). Other forms of the word are found elsewhere, but we doubt not this is the place that is meant. This suspi-

¹ By way of proof we take the following from a Syriac MS. chronicle in the British Museum (Add. MSS., No. 14,643). The passage refers to A.D. 395, etc. "When the Huns heard that the Persians came against them they arose and fled; and they followed them and slew one division of them, and took from them all the plunder they had stolen, and rescued the captives, in number 18,000 men, whom they (still the Persians) took to their cities Salac (Seleucia) and *Cauchobo*, which are called *Hadarshir* and Ctesiphon, and they were there many years." This residence at Hadarshir and Cauchobo continued till the time of Isdegerd, who sent the survivors home. The passage is peculiarly interesting for giving us not only the Greek but the native names of Seleucia and Ctesiphon. *Cauchobo* is the regular Syriac word for *star*; *Hadarshir* may be a corruption of Ardeshir, the Persian monarch's name.

cion is a little strengthened by the fact that Chwolson represents Kuthámi in particular as having property at Bagerma or Beth-Garmé, as the Syrians called it on the east side of the Tigris. The supposed residence of Kuthámi, at Babylon, is rather favourable than otherwise to the opinion that he was a native of Ctesiphon. Moreover, Kuthámi claims to belong to the Syrians, and this is another reason why he should use the Syrian name for his native place. This residence of Kuthámi, at Ctesiphon, 1300 B.C. is important, because Strabo (xvi., 16) says the Parthian kings made it their winter quarters because they were in fear from Seleucia; the place itself he calls a village transformed into a city by the establishment of a military station there. Pliny also says, the Parthians founded Ctesiphon (lib. vi.) Ammianus Marcellinus (lib. xxiii.) says that Ctesiphon was built in ancient times by Vardanes, and afterwards enlarged and fortified by Pacorus.* Vardanes is probably the same as Bardanes,* the twentieth king of the Parthians, according to Vailant, and mentioned by Josephus and Tacitus. Whoever he was, the Parthian kingdom was not founded till about 256 B.C., and if Ctesiphon was built by the kings of that empire, Kuthámi either never lived there, or is more modern than Chwolson believes.

Here we leave the whole discussion with a remark or two. First, M. Chwolson's book is remarkably curious and interesting to such as can read it, and its author's credulity has made it more so than it would otherwise have been. In the next place, the work contains really a large mass of useful information about many things. It is very likely a fact that Kuthámi, or Ibn Wahshiyah, or whoever is its true author, amassed a collection of old sayings, legends, and so forth, embodied them with hints on agriculture picked up somehow, cementing the whole as best he could. The work is a member of a literature of some importance to the proper understanding of certain philosophies and religious sects in the East. Some of these sects have lingered on to modern times, and may be traced backward by many successive links till we come to the Manichæans, the Mendaïtes, the Sabians, and the followers of Zerdusht, whose name we have been somewhat surprised not to meet with in M. Chwolson's pages. Finally, these works may suggest the unscientific basis and form of what was called science, the unphilosophical character of what was called philosophy among the ancient wise men of the East.

* Reigned A.D. 44—47.

* Reigned A.D. 91—107.

THE ENGLISH BIBLE: ITS REVISION, TRANSLATION, AND HISTORY.*

A GLORIOUS old book is the English Bible. As a nation we owe to its possession and free circulation no small measure of that intelligence, manliness, and liberty by which we are distinguished. If we had no other cause to honour it there would still remain this, the enormous influence it has had upon the life and institutions of our country. This influence has been at work for many centuries, and is probably now as powerful as ever. It is not the mere influence of a national religion, nor of a well organized and accomplished priesthood. These could act upon us and modify our character and politics apart from a vernacular version of the Bible. Rites and ceremonies, formularies and church institutions, even when connected with a wise and zealous clergy, could never do all that is done where the Bible is in the language and the homes of the people. They can be had recourse to with more or less frequency, but in this book we have a perpetual instructor and monitor. They may be revered and trusted, but this is accepted as the law of God, the statute book of which they are but exponents and executors. Just as men may have great respect for Blackstone, Coke, or Littleton, but reverence yet more the very laws which they explained and commented on; so is it with the feeling cherished towards the Bible as compared with its interpreters. As men honour the magistrates and governors, only so far as they accord with the statutes of the realm, so they honour the clergy and all ecclesiastical institutions, only so far as they interpret aright the teachings of the Bible. A government whose laws are secret cannot stand so firm, nor be so sure of the people's affection, as that in which every law may be known by every subject. The wide dissemination of the laws of God among us, is productive

* *The Annals of the English Bible.* By Christopher Anderson. A new and revised edition, edited by his nephew, Hugh Anderson. London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder. 1862.

The English Bible. History of the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the English tongue. With Specimens of the Old English versions. By Mrs. H. C. Conant. London: Arthur Hall and Co. 1859.

The New Testament translated from Griesbach's Text. By Samuel Sharpe. London: A. Hall and Co. 1859. Fourth edition.

Jewish School and Family Bible. By Dr. A. Benisch. 1852—1861. Longmans.

Translations by Five Clergymen. St. John, Romans, etc.

Translations of American Bible Union. Job, St. Matthew, etc.

It is not our intention to notice all these, although in many respects important, but we name them, especially that of the clergymen.

of two immense advantages; a salutary restraint is exercised upon those spiritual guides who might be disposed to innovate, and the people are in possession of that which can at all times regulate their course and their opinions. The disadvantages which result from this popular circulation of the book cannot be avoided, as human nature is constituted. Self-conceited and ignorant men will pervert and misunderstand the volume; and hence arise minor controversies, delusions, schisms, and sects. But these disadvantages are more than counterbalanced by the beneficial effects upon the character and conduct and religious life of the nation.

The principle of a Bible "without note or comment," is regarded by some with strong approval, and by others with equal disapproval. In the Romish Church there is express provision made against versions in the vernacular without note or comment. The early editions of Luther and other translators were usually accompanied by notes. Our own country was no exception to the rule, and it continued in operation at least till the production of our authorized translation. In judging of this question, we should distinguish between doctrinal expositions and notes designed to inform the reader of the meaning of allusions which cannot be understood without some knowledge of geography, history, ancient customs, weights, measures, money, and so forth. Doctrinal expositions are commentaries, and if judiciously introduced may materially instruct the reader. No evil whatever can come from the other class of notes when they are accurately prepared. Nor is it to be supposed that observations of a practical and devotional character, either supersede the work of the minister of God's word, or do harm in any other way. Common readers are assisted by all these things, and there is no *prima facie* objection to them. The only ground upon which Bibles without note or comment can be exclusively circulated, is that of a society composed of Christians whose personal views differ, and who therefore find it convenient to avoid discussion, by adopting such a law. As a matter of fact, commentaries and books explaining and illustrating the Scriptures are universally popular, except among that small minority who think the Spirit of God will teach them all they ought to know. Even these, however, do not dispense with the living commentator, and when they preach about "the Christian race," or the "cloud of witnesses," they find it useful to describe the peculiarities of the Grecian games. To do this, they rely, not upon the illumination of the Spirit, but upon books.

Another question of some importance is, whether the apocryphal books should be bound up with the Bible? The English

Church adopts the canon of the first three centuries, and declares it to be complete. The Sixth Article explicitly limits the term, Holy Scripture, to these books, "In the name of the Holy Scripture we do understand those canonical books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church." The Apocrypha are called "*the other books*," which "the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners, but yet it doth not apply them to establish any doctrine." This is explicit enough and so far settles the question. In the judgment of the compilers and framers of the Thirty-nine Articles, the Apocrypha were not Holy Scripture; for example of life and instruction of manners they are read, and not to establish any doctrine. They are doubtless of more value than has generally been admitted, and their intelligent perusal would be beyond all question profitable, but they are separated from the rest by this sweeping negation of their claim to be Holy Scriptures; this negation implies all the difference between divine and human, inspired and uninspired. Valuable then as in some respects these books are, no one can rightly demand for them a place in the English Bible, or say that his Bible is incomplete without them. The only question seems to be one of expediency: is it expedient to attach the apocryphal books to Bibles for popular use? These books contain most important religious and moral precepts, as well as very useful historical facts, and statements which illustrate some portions of Holy Scripture; but then, their ethics and their religious teachings are sometimes questionable, and their records are sometimes inaccurate. They teach some doctrines not in the canonical books, and some say opposed to them. Here then we have intermingled good and evil, and it would seem, therefore, that if we are to connect the Apocrypha with Holy Scripture, it should not be without note or comment in some form or other. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge publishes the Apocrypha in a separate form, with an extract from the Sixth Article prefixed, so that all may know their use, and here at least exercise the right of private judgment. It might be thought the adoption of certain proper lessons from the Apocrypha is a contravention of the Sixth Article; but others might regard this circumstance as merely an illustration of its meaning and a practical commentary upon it. We heartily wish that this question of the value and place of the Apocrypha in the English Church, and in relation to the canon, was thoroughly investigated. There seems not much hope of this, for the prejudice of some is at least as blind as the admiration of others, and the indifference of more. The opponents of the Apocrypha will

always have literary, theological, and historical arguments in their favour, which it will be difficult to answer. The defenders of the Apocrypha must mainly rely upon other grounds.

The value of a vernacular version, freely circulated among a people, is proved by the experience of the last three centuries in this country and in Germany. A strong argument for it is to be found in the state of those nations who have not had this privilege, nor that other privilege by which it has been accompanied; viz., of having that same version made the basis of the teachings of the clergy, and of the formularies of the Church. In France, Italy, and Spain, for example, the free reading of the vernacular Bible is interdicted by the clergy, if not by the state. The Latin Vulgate is used in the public services with small profit to the audience. Preaching is much more rare than with us. The Vulgate supplies texts and illustrations when preaching takes place, and even when the quotations are translated, they are often strangely misapplied, and there is no check upon the priesthood. Something must be deficient when the words, *Ite ad Joseph* ("go to Joseph," Gen. xli. 55) are made the text of a sermon enforcing the duty of the invocation of Joseph the carpenter, the husband of the Blessed Virgin. With an open Bible such things would scarcely be possible. The influence of an open Bible in checking superstition and credulity, in promoting living godliness and genuine morality, in giving instruction, and in affording consolation, is so apparent among us that we cannot wish to go back to the days when it was shut up in Latin and confined to the clergy.

There is another point on which we wish to say a few words, and that is the question of revision; and let us premise that there is nothing to oppose revision either on the face of the matter or on the ground of precedent. Not on the face of the matter certainly, because it is a version with which we have to do, and the more perfect it can be made, that is, the more accurately it can be made to represent the original, the better. Nor does precedent stand in the way, for as a matter of fact our version has been several times retouched in at least three ways, as we have verified by a collation of copies; 1. The spelling of words has undergone revision, although some old forms as *morter* and *sope* still remain; 2. The words printed in *italics* have from time to time been altered; 3. Cases occur in which obsolete words have been substituted by others more modern. Besides, our present version was itself based upon its predecessors. Any one who will be at the pains to compare a few sentences in the versions of Tyndale, the Genevan exiles, and King James's translators, will see this at a glance. The English version of the

Bible truly dates back from the time of Henry VIII., and all its forms subsequent to the first have been substantially revisions of that first.^b

There are, however, three things which the advocates of revision are able to plead as positive reasons for their opinion :— I. The changes our language has undergone since 1611. This cannot be denied, and is so obvious, that any one who used the entire Biblical vocabulary, and confined himself to its grammatical forms, would be rightly regarded as always quaint and sometimes obscure ; for our grammar, our vocabulary, and the meaning of words, have changed during the last 250 years. II. Modern researches in philology and other departments of science have thrown fresh light upon the meaning of many Greek and Hebrew words which at the time our version was executed, were misunderstood. No one who is at all acquainted with the present condition of Biblical science and criticism, will for an instant question the possibility of improving our excellent translation, and of making it more faithfully represent the original. III. What Dr. Tregelles has called “ comparative criticism,” has served to purify the Greek and Hebrew texts. Venerable MSS. have been discovered and collated, and critical editions have been prepared with their assistance and that of ancient fathers and versions ; so that we have an unquestionably more accurate text than is represented by the authorized translation. We know that text to be incorrect in a variety of details, some of which are important, and therefore ought to be remedied, for we are not justified in setting forth as God’s word any of man’s errors and additions. Especially in the New Testament, and above all in the Gospels and the Apocalypse, is this reformation called for.

Such is a glance at the state of the case ; summarily that the canon is not in need of revision, but that the translation is. Not the canon, because old writers like W. Whittaker, and Bishop Cosins, and some modern ones, have shewn as clearly as the Sixth Article shews, that the Apocrypha are not canonical. With regard to the Old and New Testament antilegomena, as James and 2 Peter, Solomon’s Song and the Book of Esther, the question has not assumed such serious proportions as to justify its solemn discussion in this business of a better version. With regard to the several pleas for a revision, we have seen that they are really four,—precedent, changes of language, inaccurate

^b Thus Anderson in his list of Bibles, under the head of ‘ Thomas Matthew’s’ Bible of 1537, calls it ‘ the basis of all subsequent editions.’ A similar opinion is expressed by Chester in his recent life of Rogers the martyr ; and, indeed, the fact is notorious,

renderings and a corrupt text. To these we add a fifth,—the desire which has been expressed for it by learned men during more than two hundred years. Among these we may name Dr. Gell, in 1659, Boyle, Cowley, Bishop Hutchinson, Howell, Kennicott, Blackmore, Lewis, Locke, Brett, Grey, etc. Their name is legion, and surely some respect should be paid to their opinion. It is true that the substantial integrity of the work remains unimpeached, but its casual defects are not denied. With regard to the subject of various readings, it is of no use to mince the matter; our Authorized Version is based upon a text which is known to be very defective. Not only is it at variance with the great uncial manuscripts in isolated words, but in whole sentences and paragraphs. The labours of Mill and Wetstein, Bengel and Sabaterius, of Bentley, Griesbach, Lachmann, Scholz, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Scrivener, and many more, ought not to be ignored, and are not ignored by educated readers. Look at the text of the Revelation as given us, we may say, by Erasmus; it abounds in positive errors, some of which are due to Erasmus' own imagination, and have no manuscript authority whatever. Compare with it the texts represented by Tischendorf, Tregelles, and Kelly. No one can defend it as it now stands. Thanks to the efforts of the learned, scholars need not now be led astray. But the people have no means of discerning truth from error, and critical observations in the pulpit seem out of place and may do harm. As for the Old Testament, the works of Kennicott and De Rossi, and the more recent publications of Dr. Davidson and of continental critics, leave no room for doubt.

Another consideration which ought to have some weight is, the number of new translations of the whole, or of parts of the Scriptures, which have been published. Locke and Macknight, Doddridge, Newcome and Harwood, Boothroyd and Campbell, all tried their hand at this. To these may be added, the American Sawyer, Mr. Sharpe, and Dr. Benisch. To reckon them all, from Bishop Lowth to Mr. Kelly, would be to give a list of scores of names of more or less eminence. Of some of these versions and revisions, large impressions and sundry editions have been sold. To shew the popular feeling upon the subject, it may suffice to refer to the very imperfect revision of Dr. Conquest, of which thousands were disposed of. The work was worthless in a critical point of view, but there was a large demand for something which this professed to be, and was not. Dr. Boothroyd's version is still widely circulated; and the same is true of others. The New Testament of Mr. Sharpe, who declares himself a Unitarian, has reached a fourth edition;

and not altogether without reason. It has its defects. It is from the text of Griesbach, which is now admitted to be less accurate than some more recent ones. It exhibits renderings which indicate a doctrinal bias. But it is nevertheless, in the main, an honest and an intelligible work, with the advantage of a better arrangement than our own. Many of its renderings also are unquestionably superior to those of the Authorized Version. Its mingled character, and its insufficient text, will prevent its general adoption, but will not prevent it from being extensively read. Were it not for the liberties it takes in particular instances, it would be a still more valuable book than it is. In any case, it is infinitely preferable to the miserable dilution which the Unitarians published in 1808 as an "improved version," but which even they would not now defend or rely upon.

We have heard of a new translation by Mr. Robert Young, of Edinburgh, but if we are to judge of this by the Book of Job which appeared in this Journal last July, his version will give rise to plenty of controversy. His grammatical and lexicographical principles alike challenge discussion by their novel, we will not say arbitrary, character. He boldly lays down rules and adopts interpretations which defy all the disciples of Gesenius, Ewald, Fürst, and others, who, however much they differ from one another, agree in certain fundamental matters. He manifestly does not hold himself bound to follow the masoretic punctuation, or he would never render Genesis i. 1 :—"In the beginning of God's framing the heavens and the earth." Let us look at this for a moment: *bereshith* is translated "in the beginning of," and hence the word is looked upon as a noun in the construct case with a preposition. Now it cannot be denied that *reshith* is used as a noun in the nominative; the form therefore does not prove it a construct. In the second place, a noun with the prefix *ḥ* is often equivalent to an adverb, and as such may be translated. If Mr. Young had taken *bereshith* as an adverb in the sense of *primarily*, we should not have objected; and it would have been justifiable. But he makes it a noun construct to bring it in into agreement with *bara*, or, as he rejects the points, *bōrē*. Here is a second error, for *bara* is a verb and not a participle. This is not all; he has to invert the order and invent an unheard-of structure, by bringing the word *Elohim* between two words connected as he connects *bereshith* and *bara*. Nay, more, the word God he is compelled to turn into a possessive *God's*! If the Bible is to be translated anew after this fashion, we had better adhere to our old version, which is based on principles that have always been recognized. Let

Mr. Young take warning, and before it is too late, extricate himself from the snare in which the love of novelty and originality may involve him. If he does not take warning, he will stand a chance of becoming identified with those who have an ill reputation in the Church, for unwarrantable liberties taken with the Word of God. The pursuit of novelty and originality is a bane and a curse to a translator, and inevitably brings dishonour and shame upon him. We do not want either novelty or originality. We do not ask discoverers and theorists to translate the Bible. Heaven knows we have had enough of them already. Quackery and charlatanism are bad enough anywhere, but nowhere so bad as here. It is monstrous to expect perfection in any one, but it is equally monstrous to believe that the versions from the days of the LXX. to our own have been all so wrong that we must have a new patent method. A man may be a clever linguist and not a philologist, and even a good philologist may make a miserable translation, because he does not know what is wanted. With regard to Mr. Young, he is said to be a linguist, but it is evident he is not a philologist, and so far as we can judge from the specimens which we have seen, he has wasted a great deal of valuable time, and excited hopes which will never be realized.

We come now to Dr. Benisch. He is a Jew, and his version is for Jews. He has devoted a dozen years to his translation, and has not only wisely taken our own as a basis, but has availed himself of modern scholarship. He is a sound, judicious and ripe scholar himself. The only fault we have to find with him is, that he is too much bound by the traditions of the fathers, and that his desire to be literal has made him too much neglect the graces and amenities of language. But there is no nonsense in the book; no striving after that novelty and originality which we so much deprecate; no feeling ashamed or too proud to adopt translations which he finds approved by others. There is, moreover, a constant and overruling sense of the importance of his work, and of the Word which he translates; and this makes him always grave, and keeps him from speculation. He has no new principles of grammar or of lexicography, and is content to take the language as he finds it. His one aim has been to make the Hebrew speak English. He follows the divisions and arrangement of ordinary editions of the Bible in Hebrew, by which the indications of verses are thrown into the margin, and the text is only divided into chapters and paragraphs. Where he thinks the force of a Hebrew word is not expressed by one English word he uses two. The employment of *italics* is had recourse to even where they do not seem absolutely necessary.

Thus he says, "God called the dry *land* earth;" albeit, it is highly probable that the Hebrew word translated "dry," means all that the English compound expresses. His love of literality at the expense of graceful English is seen in such an expression as "The earth shall sprout forth sprouts," Gen. i. 11. In the rendering of Messianic passages he sometimes coincides, but not always, with Christian translators. Thus, in Gen. xlix. 10, he translates, "The rod shall not depart from Judah, nor a law-giver from between his feet, until Shiloh come, and his be the obedience of peoples." Psalm ii. 12, he renders, "Kiss a pure one lest he be angry and ye wander *from* the way, for his wrath easily burneth. O happiness of them that trust in him." This rendering is rather feeble. We notice too that in the book of Daniel and some other places, the translator seems to have been embarrassed by his doctrinal opinions. Nevertheless, there is much that is excellent in this version, and it is generally so fair and accurate, that it deserves to be studied by Christian expositors. It will shew them at least, how an orthodox and learned Jew understands the text of the Old Testament. There are many who have great faith in Jewish translations of particular passages, and often without sufficient cause. It does not follow that *because* a man is a Jew, he must understand Hebrew better than anybody else. The reason that Jews know Hebrew better than we, or more generally, is because they realize its importance more, and give more time to its study and perusal.

What we would say of Dr. Benisch's work is simply this; that intelligent Christians would do well to compare it with their own Authorized Version; and that in any revision it ought to be consulted. We often differ from it; but the number of its happy renderings, so far as the sense is concerned, makes us highly prize it.^d

Having said so much about revision and translation we might be expected to call attention to such works as may be considered provisional; but as we want to speak of the work of Mr. Anderson, we will only say what we mean by "provisional" works. 1. Such as contain a translation and summary of those various readings which affect the sense of the Authorized Version. 2. Such as contain the common translation attended by critical emendations of it in the margin. 3. Such as contain the common version arranged by paragraphs and parallelisms, with or without a new distribution of books. Mr. Blackader's English Bible is an ingenious attempt to combine the advantages of these

^d We had intended to insert a special notice of the translation of Dr. Benisch, but the preceding observations will render it unnecessary.

three methods. A little book by Mr. C. E. Stewart illustrates the first, and the paragraph Bibles of the Tract Society illustrate the third. Those which come under the second head are more numerous.

The history of the English Bible is scattered among the pages of many books, and to collect and arrange the details worthily would require immense labour. Most of the ecclesiastical historians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have more or less to say upon the subject; but we are not aware of any professed history of the translations before that of John Lewis, early in the last century. Nor does there seem to have been any important attempt to prepare a list of editions till a recent period. The oldest list of any consequence with which we are acquainted is that in the *Catalogus Universalis Librorum*, etc., published and compiled by John Hartley, an industrious bibliopole, in Holborn, in 1701. In our own time the labours of Cotton and Lee Wilson, and the collections of George Offor and others have added very much to our knowledge of the subject. The lives of Wycliffe, Tyndale, Frith, Rogers and others of the Reformers have also helped us. But perhaps no man has done so much as Mr. Anderson in the *Annals of the English Bible*, which first came out in 1845, and now appears in a second edition after the author's death. On the other side of the Atlantic Mrs. Conant has written a *History of the English Bible*, which has been republished here under the auspices of no less known a man than the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon. We so far agree with Mr. Spurgeon as not to object to his calling it "an excellent book." It contains much that is accurate and important; but after all, it is not to be compared with the more elaborate and original work of Mr. Anderson. Neither of them is perfect; but they are both useful, and especially the larger one. Mr. Anderson gives us an account of Wycliffe's version; but his history properly commences with the reign of Henry VIII. He records at length the labours of Tyndale and his coadjutors, and the varied fortunes of their editions. Frith, Coverdale, Rogers and others, also have their due share of attention; and we feel that the four hundred pages devoted to this period are among the most precious chapters of our national ecclesiastical history. During the reign of Henry editions of the whole or of parts of the Bible in English appeared to the number of at least fifty-four. The edition which we have already named as the basis of all that have succeeded, was published in 1531, and is known as Thomas Matthew's Bible, the first authorized English version, the joint production of Tyndale and Rogers, who were more or less indebted to Coverdale and Frith. The first portion of the

Old Testament printed was the book of Jonah, which Mr. Anderson ascribes to 1531, translated by Tyndale, and of which a copy has been recently brought to light. The first edition of the whole Bible was that of Coverdale in 1535. The first edition of any part of the Scriptures in English printed in this country, was the New Testament of Tyndale in 1536. Various versions and revisions are included among the fifty-four editions of Henry's reign, and extend over twenty years.

The brief reign of Edward VI. produced forty-nine editions, viz., thirty-five of the New Testament, and fourteen of the Bible, against the thirty-nine of the New Testament and fifteen of the Bible in Henry's time. These editions all appeared in the space of six years and a half. Only about twenty-four of the editions under Henry were printed in England, whereas almost all those of Edward's time were printed in England. During this reign far more attention was given to the printing and circulation of the Bible than to its translation and revision. This is just what might have been expected. The Scriptures had been translated, and now they were to be circulated, read, and expounded.

In the reign of Mary all this activity was suppressed at home, and not a single copy of the Scriptures was printed in this country so long as she occupied the throne. There was an edition of the New Testament printed at Geneva in the translation of William Whittingham, a protestant exile. This appeared in 1557, and found its way to England in spite of the barriers which the popish zeal of the government interposed. Several copies of this edition are known; and it has the honour of being the first with the verses distinguished. It is called Whittingham's version, but was really a revision of Tyndale's. At that very time, however, a new version was undertaken by the Marian exiles.

Elizabeth succeeded to the throne in 1558, and in 1560 appeared the version commonly known as the Genevan translation. Two editions of it were printed in that year, and both of them at Geneva. This Bible was accompanied with marginal annotations, etc., and was the standard book for fifty years, or till it was superseded by the present Authorized Version. During Elizabeth's reign a hundred and forty-two editions are recorded, viz., forty-eight of the New Testament, and ninety-four of the Bible. Most of these were printed in this country, and the great majority of them were in the Genevan version. To previous texts was added a revision of the Genevan New Testament executed by Laurence Tomson, and often printed. From 1576, onward for many years, the monopoly of printing Bibles was in the hands of Christopher Barker and his heirs.

In the reign of James I. steps were taken to execute a new

translation; and in 1611 appeared our present Authorized Version "newly translated out of the original tongues, and with the former translations diligently compared and revised, by His Majesty's special commandment." Of the origin and production of this happily well known book Mr. Anderson gives an interesting and satisfactory account. The remaining portions of his volume relate to Scotland from James V. to the Commonwealth; to Great Britain from the Commonwealth to Queen Victoria; to North America from James I. to George III.; and to more recent times. We cannot, however, pursue this history. It is enough to observe that the tide of editions has been flowing on with increasing power, and that at this moment probably one half of the Bibles in the world are in the English tongue and of the Authorized Version. This is a great fact, and one which will suggest its proper lessons to wise and thoughtful men.

Mr. Anderson's book has afforded us much pleasure and instruction. The new edition is in one volume instead of two as before, and it omits much that was contained in the former edition, but only what belongs to the general history of the times. It contains all that relates to the Bible, and all the illustrations. No one can take it in hand without admiring the patient research and zeal of the author, although his theological and ecclesiastical sympathies are Calvinistic and presbyterian. This is a minor matter. The work is a storehouse of facts and information such as can nowhere else be found, and it is in every sense conscientious and faithful.

To sum up all. The present version of the Bible is a national blessing, and in spite of all the progress which has been made in science and learning, is a book which the Christian Church can use with confidence and profit. It attained its present shape and position after long and painful struggles. It has retained them through all changes. It never was more generally held in honour than now. But after all, it is a grave question, and one which cannot lightly be dismissed—whether our good old Bible could not and ought not to be revised.

PETER'S DENIAL OF CHRIST.

ON the western shore of the sea of Tiberias, and at a little distance from Capernaum, lay the town or city of Bethsaida, which is called by St. John, "the city of Andrew and Peter." No traces of this town can now be discovered; but in the times

of our Lord it was, as the name imports, a fishing town of some importance, and, while he was living in obscurity at Nazareth, several of his future disciples were here busily occupied with their nets and boats, the sea or lake being then, as now, celebrated for its fish.^a

There was another town of the same name, on the opposite side of the lake, near to which Christ fed the multitudes with a few loaves and fishes (Luke ix. 10), which must be carefully distinguished from the place above mentioned. This latter town was called Bethsaida of Gaulonitis; and at a late period, having been rebuilt and enlarged by Philip the tetrarch, it received the name of Bethsaida Julias, in honour of Julia, the daughter of Augustus.^b But, though on this account Bethsaida Julias was the more celebrated place, on another account we refer with greater interest to the Bethsaida of the western side of the lake; for it was the abode, and probably the birth-place, of at least three of the disciples of our Lord,—Philip, Andrew, and Andrew's brother Simon.

Of these three the latter became, in many respects, the most distinguished of the twelve apostles of the Lord Jesus. To one sad circumstance in his history it is our purpose to call the attention of the reader; but it will be desirable, ere we look at it, to glance at the character of Peter as it was previously displayed, with a view to ascertain the causes which led to his melancholy fall.

Like his brother Andrew, he was a disciple of John the Baptist, by whom he had probably been baptized. One day as Jesus was walking, perhaps by the sea shore, John said to two of his disciples, of whom Andrew was one, "Behold the Lamb of God!" These two at once followed Jesus; and Andrew went the next day to his brother Simon, and said, "We have found the Messiah;" and with exulting joy, as we may well suppose, he led him unto Jesus. What Simon's thoughts and feelings were—whether he believed his brother's words, or doubted—we are not informed; but as soon as Jesus saw him, He addressed him in the memorable words, "Thou art Simon the son of Jona; thou shalt be called Cephas;" for He knew his character, and knew, moreover, what he would ultimately become.

It has been supposed that there is an allusion here to the import of the word Jonas, which in the Hebrew signifies a dove; and that our Lord meant by the language he employed, that the son of the timid dove should hereafter be its sheltering rock,

^a See Robinson's *Researches*, vol. ii., p. 386. Second edition.

^b Josephus, *Antiq.*, xviii. 21.

the word Cephas being the Aramaic word for rock or stone. But rather was the latter name given to Simon in reference to his natural disposition, which was somewhat stubborn and unyielding, but which, when sanctified by grace, would become firm to sustain the cross, and bold to declare its doctrine. "Possessing the deepest knowledge of human nature, Jesus sees through Peter;—he sees in him that quality of reckless boldness which is combined with an undue degree of confidence in self. His character, however, purified and sanctified by the Holy Spirit, Christ foresaw would be peculiarly adapted for the establishment of the Christian Church."^c

This was Simon's first call to the discipleship of Jesus. It appears, however, that both he and his brother still followed their occupation as fishermen for awhile; for subsequently we find Jesus calling them from their work, and saying to them, "Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men" (Matt. iv. 19). To this summons they were prepared to listen, and they left their nets and followed Him. *Only* their nets it is true; but their nets were their *all* (Mark x. 28—30); and therefore did Jesus afterwards promise them a great reward; for however little a man leaves for Christ, yet if it is all he has to leave, it is to him as much as a palace or a throne, and the sacrifice is estimated by God accordingly.

In his new position, as a disciple of Jesus, Peter's character soon displayed itself. Think of his boldness in venturing to walk on the agitated waters to meet his Lord, and of his wavering faith when he saw the wind boisterous, and began to sink (Matt. xiv. 28—30). Think of his unhesitating avowal of Jesus as the Christ—the Son of God, and of his rash words just afterwards, when Jesus spoke of His approaching death (Matt. xvi. 16, 22, 23). And think of his zeal in attempting to defend his Master in the garden by the use of his sword, and of his presently leaving that Master in the hands of his enemies, fearing, perhaps, lest he too should be taken captive (Matt. xxvi. 51, 56.) In appearance all this is contradictory and anomalous. Yet characters of this kind are met with frequently. Persons there are, both in the world and in the Church, who are bold enough to enter upon a difficult enterprize, yet too timid to pursue and to complete it,—who are self-confident enough to go and meet dangers, but not stable enough to pass safely through them. Like Peter, they are too precipitate, too daring, too forward, and, in their own strength, are disposed to attempt feats which more cautious and self-mistrustful men would never think of attempting.

^c Tholuck on John i. 43.

But often it is of the best of such materials that leaders and commanders are made. A man destitute of courage, boldness, and resolution is wholly unfit to take the lead in any enterprize, secular or religious; and in a work comparatively new he would hesitate so long as to the course he should pursue, that he would permit the golden moment to pass by unused. Now our Lord wanted one whom he could place in the front of the little army he was about to send into the battle-field, and if Peter were not yet, in every respect, the man he required, (and where could he have found one already fitted for the work?) he possessed such qualifications as, when modified and improved by the power of grace, would render him firm as the rock itself, even when lashed by the fury of the waves or smitten by the bursting storm.

Accordingly, we find Peter from the beginning at the head of the twelve apostles of our Lord; and, as Bengel observes, in all the lists of the apostles given in the New Testament he is always named first (Matt. x. 2; Mark iii. 16; Luke vi. 14; Acts i. 15—26;) a circumstance which cannot be considered fortuitous, inasmuch as the rest of the apostles occupy nearly the same relative position in each list.⁴

But the failings and the faults of Peter were such that he needed a thorough transformation to set him right, and only would he be made conscious of his own weakness by being left, for a few moments, to himself. The weak points of his character soon displayed themselves, and as the time of his Lord's last sufferings drew nigh, they began to appear still more prominently. For the cross of Christ was, and still is, the real touchstone of every man's character. By the cross each one of the disciples would be tried, and by the cross it would appear what each one was. "All ye shall be offended because of me this night," said Jesus to his disciples just after the Paschal supper; "for it is written, I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered abroad." Peter answered and said, "Though all men shall be offended because of thee, yet will I never be offended" (Matt. xxvi. 33). Noble words these, had they been uttered in a right spirit. That Peter *was* attached to his Lord, and very deeply attached, we cannot doubt, nor can we doubt that at this moment he felt that he was ready to suffer for his Lord. But he knew not his own heart, and his error lay in too much confidence in his own strength. Had he said, "Lord, by grace helping me, I will never be offended;" or had he acknowledged that, in himself, he was liable to fall, and should be able to stand only so long as he was supported by his

⁴ See the *Gnomon* on Matt. x. 2.

Saviour's arm, all would have been well. But, no ! he fancied that he was well able to resist whatever temptations might assail him, and though others might be foolish enough and unstable enough to be offended with their Lord, he would never be offended. He thought himself stronger than all his brethren, nay, stronger than all men whatsoever, and knew not that in a few hours he would quail before a woman's voice.

Nor do the words next addressed to him recall him to a sense of the rashness of his assertion. "Verily, I say unto thee," was his Lord's reply, "that this day, even in this night, before the cock crow twice, thou shalt deny me thrice." Such a solemn declaration as this ought surely to have checked the self-confidence of the disciple, and at least to have prevented him repeating what he had said. But more vehemently than before, he replied, "If I should die with thee, I will not *deny* thee in *any* wise" (Mark xiv. 30, 31). To *deny* his Lord would, he thought, be worse than being offended on his account ; and it would seem as if he were somewhat indignant with his master for thinking that he was capable of so great a sin.

"But what ! is thy servant a dog, that he should do this thing ?" (2 Kings viii. 13) said Hazael to Elisha when the prophet told him what evil he would do. And Peter, at this moment, would perhaps entertain a similar thought. What a mortification was it to his pride to be told in the presence of his fellow-disciples that in a few hours he would be uttering falsehood, and denying that he was a follower of Jesus of Nazareth ! But his Lord knew what was in him, and foresaw that such *would* be the case ; and, that Peter might afterwards remember his words, and remember them with penitential tears, he told him what would come to pass.

To Peter's conduct in the garden reference has been already made. Then, by his want of discretion, he had well nigh brought himself and his fellow-disciples into great and imminent danger, but zealous as he appeared in his master's cause, that master was no sooner delivered up into the hands of the armed band than, with the rest of the disciples, he "forsook him and fled" (Mark xiv. 50). This was the first step towards the fall which was at hand. Had Peter clung at this moment to his Lord, and followed him when he was led away into the city, and boldly stood forward on his behalf in the presence of his judge and accusers, he might have resisted the subsequent temptation ; but already his courage began to fail him, and already his spirit bent beneath the storm. Was it probable that one who could not stand the first shock, would be able to sustain a heavier one ? No : the branch that not only bends, but breaks on the

very first outbreak of the storm, will be sure, ere the storm has passed away, to be riven from the tree; and the follower of Christ who yields to cowardice and fear when a severe trial first sets in, will scarcely stand the brunt of it when it becomes the more severe.

Yet Peter did follow his master, though "afar off" (Mark xiv. 54). He was wishful, probably, to see the end, and though he fled when his Lord was apprehended, yet as soon as he perceived that he had nothing to fear personally from the armed band he returned, and, at some distance, followed Jesus even unto the palace of the high priest. But why at a distance? why not as closely as he possibly could? Was he already afraid of being identified with the cause of the sufferer? Was he already beginning to be ashamed of his master? That this was the case there is every reason to believe, and sad is it to contemplate the leader of the twelve now shrinking from an open avowal of his Lord, and with measured steps following him indeed, but following him so far off as that no one might suspect him of having been a disciple. What a picture of the instability of human nature!

"Thou canst not follow me now," said Jesus to Peter, according to John's account of the previous warning, "but thou shalt follow me hereafter" (John xiii. 36). With all his boasted zeal, and professed attachment, and apparent courage, he could not follow Jesus then. He was not yet prepared to sustain the cross. The time would come when he would meet shame and reproach, and persecution for Christ's sake with holy heroism, but he must first be taught his own weakness, must first undergo a thorough renovation; then he would become a champion for the truth indeed; then he would even follow his Saviour unto death. True, he followed Jesus now, but not to suffer with him—not to stand by him—not to bear reproach for his sake—but to gratify a vain curiosity, or, as it may be, with the hope that He would deliver Himself out of the hands of his enemies.

Connected with an oriental house there is usually an inner court, open to the sky, and having a paved floor, which is reached by a passage leading through the front part of the building. Such was the form of the high-priest's palace, which, it is highly probable, was occupied at this time both by Annas and by Caiaphas, each having in it apartments of his own. On the arrival of Jesus and the armed band, he was conducted through this passage,—the *προαύλιον*, or, *πυλών*, into the interior court or *αὐλή*; and one of his disciples, who was known to the high priest, and therefore probably to his servants, was permitted to

follow his master into the hall.* Peter too was there, but he was shut out by the folding gate, which was next the street, or only got within the passage, and was prevented free ingress by the smaller wicket which admitted but a single person at a time, and which was entrusted at this time to a female servant. Among the Greeks and Romans it was not uncommon for females to occupy the post of doorkeeper, but it was not usual among the easterns, and hence some have supposed that this "damsel," or "maid," as she is called, was the doorkeeper's daughter, and that she kept the gate only for a time. However this may have been, the other disciple used his influence on behalf of Peter so that he was admitted into the interior court, little thinking of the temptations to which he would be there exposed.

It was in this court that the three denials of Peter took place. We will advert to them in the proper order, carefully collating the accounts of the Evangelists, and endeavouring to reconcile the discrepancies which at first appear.

And, with this object in view, it will be well to place before the reader each account in a tabular form, that the eye may at once observe in what particulars the Evangelists agree, and in what they appear to differ. Of the first denial we have the following records:—

MATT. xxiv. 69. MARK xiv. 66—68.

Now Peter sat without in the palace: and a damsel came unto him, saying, Thou also wast with Jesus of Galilee. And he denied before them all saying, I know not what thou sayest.

And as Peter was beneath in the palace, there cometh one of the maids of the high priest: and when she saw Peter warming himself, she looked upon him, and said, And thou also wast with Jesus of Nazareth. But he denied, saying, I know not, neither understand I what thou sayest. And he went out into the porch; and the cock crew.

LUKE xxii. 55.

And when they had kindled a fire in the midst of the hall, and were set down together, Peter sat down among them. But a certain maid beheld him as he sat by the fire, and earnestly looked upon him, and said, This man was also with him. And he denied him, saying, Woman, I know him not.

JOHN xviii. 17—18.

Then saith the damsel that kept the door unto Peter, Art not thou also one of this man's disciples? Hesaith, I am not. And the servants and officers stood there, who had made a fire of coals; for it was cold: and they warmed themselves: and Peter stood with them, and warmed himself.

Of these four accounts, it will be observed at once that Mark's is the most minute, especially in reference to this first denial, whilst John's in respect to them all is very brief. Mark's

* This was in all probability John, though some have strangely supposed that it was Judas Iscariot. John's acquaintance with the high priest may not, however, have been very intimate.

minuteness we may account for, by supposing him to have written under the direction of Peter himself, and John's brevity we may account for from what we know of his disposition, which would lead him to hide, as much as possible, his erring brother's fault.

T. S.

[To be continued.]

STRICTURES UPON MANSEL'S DEFENCE OF THE FAITH.*

"MR. ROGERS and Mr. Mansel address themselves to the more cultivated freethinkers, and try to do with them what less scholarly men have already done with the working classes—force them into secularism. They do not explain orthodox difficulties, but parallel them by similar difficulties in nature; asking you to take your choice and swallow which camel you please, the old theology or no theology . . . Secularists see in Messrs. Rogers and Mansel and kindred writers, barristers who practically hold briefs for them. . . . The services rendered by the Bampton Lectures are thus stated by the *National Reformer*, which quotes illustrative passages from thirty-five places. 'Mansel acknowledges that all our ideas of God are merely regulative, which is a new word for erroneous, untrue; . . . that the true Christian philosopher must renounce all pretensions to a knowledge of the absolute, and all attempts to construct *à priori* schemes of his providence, and be content to practise where he cannot speculate, and to believe where he cannot know; that God cannot be known as God—that reason and religion are incompatible—that if you would believe you must not reason—that if you reason you cannot consistently believe—that all you have to reason about is whether the Bible be God's word, and then take all it says in faith, nothing doubting! And he is right.'

"This is a strange result to be produced by a work professing to supplement Butler's *Analogy*, and to expound Christianity on the principles of Sir W. Hamilton's philosophy. The old theology says, 'Behold, our defence!' and the atheists say, 'Behold our justification!' . . . The *Limits of Religious Thought*, meant to destroy rationalism, is simply the best existing repository of atheistical arguments."

Such is the ominous judgment of the *Westminster Review*. It is not the object of this paper to discuss the merits or demerits of Mr. Rogers's works; nor will it be possible within the

* While we do not agree with Mr. Mansel, it is not to be supposed that we concur in *all* the statements of the following article.—Ed.

limits of a few pages to do justice to the philosophy of Mr. Mansel's lectures. The utmost that can be here attempted will be to shew the value or worthlessness of the *Limits of Religious Thought* as a defence of Christianity. When everything else has been taken from us, it becomes all the more important to ascertain by what tenure we hold the one possession which we are suffered to retain. For all the spiritual needs of men, Mr. Mansel leaves us only the Bible. Our reason not only cannot discover religious truth; it is quite incompetent even to criticize what may profess to be a supernatural revelation. Yet for some reason or other we are to rest assured that every verse of the canonical Scriptures is to be accepted as infallible and authoritative. We are required to obey the commands of the Bible, and we are encouraged to trust its promises. It is the object of Mr. Mansel's lectures to shew us how foolish those are who refuse to do either; how those who accept a part and reject a part of the Scripture teaching are even more stupid than those who reject the whole. It is surely of the utmost importance to find out why, amid an otherwise universal uncertainty, just one book should be a sure and safe guide, not indeed for the thought and understandings of men, but for so much of their life as may be supposed to be left to them when thought and intelligence have been subtracted. The *Bible* or *nothing* is a sufficiently terrible alternative; and in truth one can hardly help suspecting that the relentless logic which has destroyed everything else, has been scarcely consistent in leaving even this choice to us.

Mr. Mansel's philosophy of religion is entirely destructive. We cannot know the Infinite; we cannot know the relation of the Infinite to the finite; we cannot conceive even the possibility of their co-existence. In respect of the Infinite, belief and disbelief are equally rational and equally irrational. There is not a single proposition concerning God, as Infinite, which cannot be confronted by a counter-proposition for which there is just the same proof and absence of proof. We are constrained to believe that God is a person; on the other hand, it is impossible to conceive either of personality or consciousness as belonging to the Infinite or the Absolute. The reason of man guides him, we are told, with equal certainty to pantheism and to atheism; it contradicts every one of its own assertions. There is nothing concerning God which it is prepared to affirm, nothing which it is prepared to deny; nor can it justify even that universal scepticism which seems alone to be left for it. Such is the noble inheritance of those who are said to have been created in God's image, and who have been assured that to know the Very God is their eternal life. "The conception of the Absolute

and Infinite, from whatever side we view it, appears encompassed with contradictions. There is a contradiction in supposing such an object to exist, whether alone or in conjunction with others; and there is a contradiction in supposing it not to exist. There is a contradiction in conceiving it as one; and there is a contradiction in conceiving it as many. There is a contradiction in conceiving it as personal; and there is a contradiction in conceiving it as impersonal. It cannot without contradiction be represented as active; nor, without equal contradiction, be represented as inactive. It cannot be conceived as the sum of all existence; nor yet can it be conceived as a part only of that sum."⁶ It is miserable enough to be involved in this web of contradictions, even in this world; and it would be vain to flatter ourselves with the hope that in any other world we shall escape from it. To escape from these contradictions we must escape from the finite, from ourselves. To attain to the knowledge of God as He is we must become Infinite; we must become God!

There is indeed another way; not of attaining to a knowledge of God, but of escaping the maddening perplexities and uncertainties which Mr. Mansel has so ably pointed out, and that is by becoming as nearly as possible beasts. Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die. Why torment ourselves by trying to know what cannot be known, or by the vain endeavour to believe propositions which are contradictory and destructive of each other? There are spheres in which no insurmountable barriers present themselves to human thought. There is a region, at least of action, where all is easy, where our aspirations rise no higher than the possibility of satisfying them, where we are baffled by no mysteries, and cheated by no delusions. That calm and happy region is our animal nature, and those faculties which either minister to the senses, or are adequately ministered to by them. Sensuality is the surest cure, seeing that the knowledge of God is denied us for all those distresses which spring from the lawless and insatiable ambition of human reason. It would, however, be surely but a brute philosophy that would persuade us to seek this refuge, even from the extremest suffering; and if we are doomed to believe anything without understanding it, we may as well believe one falsehood as another; we may as well put faith in the higher as in the lower instincts of our nature; we may as well be cheated by the nobler as by the baser of our delusions.

Rational theology, however, we are told, as involving a philosophy of the Infinite, is impossible. "M. Mansel a consacré

⁶ *Limits of Religious Thought.* Fourth Edition. pp. 38, 39.

son court passage dans une chaire de théologie à démontrer qu'il n'y a pas de théologie."^c There is left to us instead of philosophy what Mr. Mansel calls faith; instead of knowledge what he calls belief. Is it really superfluous to enquire whether faith and belief are more possible than philosophy and knowledge? There are many facts of history which we know only by believing the testimony of others. We know, for example, that Julius Cæsar invaded Britain, with many of the separate details of the invasion, and something of the manners and customs of the barbarous Britanni. Of course, we never saw Julius Cæsar, nor an ancient Briton; but, on the other hand, we are told that Julius Cæsar was a man, and we know what a man is. But suppose we were asked to believe that a human being invaded Britain about twenty centuries ago, who was at the same time not a human being at all; that he fought, and at the same time did not fight, with the barbarous islanders; that he came to this country in B.C. '55, and yet that it is quite impossible, in the very nature of things, that he should have come at one particular time rather than at another;—suppose, in addition to all this, we were asked to believe that the evidence for and against the whole of the narrative was equally convincing and satisfactory, and yet that a suspension of judgment was just as foolish as either affirmation or denial:—would the belief that attempted to accomplish this impossible feat be in the smallest degree different from insanity under another name? What difference would it make to us that such unutterable nonsense was written in a book, labelled Holy Bible, and professing to have come down from heaven? But this imaginary nonsense about Julius Cæsar is a mere trifle compared with the mass of incoherent and self-contradictory absurdities of the sacred Scriptures, when exposed to the destructive criticism of Mr. Mansel's philosophy of religion. We are told, that to the human reason all genuine theology is impossible. We are then bidden to accept the teachings of a book in which every one of the puzzles of rational theology is reproduced; with the additional puzzle, that the Absolute is related to mankind as the Author of a score or two of small treatises.

Mr. Mansel has told us what, by reason both of the limits and ambition of our reason, we both must and cannot believe concerning God. From the contradiction and utter uncertainty in which our reason is for ever losing its way, we are bidden to take refuge in the Scriptures. We open then the book that is to bring rest to our weary understandings, or at least where the

^c *Revue des deux Mondes* (quoted by Mr. Goldwin Smith).

understanding shall be at home, and the doubts and difficulties that belong to the limitation of our faculties kept out of sight. We find to our dismay that the infinite and absolute God is represented as having created the world; as having personality, consciousness, intellect, feeling, will. But are not these the old contradictions? the very riddles by which we were tormented in the region of rational theology? We try to persuade ourselves that miracles wrought many centuries ago may help us to believe what is incomprehensible: but we instantly recall to mind that our philosopher and divine has already assured us that we are involved in hopeless contradictions if we imagine the Absolute and the Infinite to be any way related to the universe, either as giving and obeying laws, or as repealing and superseding them. Natural and supernatural, the ordinary course of nature and miracle, are alike words, signifying nothing. Mr. Mansel is astonished at the inconsistency of Kant's moral theory,—“An inconsistency scarcely to be paralleled in the history of philosophy.” Whether or not this may have been true when Mr. Mansel begun his lectures, the inconsistency of Kant is at any rate not without a parallel now that he has finished them.

“In no respect,” says Mr. Mansel,⁴ “is the theology of the Bible, as contrasted with the mythologies of human invention, more remarkable than in the manner in which it recognizes and adapts itself to that complex and self-limiting constitution of the human mind, which man's wisdom finds so difficult to acknowledge. To human reason, the personal and the infinite stand out in apparently irreconcilable antagonism; and the recognition of the one in a religious system almost inevitably involves the sacrifice of the other. The personality of God disappears in the pantheism of India; his infinity is lost sight of in the polytheism of Greece. In the Hebrew Scriptures, on the contrary, throughout all their variety of books and authors, one method of divine teaching is constantly manifested; appealing alike to the intellect and to the feelings of man. From first to last we hear the echo of that first great commandment: ‘Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God is one Lord: and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might.’ God is plainly and uncompromisingly proclaimed as the One and the Absolute: ‘I am the first, and I am the last; and beside me there is no God:’ yet this sublime conception is never for an instant so exhibited as to furnish food for that mystical contemplation to which the Oriental mind is naturally so prone.”

⁴ *Limits of Religious Thought.* Fourth Edition. pp. 99, 100.

Is not this, we would ask, exactly a revelation that reveals nothing? Mr. Mansel's lectures exaggerate the one great defect of Butler's *Analogy*. Instead of explanations, they simply present us with a duplicate of our original difficulties. If there were no difficulties in the course of nature or in rational theology, then what Mr. Mansel means by revelation would be entirely unnecessary. If the solution of a riddle be as enigmatical as the riddle itself, it is in truth no solution at all. If the great merit of the Bible be that it is no darker than nature, it is at once a harmless and a useless book. A revelation that removes no veils, reconciles no apparent contradictions, in no way increases our real knowledge, is neither more nor less than an imposition. It seems somewhat strange also to find Mr. Mansel asserting that the Absolute is plainly and uncompromisingly proclaimed as "the First and the Last;" and it is stranger still that he should not perceive how a "personal Christ, very God and very Man," is on the grounds of his own philosophy not only unbelievable but unthinkable. The incarnation of the eternal Word is credible in fact, only to those who believe that God created man in his own image, and that men are partakers of the divine nature. But these are the very men whose philosophy and theology are alike derided by the Bampton lecturer.

"Action," says Mr. Mansel, "and not knowledge, is man's destiny and duty in this life." It may be so; but if it be, nothing is plainer than that man has been very ill made. If there be one impulse that has proved to be irresistible in the whole experience of mankind, it is the impulse to seek knowledge. There is a restless curiosity in the human spirit that seeks knowledge even for its own sake, and apart from all its practical uses. This thirst for knowledge increases with the increase of civilization; it grows with the growth of all that is best and noblest in men. The man who should have no desire for knowledge and be content to act without it, who should act only from feeling or brute instinct, would rightly enough be considered inhuman. Lifeless things have motion, and animals act; but it is the very characteristic of men that they act reasonably. And if we may believe that very Bible to which Mr. Mansel himself sends us, as trustworthy; and at the same time free from all philosophical extravagance, we must remember that we are not merely servants of God, but children and friends. "I no longer call you servants," says Jesus Christ, "because the servant knoweth not what his lord doeth: but I have called you friends; because all things which I have heard of my Father I have made known to you" (John xv. 15). If the Bible be really meant to tell us that it is neither our duty nor

our destiny to know, then the Bible is likely to be quite as useless for regulative as for speculative purposes. Why, indeed, all this elaborate attempt to teach us the limits of religious thought, if it is not our destiny to know? It is pleasant at any rate to be for ever pursuing truth; and if it be our destiny never to overtake her, then perhaps we are destined also to remain for ever ignorant, even of those very boundaries of human reason which Mr. Mansel has taken so much pains to shew us.

But at any rate we have our Bibles left us:—we have *them*, though we do not know the God from whom they come, though our reason is altogether incapable of estimating their real value when we have got them. Any how, they will contain a number of propositions which, if we cannot digest, we may at least receive. Having persuaded ourselves that the Scriptures have been sent to us by that God whom we do not know, and guaranteed by works which reason might call it impossible and contradictory to attribute to the Infinite and the Absolute, we have nothing more to do than sit quietly down, read over and over again from Genesis to the Apocalypse, repeat the sacred and unintelligible formulas, declare that though we do not know what they mean we believe them, do the required deeds, and hope for better things in a future unknown and altogether inconceivable state of being. To some minds this prospect may be cheerful; but all will be glad to know what those evidences are on the strength of which they are to submit their lives to the guidance of a book, and annihilate their understandings.

Even if the Bible be ever so well certified, it will still be a question that we can scarcely help asking with some earnestness, What is to become of all those who have never seen the Bible? Benevolence is as essential to *our* nature as the limits of religious thought; and though we are forbidden to assume that it is essential to the nature of God, yet if he means us to be happy, our happiness must be a human, and not merely a divine happiness. Whatever we may be compelled to believe of the Absolute morality, it is altogether impossible for men and women to be indifferent to the darkness and misery of their fellow-creatures without baseness. Might it not spoil the heaven of a very generous man to find that the noblest spirits of the heathen world were doomed to seek what it was impossible they should discover, and condemned for failing to find it? And after all, if the Bible be the only vehicle by which God reveals to man the truth necessary for his guidance, every one of us may well fear that we may perhaps have missed some portion of the needful teaching, or misinterpreted the revelation which differs so little from the darkness it was meant to scatter. Divines tell us that

the variations of philosophy are the sure sign that there can be no rational theology: why should not rationalists draw a similar conclusion from the variations of Biblical interpretation?

"The legitimate object of a rational criticism of revealed religion, is not to be found in the *contents* of that religion, but in its *evidences*." Possibly; but in that case it must be the plain duty of the great majority of mankind to let "revealed religion" alone. The study of the "evidences" must be careful and thorough in proportion to the greatness of the interests depending upon them: and how many of the worshippers in an ordinary parish church are competent to undertake such a study, or could find time for it? Can unlearned people judge what books are canonical, or determine by what infallible guidance the canon itself was formed? Are all difficulties to be silenced by the mere list of sacred books in the Articles of religion? How much better at once to seek rest in the bosom of the infallible Church! The value of the contents of the sacred Scriptures is easily perceived by every simple mind; the value of the evidences, so far as they are merely external, can be perceived by very few. By a kind of instinct, too, when a better reason has been wanting, clergymen and preachers have habitually exhibited the intrinsic excellence of Scripture truth, rather than its outward credentials, to the congregations they were appointed to instruct. They must have perceived that if a man's first duty towards revealed religion is to criticize its evidences, the majority of their hearers would have no time left to obey its precepts.

It is necessary also to consider that, even if Mr. Mansel's religious philosophy had not rendered miracles perfectly useless as indications of the will of God, not to say at once natural and impossible, necessary and inconceivable,—yet still the record of them forms part of the "*contents*" of the "revealed religion," and is therefore elevated above our criticism. In any common history miracles are regarded as the sure indication that we are entering a mythical or poetical region. To many educated readers miracles are stumbling-blocks in the way of believing the New Testament history. To most of those who believe them, they are credible only because the rest of the contents of the books in which they are recorded give them a moral and spiritual support. If a miracle or series of miracles could be—what on the ground of Mr. Mansel's philosophy they could not—a sufficient evidence of the infallibility of a book, yet no such miracle has ever been wrought to attest the infallibility of

the Bible. Many miracles were wrought by Christ and his disciples; for what purpose and with what result we may ascertain by a careful study of the *contents* of the New Testament. But what miracle was ever wrought to certify the *historical trustworthiness* of the four evangelists, or to assure us that in their teaching and letters the apostles never misrepresented the doctrine of their Lord? Such an attesting miracle must, in fact, have waited for the completion of the Canon.

Putting aside for the present the philosophical inconsistency of regarding miracles as conveying to us information concerning the will of God, it is plain that, as Mr. Mansel uses them, they are no more than exhibitions of power. We may not consider their righteousness or their love, for we are told that we have no means of knowing what the divine love and righteousness are; excepting indeed that they are not like our own. That the teacher of any particular doctrine could work a miracle, is to be considered the sure token that we are to believe everything he tells us, because he had a special commission from God. But are we not told that many persons have wrought miracles, whose teaching has been as widely different as possible from the teaching of the sacred Scriptures? These miracles have hitherto been considered sufficient to throw discredit on the history in which they were recorded.

The biographers of Mahomet assert that he wrought miracles. Their statements are suspicious; but Mr. Mansel's philosophy of religion would compel us to believe, that the whole difference between Islam and Christianity may be reduced to the difference between the strength of the evidence in favour of the veracity of Mahomet's biographers, and the strength of *the evidence altogether outside the New Testament*, tending to prove that the writers of the four gospels were endowed with supernatural power. And though the argument is altogether only *ad hominem*, what will those who accept Mr. Mansel's conclusions do with the early ecclesiastical and mediæval miracles? Dr. Newman's essay is at the least plausible; and Mr. Mansel has removed entirely all *à priori* reasons against such miracles. But the mediæval and even more recent miracles are in favour of the dogmas and ceremonial of the Roman church. Some of them attest transubstantiation, and great numbers of them attest the celestial dignity of St. Mary, and the efficacy of the intercessions of other saints. As Dr. Newman himself admits, "Whether this or that alleged miracle be in fact what it professes to be, must be determined by the particular case:" but when all moral and spiritual considerations are entirely removed, when we are judged to be incapable of forming a true judgment

of the nature of the attested doctrine itself, our faith is left to rest upon the slenderest foundations. And if there were no competing revelations, if a miracle had never been wrought by a teacher of false doctrines, if the requisite marvels have really attested the Christian Scriptures, and if no manifestations of supernatural power have attested anything else, still what does all this amount to? We are simply required to believe what we neither know nor understand, what it is impertinent to admire, blasphemous to deny, and preposterous to criticize. And all this for the one single reason, that we are in the hands of a Being who can employ or invert all the forces of nature for our destruction.

To resign altogether the faculties and aspirations that distinguish us from brute beasts; to be content to accept some representation of God that we know to be erroneous, instead of loving Him with all our hearts for what He really is, and dwelling constantly in genuine communion with Him; to fling away as immeasurable presumption the hope of being like our Father in heaven, and the belief that we are created in His image; to shut ourselves up in the gloomy prison-house of the senses, and try to satisfy ourselves with their vanities and delusions, seems to us to be the deepest degradation. "The primary and direct enquiry which human reason is entitled to make concerning a professed revelation is, how far does it tend to promote or to hinder the moral discipline of man? It is but a secondary and indirect question, and one very liable to mislead, to ask how far it is compatible with the infinite goodness of God."^f It seems then that the moral discipline is altogether independent of the infinite goodness of God; and what indeed can moral discipline be on the ground of Mr. Mansel's philosophy? Men may perhaps be taught to guess what course of conduct will produce the smallest quantity of pain in this world; but when you have destroyed the reason, and removed the models in the copying of which moral goodness consists, the word "moral" ceases to have a meaning. The moral discipline of a man becomes identical with the moral discipline of a brute. Surely even a regulative revelation must regulate and not annihilate our noblest faculties.

As Mr. Mansel does not seem to find it impossible to believe even what is contradictory and irrational, it may be to him a matter of small importance that his philosophy renders the contents and the peculiar structure of the Bible ridiculous. But those to whom the Bampton Lectures come will not forget that the Bible consists of two main divisions, the Old Testament and

^f *Limits of Religious Thought.* Fourth Edition. p. 153.

the New. They will remember that these two portions differ widely from each other; the one is supposed to have abrogated very much of what the other enjoined. God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in the earlier times to the fathers by the prophets, spake in the last times to men by his Son. The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ. But what means have we of determining which of these revelations is the fuller and better? Judging after the manner of men, indeed, we should probably assume that when the later Scriptures differ from the earlier, they are intended to supplement or to amend them, or even to repeal them. But the wisdom of man we are assured is totally different in kind from the wisdom of God. We have no criterion by which to determine what Scripture institutions were meant to be temporary and local, what to be universal and permanent. We cannot tell which is better and fuller,—the directions given to the Israelites about clean and unclean animals, or the Sermon on the Mount; Ecclesiastes, or the Gospel according to St. John. How in this dilemma can the Scriptures regulate even our outward conduct? Shall we really be safe in abandoning the Jewish ritual? Shall we not be unsafe if we continue to observe it? Judaism does indeed seem to have become merged in Christianity; but the Mosaic economy was certified by miracles, and what guarantee can be more complete?

Once more—when we read the Bible we seem frequently to be reading the utterance of the actual experience and feeling of living men. This has been often considered one of the special beauties of the Psalms, and the letters of St. Paul are surely sufficiently human and personal. But what, on Mr. Mansel's theory, can be the use of this peculiar structure? Alas! there is one answer, one comprehensive answer to all objections; an answer also which will moderate all enthusiasm, and hush to silence even admiration itself; we know nothing whatever about the whole subject; we do not know God without the Bible; we do not know Him from the Bible; we know nothing but our own ignorance and the impossibility of becoming wise!

Such is Mr. Mansel's defence of the faith. If there were no better defence than this, then the days of Christianity would be numbered. We believe there is a better defence, if defence be needed; and that it lies precisely in that region from which the *Limits of Religious Thought* shut out the human spirit.

W. K.

INCIDENTS IN THE LIFE OF CHRIST: OR MEDITATIONS ON THE GOSPEL HISTORY.*

I. INTRODUCTION TO THE FOLLOWING MEDITATIONS.

THE following meditations being based upon the doctrine of Christ, it is fitting, in the first place, to consider the excellency of him who delivered it; for as St. Ambrose saith, The first spur to learning is the excellency of the Master. And who more excellent than the Saviour, whom the angel proclaimed great, in all things that can be esteemed great; and the Son of the Highest, in all things that can be accounted high, himself being equal to his Father? The beloved disciple tells us that he was the Word, who was with God, and was God from the beginning of all eternity; so that nothing that is in God can be hidden from him. And again, in him was life, and the life was the light of men; as if he should say, that he was from all eternity, and is the fountain of life and light; and that all is darkness and death which is contrary to his doctrine and word.

II. *The Only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father*, and knows all his counsels, vouchsafed to come amongst us, to impart them to us, and not only to teach them us as a master, but also to encourage us as a companion in doing them. Nothing so hard falls from his lips, which he performs not in his deeds and sufferings; thereby shewing us that it is not beyond flesh and blood to do and to suffer. He was in the bosom of the Father, in eternal rest, and pleasure, and happiness; nor did he disdain to come in mortal flesh, to partake of our miseries and infirmities, to shew us how to bear, and how to cure them. He is at once a dull and cowardly soldier, who seeing his captain advance and use his arms, either cannot learn, or will not follow—especially a Captain so noble and worthy as ours. Behold, says the evangelical prophet, I have given him for a witness to the people, a Leader and Commander to the people, him who is the omniscient Wisdom of the eternal God; him who cannot witness to anything but what is truth; him who cannot lead to anything but what is righteous; him who cannot

* The above is the title of a work by "H. M." published in 1656, "in which every seventh is an application of the six former meditations to the most Blessed Sacrament." The following extracts from the work have been somewhat shortened. It may serve not only as a specimen of the manner in which moral and mystical uses of Holy Scripture were drawn out at that date, but also be valuable to some of us who, in these days, are chiefly concerned with critical exegesis and literal interpretation. The original work apparently extended over three parts, from the second of which the following extracts have been made.

command anything but what is honourable, and just, and good. Him have I given, of my infinite goodness; and he out of his infinite love has accepted the charge, not caring for the labour and pains to be taken in leading and teaching such poor creatures as we are, and refusing none, be they never so weak and wretched.

III. *Be glad then, ye children of Zion; rejoice in the Lord your God, for he hath given you a Teacher of righteousness.* [marg. ref.] The benefit you shall reap by following his doctrine, is not only the performance of what is just and right (itself of much benefit), but he will cause to come down for you the rain of his timely grace, to prevent evil, and to further good thoughts and deeds; and the floors shall be full of wheat, with wholesome and substantial food; and the fats shall overflow with wine and oil of spiritual consolations, even in those things which are pleasing to flesh and blood. 'And I will restore to you the years that the locust hath eaten;' by fervour of spirit, reforming your former ways and repaying the loss of former time; 'my great army which I sent among you,' for it is not our wishes or endeavours which can perform such things; it is the strength of our blessed Lord's merits, and sufferings, and grace, which he in his mercy grants unto us.

THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST.

I. *Then cometh Jesus from Galilee to Jordan, unto John, to be baptized of him* (Matt. iii. 13). Our blessed Lord had lived thirty years at home, in Nazareth, and with St. Joseph, following the trade of carpentering; as may be gathered from the saying of the Jews, Is not this the carpenter? But when the time was come, which he had determined upon for the beginning of his preaching, and for his manifestation to the world, he cometh, poorly and humbly, among the people who flock to St. John, to be baptized of him. He had no need of baptism, or of any other preparation for perfection, as the rest had; but as he obeyed the law of circumcision in his sacred infancy, so would he not now discountenance, but honour the teaching of the Baptist, and undergo that in figure which he was about to establish afterwards, as necessary to salvation. In this he gave us an example not to undervalue things of this nature, though to the eye of man they seem useless. Humility is the ground of all great actions proceeding from God, who being in all things great, would also be great in humbling himself by humiliations, to humble if possible our pride.

II. *But John forbad him, saying, I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me?* (Matt. iii. 14.) Our blessed Lord was not ashamed to be accounted a sinner amongst the

others; but St. John, knowing by revelation who he was, proclaimed his innocence, and took the opportunity to acknowledge his own unworthiness. Every one of us may with reason say, It is I who have need of this sacred ordinance from thy hands, who alone can wash away my sins. It is I who have daily and hourly need of washing, my sins and imperfections being so great and so many. It is I who ought to undergo the shame of confessing them, having not been ashamed to commit them. It is I who owe the debt, and must pay it to the uttermost farthing, unless thou, in thy sacraments and by thy mercy, dost forgive me. Jesus answering, said unto him, Suffer it to be so now, for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness. Many things may offer themselves to thy infinite wisdom, for which it may become thee to humble thyself: but for me, it is my duty; it calls upon me by all the titles of creature, sinner, subject, servant, and by many obligations. These are titles of justice, for which, if I do not fulfil, I shall have to suffer. Thou dost fulfil them, not out of obligation, but out of goodness, to correct our lukewarmness in doing that which it is our duty to perform. What then will it not become me to do, be it never so degrading, or seemingly below me, seeing that thou hast humbled thyself so low unto thy servant.

III. *And Jesus, when he was baptized, etc.* (Matt. iii. 15.) Three signs of the effects of the baptism which those receive who are baptized in water sanctified by God, are, first, the gates of heaven are opened upon them; secondly, the Holy Ghost descends upon them; thirdly, they are made the adopted sons of God. But our blessed Lord was God, eternal Son, eternally beloved; and now the more so, by a new title, of perfect obedience as man, and love towards mankind, coming into the world with the innocence and meekness of a dove, not to punish, but to spare and forgive. Have recourse unto him then, when the heavens are thus opened, delay not repentance; prepare the heart with purity to receive the Spirit of God, and his sevenfold gifts and graces; be meek, and humble, and peaceable, because such are sons of God; love; that thou mayest be loved; endeavour to please God above all, and for no man's pleasure displease him. How sweet, how rich, is the name of Son, which he vouchsafed from heaven, in order to insure the heavenly inheritance. O ye sons of men, how long will ye seek after leasing. The only true honour and riches is to become the sons of God.

THE TEMPTATION OF CHRIST.

I. *Then was Jesus led up of the Spirit into the wilderness*

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(Matt. iv. 1). He was led up by the same Spirit which descended upon him at his baptism, to retirement from the world and fasting, and consequently, to be tempted by the enemy of all religious exercises. His food during these forty days was prayer, and the fervent desire of performing, in life and death, the will of his heavenly Father. By this he taught us how to arm ourselves against the assaults of the devil; as well as not to imagine that because we are sometimes sorely tempted, that therefore we are deserted of God, and of his Holy Spirit; and also, in what way we should prepare ourselves for whatever duty God calls us to perform. And though our blessed Lord persevered so long, without the pains of fasting, yet he was afterwards an hungered, stooping to the infirmities of man, whose nature he had taken. The tempter, unable to fathom the mystery of the incarnation, yet by many circumstances conjecturing the truth, took advantage of his being hungry, and approaching, said, If thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread. Our Saviour did not yield to his wish, because, as St. Augustine says, The tempter is only overcome by despising him; but replied, Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God. For the children of Israel, in the wilderness, were not sustained so much by manna as by Divine providence. Raise thy thoughts to this spiritual food, and to confidence in God, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able.

II. *Then the devil taketh him up into the holy city* (Matt. iv. 5). No man can expect to be free from temptation, since Satan was thus enabled to tempt the Son of God. The more holy we become, and the more highly favoured we are of God, the more must we take heed lest we fall; for then temptations are always the more secret, and disguised with some imitation of good, as in this case, with the words of Holy Scripture misapplied. If thou be the Son of God, do not cast thyself down to things unworthy of God and of his service. Do not allow thyself to be taken up by a much esteem of thyself. Remain rather in the dust; but if thou art thence removed, live with godly fear; be not rash, and place not thyself in the way of temptation. Christ answered, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God. Seek not after extraordinary consolations, unusual illuminations, novel feelings. Rather walk in the ordinary path of holiness followed by saints, allowed by the Church, and enjoined by those set over us. He has, indeed, given his angels charge concerning us; but we must not be rash and headstrong in our ways.

III. *Again the devil taketh him up into an exceeding high*

mountain (Matt. iv. 8). Where does not pride and ambition carry the mind that is once poisoned with them? Of what does it not boast, be it ever so false, as the devil does on this occasion, as if all had been his, to give or to take away at his good pleasure? All these things will I give thee, as if all consisted in present wealth, and glory, and pleasure, and power. They who have had all at their command, what is become of them? People climb hills and encounter dangers to obtain their desire, and with their desire they heap up to themselves sins and torments due to sin. Say with our blessed Lord, Get thee hence, Satan, thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve. No excitement of pleasure, no gratification of vanity, no splendour of wealth, no dignity of power, shall shake my resolution, or entangle me with the allurements to forget or forego my duty to God, and my conscience. And as, upon this, the tempter leaveth him, and behold angels came and ministered unto him; so by stedfastly resisting, we shall become the more free—though never absolutely secure, so long as this warfare continues—and the angels will be the more ready to minister to us against the common enemy.

THE BAPTIST'S TESTIMONY TO CHRIST.

I. *The next day John seeth Jesus coming unto him* (John i. 29). When Jesus is present, all seems easy and nothing hard to us. When Jesus is not present, everything is hard, nothing easy. Come, Lord, take from me this heavy burden of sin, and distaste for what is thy will. Come, thou Lamb of God, innocent, meek, patient, obedient, silent; rightly styled the Lamb of God, because from God alone these gifts can come; and in whom they are found, there God is also found, for he giveth grace unto the lowly. Behold, with a loving, thankful eye, this Lamb, which alone taketh away the sin of the world; and out of his infinite mercy, daily taketh them away by means of his holy sacraments; and though daily multiplied, is yet ready to take them all away, upon true repentance, and meekly and patiently bears with us day by day.

II. *Again the next day after John stood* (John i. 35). Our blessed Lord spoke not; but his humility spoke for him, and shewed that he was indeed the Lamb ordained and ready for the sacrifice. Behold him again and again; observe all his actions; stand as John stood, and consider him; be not easily diverted from so profitable a contemplation; follow him with thy thoughts and actions, for he compels thee not unless his love be sufficiently powerful to draw thee. O sweet compulsion! Draw me, saith the Spouse in the Canticles, draw me, we will run

after thee. There is nothing in him which will not invite thee to follow, if thou dost only duly consider whom thou dost behold. He walketh not the broad ways of the world which lead to destruction; but he goeth in the way of holiness, and sheweth unto us the path of everlasting bliss.

III. *Then Jesus turned, and saw them following* (John i. 38). Our blessed Lord was pleased with their promptness in following him, upon St. John's words; and with their humility and respect towards his person in forbearing to interrupt his thoughts, when he walked without speaking. He was also pleased with their desire to find out where he dwelt, that they might hear him more at leisure, and converse with him more at large. He therefore turned himself, and saith unto them, What seek ye? in order to give them confidence. Observe the benefit of making use of holy inspirations and suggestions; for Christ saith not, Whom seek ye, for it was evident they sought him; but, What seek ye? What aim ye at in following me? A question which may give us an opportunity whether in following him we seek him, or something which self-love or other motive may suggest. As a holy man saith, If thou seekest Jesus, thou shalt find Jesus; if thou seekest thyself, thou wilt find thyself.

IV. *He saith unto them, Come and see* (John i. 39). They desired to know where he dwelt, that they might, in private, hear his instruction, and resort the more often to him. They came and saw where he dwelt; perhaps he had no house or dwelling of his own. However, he invites them to come and see at their leisure. Where? Poorly enough, in all likelihood, as once in a stable; and in his exile, in the desert; and as whole nights, in prayer on the mountain; and even then upon the cross in thought and will. Come and see how long Christ remained in these places, and still remains in the blessed Sacrament. Abide with him in the closet of thy heart, in thy superiors, in his little ones, all the days of thy life. Ascend into heaven with thy thoughts, where he dwells eternally. Ascend thither in desire, that thou mayest follow the more courageously by the path which he points out. Oh, how amiable are thy dwellings, thou Lord of hosts, even in this life. Tell me, O thou whom my soul loveth, where thou feedest; where thou makest thy flock to rest at noon; for why should I be as one that turneth aside by the flocks of thy companions? that is, after the multitude of those who wander without guides, they know not whither.

THE CALL OF THE APOSTLES.

I. *One of the two which followed him was Andrew, Simon*

Peter's brother (John i. 40). Spiritual treasures are not like those of the world; they increase by distribution. And the Spirit and the bride say, Come. And let him that heareth say, Come. There is an abundance for every one that will receive. We have found the Messias. Imagine the joy of St. Peter when he heard this. If Jesus speaks but one word, we feel great comfort; but he that findeth Jesus, findeth a good thing, yea, all that is good. And he brought his brother unto Jesus. This was a true brotherly deed. This is truly to find our Lord; if we truly burn with the love of Jesus, we have a true care for our brother's salvation.

II. *And Jesus said, Thou art Simon; thou shalt be called Cephas* (John i. 42). That is, a rock or stone. It is not enough to find Jesus by faith, or by a sensible sweetness in our devotions. Faith is the groundwork, spiritual consolations are helps to build up more courageously upon the principles of faith. We must incorporate into ourselves his precepts and instructions; and as St. Paul says, Put on the Lord Jesus Christ, that is, his conversation and manner of living. Therefore, so soon as Jesus was found, he gave fresh names to many of his disciples, and of different meanings to those they bore before. St. Peter's name might at first have well signified simple obedience; but now it speaks of fortitude and solidity—always aiming at the greater glory of God, and the exaltation of his holy name. For if Christ speak the word, he can make no less a change in the name than in the things; no less in us than in St. Peter.

III. *And Nathanael said, Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?* (John i. 46). Consider the goodness of our divine Saviour, in seeking after thee, when thou thinkest not of him. Follow then his holy inspirations; and endeavour by word and example to encourage others. Be not rash in judging others; nor self-sufficient of thyself, as if thou didst understand more than others. Take time, and consider whether another may not have more reason than thou; and be not contentious. Despise no man's country, or descent, or occupation, for Almighty God is pleased to make saints in every place and country, and in each condition of life.

IV. *Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom there is no guile* (John i. 47). I saw thee under the fig-tree. O all-seeing eye, thou understandest my thoughts long before. O wondrous knowledge, it is folly in me to attempt to hide, or conceal, or dissemble anything from thee. Give me grace then to serve thee in true simplicity of heart, in the sight of men and angels, without guile or deceit. For thou wilt lay judgment to the line, and righteousness to the plummet. Thou wilt make lies come

to nought, for upon falsehood shall no man prosper. Listen to the promise, Ye shall see angels ascending and descending upon the Son of man. They ascend and descend upon the same Man; admiring the majesty of his person, and wondering at the infirmity of human nature; in both stooping to do him service, and obeying his command, which they consider their highest honour. Adore our blessed Lord as God, and as King of the universe, who hath command of life and death, and who putteth down the mighty from their seats, and hath exalted the humble and meek.

CHRIST TURNETH THE WATER INTO WINE.

I. *And the third day, there was a marriage in Cana of Galilee* (John ii. 1). He went to the marriage in order that, as he had long before of his sovereign power ordained holy matrimony, he might now by his presence sanctify it. But St. Chrysostom suggests another line of thought—If you please, let us contemplate two houses; one of those who are marrying, another of those who are mourning. Let us enter them one after the other, and see which of the two is the better. And they wanted wine. This is what we may be sure of in all the follies of the world—they cannot last. How soon do such comforts fail! How soon do they produce discomfort and distress, even whilst in the enjoyment of them. And so much the greater, because they usually trench upon that which is a continual feast—a merry heart.

II. *Jesus saith unto her, Mine hour is not yet come* (John ii. 4). It is evident from his mother's immediate reply, and confident command, that our blessed Lord's answer was no censure. He would only express that it was a matter belonging neither to him nor to her, to supply such temporal wants, or rather superfluities. Not to him, for he came to supply spiritual necessities; not to her, because she was present as a guest. He had not intended to manifest himself on that occasion; but at her suggestion, which was very modest, only mentioning the want, she felt that it was his pleasure to condescend to follow it; and therefore his mother saith unto the servants, Whatsoever he saith unto you, do it.

III. *Jesus saith unto them, Fill the waterpots with water* (John ii. 7). Our blessed Lord made use of the vessels already at hand. He caused them to be filled up to the brim; and that, on the moment, that men might not say something was mixed with the water, which needed time to make the change. The same divine Word instantly changed the water into wine, which in the beginning said, Let there be light, and there was

light. We should consider who it is who changes water into wine, and hath all things at his command; in order that none should fail to feel wholly dependent upon him. Many things helped to effect this change, the petition of the blessed Virgin, the obedience of the servants, and especially the greater glory of God, which our blessed Lord only sought; for all things work together for good to them that love God, and these are the means by which the waters of affliction are turned into the waters of comfort. Thou hast kept the good wine until now. The joys of the world begin with deficiency and want, falling short of our expectation, and they end with greater disappointment. How many blessings do we receive of God, and know not of them? Chiefly, perhaps, because we seldom reflect upon them. If we once had tasted the wine which our blessed Lord gives us, we should esteem all other vile and tasteless. His wine lasts for eternity. If it were wonderful, says an ancient Father, to turn water into wine, much more marvellous is it to turn sinners into saints; and that things which to the world are insipid and cold and dead, should be restored to life and heat and flavour. The apostles believed on him for that one sign; we, having received so many blessings, shall not we believe?

APPLICATION OF THE FORMER MEDITATIONS TO THE BLESSED SACRAMENT.

I. The ancient fathers were wont, with much devotion, to beg, in the words of the prophet, that the heavens might drop down from above, and the skies pour down righteousness, that the earth might open and bring forth salvation. But here the heavens are always opened for us to behold the beloved Son, who sits at the right hand of his Father, in whom he is well-pleased; and who comes down to us in the holy sacrifice, in no less humble and meek a manner, than when he came to be baptized of St. John the Baptist. Oh, that we had the eyes of that holy man to see his inward perfections, and worth, and glory. How should we then cover our faces with the seraphim, and say, Comest thou to me, the eternal Son of God, the creator and Lord of all things? Thou, the beloved of angels, the Father of fair love, and fear, and knowledge, and holy hope, dost thou vouchsafe to come to me, the most miserable of creatures? I have great reason, not only to suffer it to be so now, but with all the desire of my soul and body to long after it, and to labour to fulfil all righteousness, that I may not be altogether unworthy of so great a blessing. But thou, O infinite goodness, infinite mercy, infinite compassion and love, I have not words to express

what I think, nor thoughts equal to thy worth ; come, notwithstanding, sweet Jesus, and be a Saviour unto me.

II. O bread of life, it is not natural food that can sustain me for eternity ; nor all that the world can give, though I should be master of all the kingdoms of the world. Thou alone art the bread which came down from heaven, which must sustain us in eternity. I that am made of earth can hardly think of ought but earth and earthly things. But he that cometh from above is above all, and what he hath seen and heard, that he testifieth, and to that he invites us. Come, eat of my bread and drink of the wine which I have mingled. Thy bread is thyself, Lord Jesus, which is able to content every man's delight, and agrees to every taste. Thy wine is thy sacred blood, which thou hast wonderfully mingled in the chalice under the eucharistic form of wine, that as it is most comfortable to our souls, it should not be distasteful to our bodies. This bread will never fail us, as did Saul's in his journey. We shall never want for this wine, as they did at the marriage-feast ; but the more we use it, the more there will be to use, both in its fruits and effects. Fill then your eyes with tears of sorrow and love, and pour out your heart to him ; for even these he will turn to your eternal comfort, and will fulfil them again, up to the brim, with his heavenly gifts and graces.

III. Come and see often where he dwells, how poorly he is content to be lodged for thy sake. Look into the churches, where he is to be found, and upon the altar where he is present ; all that is there, God knoweth, is not devotion ; all is not reverence and respect ; all is not cleanliness and decency of heart ; and yet he does not avoid them. Look again into the souls of the communicants, and chiefly into thy own, even when he is received into the inward chambers ; how are they swept, how are they garnished and furnished ? And yet, he hath patience with thee. O blessed master, I am thy servant ; O grant me understanding, that I may live.

O. S.

PHILOSOPHICAL QUESTIONS IN THE ANCIENT SYRIAN CHURCH.

THE object of this paper is simply to illustrate the character of philosophical inquiries among the Syrian Christians at a particular period. For this purpose we shall give a few extracts printed in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, by Prof. Lic. A. Pohlmann, who recently visited Rome, and found in the

library of the Propaganda a MS. which he describes and quotes from. The book was copied early in the seventeenth century, by one of the Maronites, from an ancient document. It was known to Assemani, but his account of it is unsatisfactory. At its commencement there is a general statement of the questions discussed, and this preliminary portion we shall translate. It will be seen that the topics are numerous, and therefore indicative of the range which was taken by speculative and inquiring minds when the work was composed. If it should be thought that some of the matters proposed for discussion are neither obscure nor important, it must be remembered that real science made but slow progress in the world until a recent period. At any rate, we may ascertain from these questions, that men's minds were occupied on problems twelve hundred years ago, which are even now not all settled.

The original author of this curious work appears to have been at one time bishop of Edessa, a place famous on many accounts in the history of the world, of learning, and of the church. Its foundation was ascribed to an antiquity so venerable, that Ephræm Syrus and others believed it to be the Erech of Genesis x. 10, and the Ur of the patriarch Abraham. Its proper name was Urhoi; the Greeks called it Orrhoena or Callirrhœe, and the Arabs term it Raha and Orfah. There lived king Abgar, the first royal convert to Christianity in apostolic times. There was the first church erected, and there most probably was the first version of the New Testament executed in the Syriac language, which was there spoken in its purest form. At Edessa, learning and literature flourished in ancient times. The Christian school of that city produced some eminent men, as the philosophic Bardesanes, the hymn-writer Harmonius, the great Ephræm, etc. This school was suppressed by Zeno in the year 489, and its honours were transferred to Nisibis.

For many centuries, the intellectual activity of the Syrian Christians and their Persian neighbours was very great. Not only did they produce many valuable original works, but translated most of the best Greek and some of the Latin fathers. Eventually they translated portions of the Greek classics, and, it is said, the whole of Aristotle. From the Syriac versions of the last named author, the tradition is, that the Arabic translations were mainly derived. Some of these works still survive, and precious relics of them, by Serguis of Rhesaina and others, are now in the British Museum.

When the Saracen power prevailed, the decline of the church at Edessa began, but it continued still to have its bishops for a long period. One of them, Elijah Bar Shinoia, figures as an author

in the middle of the eleventh century. But the most famous is Jacob, a monophysite who flourished in the seventh century. He wrote many works, including a translation of Aristotle's *Dialectics* into Syriac, and in the opinion of Herr Pohlmann, was the author of the work in which we are now more especially interested. Whatever his name, the author gives a brief account of himself, commencing thus, "To all nations under heaven, brethren and fraternal, and members one of another; brethren of one race, one family, and one communion, with rational and spiritual soul, capable of understanding and of knowledge; and with a tangible and compound body of four material elements; peace and rest on all, from the true Lord of the world! The least brother of all, and the smallest member partaking of human nature with all, a feeble man from Edessa a city of Mesopotamia, which lieth at the head between the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, great rivers; in token of true love and divine pity, telleth your true excellency and wisdom, that I your least brother was called to the presidency at the head of the people, whether by the will of God or by the work of man, praise be to him who knoweth everything! I remained in this ministry at the head of my people about thirty years. I was tempted in many things, and endured great anguish and many afflictions, and tortures and troubles in its management." He goes on to relate how he was compelled by his enemies to flee and afterwards returned, only to be persecuted as before, for his fidelity. He therefore fled again and took up his residence in a wild mountain with three monks. During his retreat he appears to have conceived the idea of writing this book. The facts of his long and troublesome episcopacy square better with what is known of Jacob, than of any other.*

The title of the work is *A general Treatise addressed to all Nations under Heaven, teaching the knowledge of Truth, and how it may be attained*. It is divided into ten parts, each of which is subdivided into chapters, the general summary of which we now proceed to give.

The first part or book contains ten chapters, the subjects of

* In his *Historia Osrhoena et Edessena ex Numis Illustrata* (Petropoli, 1784), T. S. Bayer speaks thus of Jacob of Edessa. "Jacobus in agro Antiocheno natus, Græcam linguam in Mesopotamiæ urbibus prope extinctam restituit, cum ei in monasterio Aphthonii et Alexandriæ operam navasset. Edessensæ urbis Episcopus fuit: sed cum suorum mores ferre non posset, ejectus urbe in monasteriis quibusdam Græcas literas docuit. Revocatus in urbem ad pontificatum, quatuor post mensibus in occidentales regiones profectus quæsitum libros Græcos, quorum incredibili studio ardebat, diem obiit, anno Seleucidarum 1019, A. C. 707," pp. 22, 23. Others ascribe a different date to the death of Jacob; some earlier and some later.

which are these. 1. What man ought to know and teach. 2. How truth may be accurately known. 3. What truth is, and what falsehood is. 4. How it may be known that there is a God. 5. Whether he is one, or many. 6. How many persons he is, and how many properties there are in him. 7. Whether he has a certain name or not. 8. Whether he is the cause of all causes, and the Creator of all creatures. 9. Whether he notices, rules, and provides for all, or not. 10. Whether God is comprehensible or incomprehensible.

It will be seen that this first book starts some of the profoundest questions which can occupy the attention of man. The second book, containing eight chapters, advances from the domain of theology to that of cosmology. 1. Why God created the creatures, and constituted the worlds. 2. What is his will in regard to the creatures. 3. Whether there is another world besides this, visible and existent one. 4. If there is another world, how it exists, and what it is;—material and visible like this, or spiritual, subtle, and invisible. 5. What is the arrangement and administration of the other world which now exists besides this. 6. Whether this world^b is sensible. 7. If another world besides this exists. 8. If there exists and will be another world, what is its arrangement, and indication, and administration.

It will be noticed that the first and seventh chapters are almost identical. The next book includes nine chapters, chiefly relating to man and his faculties. 1. Why man was created. 2. What the nature of man is. 3. How he must think, what he ought to do, and how he should conduct himself in this world. 4. What shall be after man, what is his hope, and what shall be his trust. 5. How it is possible for man to know God. 6. If it is possible for him to know him accurately as he is, or not. 7. If the knowledge of God which man has, is constantly the same, or increases with experience: also whether man's knowledge of God increases and diminishes. 8. What is the reason that, when God is one, and his nature and essence one, there are different notions of Him among all peoples, and tongues, and in all measures, in all men: and even in the same man, why does knowledge vary in all measures. 9. Whether the knowledge of God is different in all respects named: or whether the difference is in men and from men while the knowledge itself is invariable.

The drift of the previous inquiries will be apparent, as also of those in the fourth book, containing five somewhat miscella-

^b In the text *shulomo*, "end" or "termination," but it seems to be an error for '*Olmo*, "world."

neous chapters. 1. Whether the writing and literature that is written in the world, is true, and profitable, and useful. 2. Who discovered writing and invented it, and what is needful in regard to it. 3. Whether the book of Genesis, that is, of the Law, about the creation of the world, is true or not. 4. When this world was created, and how old it is, and whence and of what it was composed. 5. How opposite elements were united, and all that is visible made out of them.

The fifth book, in seven chapters, may be called astronomical. 1. How light was created and whence it comes. 2. How the heavens were spread out, and what they are, and what the firmament above us is. 3. What are the Mauzaloith (spheres), and how many they are, and how they are bound together. 4. Whether there is anything in these spheres invisible to the eyes, and yet by all means proper and needful to be known. 5. How many are the firmaments, *i.e.*, the houses of the spheres. 6. What are the sun and moon, and the rest of the stars; what are they made of, and what is their nature, what is their arrangement and use; where are their places, and what is their operation, and whole law. 7. What causes an eclipse, *i.e.*, an obscuration of sun and moon.

These questions help us to understand what astronomical system our author favoured. Kindred topics come before us in the sixth book, wherein are seven chapters. 1. What is under the whole sphere and the places of the stars; and how comes the fiery ether, and why. 2. What is under the ether; how comes this air, and what are meteors, *i.e.*, the shooting stars which appear by night in the air. 3. Whence comes the arrangement of the clouds; out of what are they multiplied and condensed, and how dissipated. 4. Whence come lightnings and the voices of thunders. 5. Whence rain and dews, and why; and from what cause are snow, hail, and ice. 6. Whence changes of seasons, spring, summer, and autumn, *i.e.*, the beginning of winter. 7. Why do the changes of the seasons come orderly and consecutively, and not suddenly.

Having disposed of his meteorology, the author goes on in the seventh book, in five chapters, to put questions respecting sundry natural objects. 1. Why are there various races of birds and flying things; whence come they; what is the use of them, and what understanding have they. Also, concerning the kinds of fish and all the reptiles which are in the water. 2. What is the nature of earth, and the many varieties that are in it, *i.e.*, in dust and stones, and their operations; of what were formed all the substances which come from the earth, as gold, silver, iron, copper, and other metals, *i.e.*, that which proceeds from

the earth. 3. From what come the hot waters which are in some places, and why ; as well as other waters which spring up ; and many other differences in water ; whereas water has only two natures, one salt, of the seas, and the other sweet for use. 4. What are trees and herbage, and different kinds of plants ; and why, and how. 5. Whence came animals and brute beasts, and why.

In the seventh book, physical inquiries are brought to a conclusion ; and in the eighth, five chapters are devoted to questions arising out of the mental constitution of man. 1. How we ought to regard all that has been said : whether knowledge concerning these things is one, and understanding and speculation[†] respecting them also one : whether, as the experience which man has enlarges, his knowledge of these things increases as well ; or whether speculation about them is also limited in him : what is man the better for the true knowledge of these things ? 2. What is that experience and study which advances the mind of man, and correctly leads it up by the steps and degrees of the knowledge of all these things. 3. By how many degrees man ascends and advances in experience. 4. How far man rises and can attain in knowledge. 5. Whether there is an end and a limit to the knowledge of the truth, or whether it is without end for ever.

From these attempts to ascertain the nature and limits of science and the mind, we are conducted in the ninth book through seven chapters, devoted to some of the questions connected with eschatology. 1. What is the kingdom of heaven, and the delights, blessings, and dominion (?) of well-doers, and how they can be known. 2. What is Gehenna, and the torments of evil-doers. 3. Whether the order and measure of delights and torments is one, or whether there are many differences among them. 4. Whether these differences of delights and torments are of one order continually, or changing. 5. Whether there is an end to the judgment of sinners as some think. 6. Whether both sides are true, and how true when opposed to one another.

It will be observed that the question of a purgatory, or of an intermediate state, is not raised. The tenth book commences without any specification, has no distinction of chapters, and is altogether miscellaneous. It proceeds to shew how the generations and tribes of men were *propagated* (?), why the languages of men are different, and why their countenances, voices, and personal appearance differ, whereas the constitution of their

[†] The original here has the Greek word "theory."

nature is the same; and whether, therefore, their will and thoughts vary like their forms. Why there are these many differences in the manifest and hidden things of men. How kings arose in the world, and when, and why: why rulers of countries and cities, judges and lawgivers, were appointed in the world: why cities, castles, and fortresses were built: why men learn war and fighting with weapons, and armies are appointed for hunting expeditions and warfare. How it behoves every one of these orders, *i. e.*, kings, lords, rulers, judges, lawgivers, and armies making war, to behave, and employ every one of them his rank and office. Why nations are divided from one another. How confessions (*or religions*) arose, when, and why. How many kinds of confessions there are in the world, and into what sorts, species, and variety of opinions every one of them is divided, whereas the race of man is one. Wherein all confessions are opposed to one another, and wherein they agree and are alike. Whether the opposition of these confessions is fixed and firm, or their agreement. Why heads of the faith,^c and presidents are appointed in all confessions. How they are framed, and what they teach. What the order of the priesthood is, what are its degrees, and what are they like. How ought the heads of confessions^d and priests to conduct themselves in this world. Whom they should resemble, what should they expect, and what is their confidence (or dignity). How ought other men to behave as servants, hirelings, and other workmen. How ought rulers, lords, and heads of confessions,^e and priests to behave to other men who are under subjection to them; and how men who are servants, and hirelings, and workmen, should behave to their bodily and spiritual superiors, in deeds and thoughts. After all these things, who is he that binds and aids all men to do and think what is for the peace and preservation of them all, as it is binding and obligatory upon all.

Here the series of inquiries terminates, and the author adds:—"These are the subjects of this book, with other excellent matters, and the word of knowledge is mingled among these topics, as the grace of the rich Giver who is perfect in completeness, hath given and taught unto the feeble and destitute writer, for the profit and help of many who may hereafter meet with and meditate upon them."

Besides the title of the book already given, it appears to have another, "*On the cause of all causes*," which indicates its general scope. The practical intention of the book, was to teach men everywhere the truth, and to deliver them from the

^c *i. e.*, Religious superiors.

^d *Ibid.*

^e *Ibid.*

darkness of religious and scientific error. The copious variety of its details cannot but strike the most casual observer, as indicating the author's mental activity and discipline. But the book is especially interesting, as shewing the nature, objects and method of philosophical and scientific inquiry among the better informed Christians of the east, at the remote period when it was no doubt written. Herr Pohlmann intimates that the work is not complete, but he gives a specimen of it from the chapter on the origin and value of letters. The words employed by the author are almost all Syriac, and the scanty intermixture of Greek words is a noticeable feature, at a time when the language generally had been so much disguised by their multitude. It would seem that Edessa still sought to maintain its ancient reputation in this respect, and that its writers endeavoured as far as possible to avoid the tendency to transfer Greek into Syriac instead of translating it. It may be remarked, that Jacob of Edessa, whom we suppose to have been the author of the work, is remembered as the writer of a Syriac grammar, and he greatly contributed to improve the Syriac language; indeed many say that his grammar was the first compiled in that language. He used all his endeavours to revive a tongue which Greek, Arabian, and other influences were corrupting and supplanting. Hence he endeavoured to prevent the use of new and foreign words, beyond what was absolutely necessary; and the authors he recommended were the older and purer, such as Ephræm, Jacob of Sarug, Isaac the Syrian, and Philoxenus of Mabug. Still, he was remarkable for his avidity for learning; he travelled abroad in search of knowledge, he was a master of the Greek language, and as we have seen, was a translator of Aristotle.

B. H. C.

† There is in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1852, tom. xix., p. 293—333, an interesting article by M. Renan, on certain Syriac manuscripts of the British Museum, containing translations of profane Greek authors, and philosophical treatises. The reader may also consult the Abbé Lavigerie's *Ecole Chrétienne d'Edesse*, 8vo, Paris, 1850; and *De Philosophia Peripatetica apud Syros, commentatio historica*, by M. Renan, Paris, 1852.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[We wish our readers to understand that we cannot be held responsible for the opinions of our contributors and correspondents. The utmost we can do is to keep a careful eye upon the literary character of their communications, and to see that they do not transcend the limits of fair criticism and lawful inquiry. In these days of theological investigation and controversy, liberal concessions must be made to the sincere researches and convictions of those from whom we more or less differ. An organ like this is necessarily made the arena for the discussion of opposite views. The demands that it shall be such are numerous, loud, and undeniable. Truth can lose nothing by impartial investigations in the spirit of Christian charity, candour, and intelligence. Only when men are permitted to speak, can we know the nature and ground of their opinions.]

THE SEPTUAGINT.

THE use I have made of the Septuagint in my work on Genesis i. has given rise to so much adverse criticism, particularly in the notice taken of it in the *Athenæum* (Aug. 31, 1861), where the adoption of that version is pronounced to be fatal to the argument, that I feel called upon to offer a few words of justification, which I beg permission to do through the medium of your Journal. I shall begin with admitting that there was an original Hebrew text, with which that existing at the present day is sufficiently accordant for all the purposes of theological science. But this text, to be of any use, requires to be first translated, and then interpreted; so that, practically, our Scriptures are translations made and interpreted according to the degree of knowledge God has vouchsafed to us. If the original text could be translated with the same certainty as a living language, or even with the certainty that translations from Greek and Latin admit of, there would be no doubt that modern versions ought to be made directly and independently from the Hebrew. But when this has been done, the results are not such as to inspire confidence. Two Hebraists of acknowledged ability, in translating a passage from the same text, for instance, a chapter of the Book of Job, will differ both as to the meanings of the words and the nexus of the sentences. Moreover, in cases where the literal rendering is not doubtful, the sense is often obscure, or actually unintelligible, on account of the great difference between ancient and modern modes of thought and expression. Translators feeling this, have been induced, where they thought they perceived the sense, to interpret rather than translate. It is, in fact, hardly possible to give an intelligible rendering of such ancient writing without having recourse to interpretation. But in so far as such interpretation is not scientifically executed, an element of uncertainty and error is thereby introduced. Now, applying these general remarks to the Septuagint, it must, I think, in the first place be conceded, considering the age in which that translation was made, that the LXX. were in a position far better than that of subsequent translators for being acquainted with, or ascertaining, the meanings of

the Hebrew words, and for understanding the connexion of sentences and the indications of transition particles. It is, I believe, admitted that the Hebrew philologist is greatly dependent upon the Septuagint. Then again with respect to the symbolic and concrete language of a large portion of the Old Testament, which is now the chief source of the difficulty of interpreting it, there is good reason to conclude that at the age of the Septuagint version, the abstract and true signification of such language was still understood; at least, much better understood than at the present day. It seems, in fact, that in consequence of the growing obscurity of the ancient modes of expression, the LXX. did not merely translate, but considered it a part of their office to interpret the more abstruse passages, and transmute them into language consonant with current ideas, and adapted to the advanced state of scriptural knowledge consequent upon the completion of the canon of the Old Testament. Accordingly in the same book, and even in the same chapter, we meet with some sentences translated strictly enough, while others differ so much from the original, that we find it hard to discover how the original suggested them. These deviations are often so singular and so wide, that at first sight it appears uncertain whether they are to be attributed to ignorance or to science. But when it is considered that notwithstanding such divergencies from the Hebrew text, the use of the Septuagint was sanctioned by Christ and his apostles, and that in the New Testament the transmuted passages are in various instances quoted in preference to the original ones, we are no longer at liberty to doubt that the former are true interpretations of the latter given on definite principles. The principle which seems commonly to govern these interpretations is that of expressing, in general and abstract terms, the sense which the concrete terms of the original were intended to convey.

To illustrate and confirm the foregoing argument, I propose now to give particular consideration to one signal instance of deviation of the Septuagint from the Hebrew, and to enquire into the rationale of it. I refer to a clause in Psalm xl. 7, the literal rendering of which from the Hebrew is, "Thou hast digged out my ears," i.e., as Rosenmüller explains, "*aurium meum mihi effodisti.*" There is no question about the correctness of this translation, but much as to what it means. Some commentators refer for explanation to Exod. xxi. 6, and take the Hebrew to signify, "my ears thou hast pierced," in token of perpetual service. Against this view Rosenmüller justly remarks, that it is not there affirmed that both ears were pierced, and the Hebrew word signifying "to bore through," is not the same as that used in the passage under consideration. According to his own view, which is also that of other German commentators, to dig out the ears is to open them for hearing and obeying, and he appeals to Is. i. 5, "The Lord God hath opened mine ear, and I was not rebellious." Here, however, the Hebrew word is a different one, and does not mean "to dig," but strictly "to open," as also does the corresponding word in the Septuagint. The English version, "mine ears hast thou opened," interprets according to this view, avoiding the literal translation. The commentator Scott adduces both the above views, but does not decide between

them. The LXX., as is well known, have given, *σῶμα δὲ καταρτίσω μοι*, "a body hast thou prepared me," which, as it is certainly not a translation of the original, must be taken to be their interpretation of it. It is evident that neither of the foregoing views at all accords with this interpretation. Rosenmüller, after remarking that the Alexandrian interpreter takes "digging out" in the sense of "preparing," and "ears" by synecdoche for the whole body, adds somewhat contemptuously, "it does not concern us to consider the different accounts that have been given of the Greek version, as we are interpreting the Hebrew text, not the Alexandrian version." Dean Alford (on Heb. x. 5) candidly owns that he has no explanation to give of this divergence of the Septuagint from the Hebrew.

But what if after all it should appear that the Septuagint version of this passage is the true interpretation of it, and the only one it admits of? This might, I think, be safely inferred from the fact, that in the Epistle to the Hebrews (x. 5) the passage is quoted as it stands in the Septuagint. This position may also be maintained by the following independent argument. First, it may be remarked that "to open" (sc. a door) has an objective sense, which, when applied to the ears, naturally suggests the ideas of listening and obeying. But it would be contrary to principle to attach this inferential sense to "digging out," which has a proper objective meaning quite distinct from that of "opening." It is singular that Hebraists have not referred for illustration to Isaiah li. 1, the Hebrew of which contains a word signifying literally to "dig out," which, as the context shews, is to be taken in the general sense of forming, or creating (4 Esdras xiii. 6 and 7, may be adduced as exemplifying this sense). Thus the particular and commonly observed *operation* of digging, which in our passage has reference to the *meatus* of the ear, may be taken as signifying generally to form or make. This generalization is expressed in the Septuagint by *καταρτίζω*, a verb peculiarly applied to the creation of external objects (as, for instance, in Psalm lxxiii. 16, *σὺ καταρτίσω ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην*), and selected here on the same philological principle as that according to which to *form* and to *make* have both in Latin and in English equivalent meanings. If these reasons suffice to shew that operative formation is the leading idea of the passage, and thus account for *καταρτίζω*, it will be easy to explain the occurrence of *σῶμα*. For to form the ears is clearly an operation the same in kind as that of forming the whole body, and implies the latter. The Alexandrine interpreters seem, therefore, rightly to have judged that the ears are specified solely because their visible form accords with the particular operation by which formation in general is here signified, and that the formation of the whole body is implicitly indicated. The context of the passage appears also to require this generalization. Thus, if my reasoning be good, a sentence, which, as literally translated from the Hebrew, would in these days be unintelligible, admits of being interpreted by the aid of the Septuagint. From this and other similar instances that might be adduced, I have come to the conclusion that true principles of interpretation are contained in that version, and that

as an *interpreter* of the Hebrew Scriptures the Septuagint is a trustworthy and intelligent guide. I do not mean to say that all the variations of the version from the original are to be accounted for on the principle of interpretation. There are instances, such as Isaiah ix. 5 and 6, which seem almost to prove that the LXX. must have had a different Hebrew text from that which is now received. But this point I am not prepared to discuss at present. I will only remark, that when it is considered how large a portion of the Hebrew Scriptures is accurately translated, or interpreted, in the Septuagint, and when the epoch at which the version was made, and the sanction it received for centuries from both Jews and Christians, are taken into account, there seems no sufficient ground for saying, that any unexplained deviations from the original are to be attributed to ignorance on the part of the seventy interpreters.

It is for reasons such as the above that in the work before referred to, I have called the Septuagint "a new form" of the Scriptures, meaning to assert that by the form and character of the language, it serves to interpret much of the Old Testament which otherwise would be unintelligible, and thus to a certain extent supersedes the original. I admit that the Septuagint was chosen for the text of my essay, because, being unacquainted with Hebrew, I could in no other way judge for myself respecting the exact meaning of the terms of the Scripture cosmogony; but at the same time I maintain that the foregoing argument respecting the merits of that ancient version not only justifies such a use of it, but also favours the presumption that no direct translation of the Hebrew could answer the same purpose equally well.

Cambridge, February 17, 1862.

J. CHALLIS.

THE THREE FIRST YEARS OF DANIEL'S CAPTIVITY.

IN Daniel i. 1 we read, "In the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah came Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon unto Jerusalem, and beseiged it."

In ver. 5 we read, "And the king appointed them (that is, certain of the captive children of Israel, among whom was Daniel) a daily provision of the king's meat and of the wine which he drank: so nourishing them three years, that at the end thereof they might stand before the king."

In ver. 18 we read, "Now at the end of the days that the king had said he should bring them in, then the prince of the eunuchs brought them in before Nebuchadnezzar."

In chap. ii. 1 we read, "And in the second year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuchadnezzar dreamed dreams," and we learn from the following part of this chapter that these dreams were interpreted by Daniel: but, some are unable to see how there could have been three years between the time that Daniel was taken captive by Nebuchadnezzar and the time that Nebuchadnezzar dreamed his dreams in the second year of his reign.

The following table illustrates the solution of this seeming difficulty.

Captivity of Jehoiachin	Jehoiakim 1			
	2			
	3			
	4			
	5	Nebuchad. 1		Captivity of Daniel, Dan. i. 1.
	6	2		Nebuchadnezzar begins to reign, Jer. xxv. 1.
	7	3		Nebuchadnezzar's dreams, Dan. ii. 1.
	8	4		
	9	5		
	10	6		
	11	7		
1	Jehoiachin 3	8		Captivity of Jehoiachin, 2 Kings xxiv. 12.
2	Zedekiah 2	9		
3	3	10		
4	4	11		
5	5	12		
6	6	13		
7	7	14		
8	8	15		
9	9	16		
10	10	17		
11	11	18		Jer. xxxii. 1.
12	1	19		Destruction of the temple, Jer. lii. 5, 12.
13	2	20		
14	3	21		
15	Ezekiel xl. 4	22		
16	5	23		
17	6	24		
18	7	25		
19	8	26		
20	9	27		
21	10	28		
22	11	29		
23	12	30		
24	13	31		
25	14	32		
26		33		
27		34		
28		35		
29		36		
30		37		
31		38		
32		39		
33		40		
34		41		
35		42		
36		43		Josephus, <i>Apion.</i> , i. 20.
37		Evil-Me. 1		Release of Jehoiachin, Jer. lii. 31.

We learn from 2 Chron. xxxvi. 5, 9, 11, that Jehoiakim reigned eleven years, and Jehoiachin three months, and Zedekiah eleven years, as appears in the table. We also learn from Berosus, as handed down by Josephus, *Apion*, i. 20, that Nebuchadnezzar reigned forty-three years, and that Evil Merodach was his successor, as also appears by the table.

We also learn from Jer. xxv. 1, that the first year of Nebuchadnezzar was in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, as also appears in the table.

We also learn from Jer. xxxii. 1, that the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar was in the tenth year of Zedekiah, as also appears in the table.

We also learn from Jer. lii. 5, 12, that the nineteenth of Nebuchadnezzar was in the eleventh year of Zedekiah, when Jerusalem was smitten and the temple destroyed, as also appears in the table.

But these statements as to the first, the eighteenth, and the nineteenth years of Nebuchadnezzar, require that the first year should be partly in the fourth, and partly in the fifth year of Jehoiakim, and that the eighteenth should be partly in the tenth and partly in the eleventh year of Zedekiah, and that the nineteenth should be partly in the eleventh of Zedekiah and partly in the following year, as also appears in the table.

We also learn from 2 Kings xxiv. 12, that the king of Babylon in the eighth year of his reign took Jehoiachin captive, as also appears in the table.

We also learn from Ezekiel xl. 1, that the twenty-fifth year of the captivity was in the fourteenth year after Jerusalem was smitten, as also appears in the table.

We also learn from Jer. lii. 31, that the thirty-seventh year of the captivity of Jehoiachin was in the first year of Evil Merodach king of Babylon, as also appears in the table.

Thus the connexion of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar with the reigns of the kings of Judah, as set forth in the table, is fully supported, and as the first year of Nebuchadnezzar was partly in the fourth and partly in the fifth of Jehoiakim, the second of Nebuchadnezzar, when he dreamed his dreams, must have been partly in the fifth and partly in the sixth of Jehoiakim. Hence we see plainly how there might have been three full years between the time that Daniel was taken captive and the time that Nebuchadnezzar dreamed his dreams.

Daniel might have been taken captive in the early part of the third of Jehoiakim, and the dreams of Nebuchadnezzar might have been late in that part of his second year which was in the sixth of Jehoiakim.

In this case, in the fourth and fifth of Jehoiakim we should have two full years, and in the parts of his third and his sixth years we could have the third full year.

But, it may be said, that Daniel was taken captive by Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon. In reply it may be said that R. Eliezer, c. xlix., p. 135, says, "R. Abahu says, 'Nebuchadnezzar reigned forty-five years,'" and according to Seder Olam, the reign of Nebuchadnezzar was

forty-five years, that is, two years more than are assigned to it by Berosus and deduced from Scripture, and these two years would reach up to the second year of Jehoiakim, that is, before the time that Daniel was taken captive, and it may be that during these two years Nebuchadnezzar was associated with his father in the kingdom, and thus when he took Daniel captive, he would have done it as associate king, and his reign of forty-three years must be understood as his sole reign after the death of his father.

At all events, what he did in the third of Jehoiakim might well be afterwards spoken of, as having been done by Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, inasmuch as he became king in the following year.

According to Berosus, as handed down by Josephus, *Apion*, i. 19, Nabolassar king of Babylon sent his son Nabuchodonosor against Judæa.

Thus the seeming difficulty as to the first three years of Daniel's captivity may receive a satisfactory solution.

Luffingcott, Dec. 5, 1861.

FRANKE PARKER.

THE PROPHECY AGAINST DAMASCUS.

YOUR correspondent A. B. C., appears to be too precipitate in concluding that the prophecy of Isaiah respecting Damascus has not been fulfilled. From 2 Kings xvi. 10, he concludes that Damascus was not destroyed by its conqueror, Tiglath Pileser. The verse quoted, however, warrants no such construction. The Assyrian king conquered Rezin, and, taking possession of his capital, put the king of Syria to death. He himself made Damascus his head-quarters, and here received the visits of the tributary kings, who had submitted to his dominion, or sought his assistance. Here among others, Ahaz, king of Judah, came to cultivate his friendship. When the conqueror returned to Assyria, he carried the people of Damascus captive to Kir, and *then* probably destroyed the city, which he had previously depopulated. It is true, Josephus assures us (*Antiq.*, ix., 12, 3), that Damascus was repopled by a colony of Assyrians; but, on this point, we may fairly hesitate to receive the testimony of Josephus.

The prophet (it may be admitted) speaks of the destruction of Damascus as perpetual; for this seems to be the ordinary meaning of *Musar me-'ir* (ἀρθησεται ἀπὸ πόλεων). Here, of course, is raised the question, whether the language of prophecy is to be interpreted literally, as Keith contends, or poetically, as is now the prevailing opinion. That the literal interpretation should be sustained, Tyre (of whose present condition your correspondent seems to be imperfectly informed) is a decisive instance. Nothing can be stronger than the words of Ezekiel respecting this city (see Ezek. xxvi. 21). Accordingly, Tyre, both insular and continental, was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar (though Gesenius and others boldly dispute this fact); yet the insular city was quickly rebuilt; and was (as every one knows) a powerful city in the time of Alexander, and again, at a later period, during the Crusades. (See *William of Tyre*, lib. xiii., cap. i.). Maundrell, it is true, speaks

of the inhabitants, in his time, as consisting "only of a few poor wretches, harbouring themselves in the vaults, and subsisting chiefly on fishing;" but the fortunes of the place have been partially retrieved since 1696; and, at a late period, Tyre possessed three thousand inhabitants.

With respect to Damascus, if (as I think we are bound to conclude) it was really destroyed by Tiglath Pileser, it quickly recovered its former importance, and became again, under the Persians, the metropolis of Syria. In the time of Alexander, it was one of the treasure cities of Darius; and Quintus Curtius (lib. iii., cap. xiii.) describes the ample treasures which Alexander gained in this city, by the treachery of the governor.

I need scarcely add, that the title of the prophecy (Isaiah xvii. 1) is supposed to be surreptitious; and that it should not be translated "the Burden of Damascus," but "the Prophecy" (as in the Arabic version, or, as Lowth has it, "the Oracle) against or concerning Damascus,"—
τὸ ρῆμα τὸ κατὰ Δαμασκὸν. M. R. E.

NEHEMIAH THE TIRSHATHA.

YOUR correspondent, "a Constant Reader," in *The Journal of Sacred Literature* of January, p. 444,—doubtless our logical friend G. or G. B.,—has taken exception to the following passage in my letter of July last, p. 422, as hasty and untenable. "Nehemiah, who was living in the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, B.C. 433, also sealed the covenant with those priests who came up from Babylon to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel, as is supposed in the reign of Cyrus. Cyrus must have died, therefore, later than B.C. 530." Here are three propositions:—

1st. That Nehemiah was living in B.C. 433.

2nd. That he did a certain act, as is supposed, in the reign of Cyrus.

3rd. That if so, Cyrus must have died later than B.C. 530; in other words, that the almost universally received chronology of Cyrus must be incorrect.

Now your correspondent, if I am not mistaken in his identity, is naturally sensitive as regards this conclusion, because he has made several efforts—unsuccessfully, I think—to prove that Cyrus died cir. B.C. 530. He proceeds, therefore, to argue thus:—

1st. "*It is almost universally allowed* that Babylon was taken by the Medes and Persians about B.C. 538, and that Zerubbabel and the Jewish exiles entered Judæa cir. B.C. 536," i. e., in the scriptural first year of Cyrus.

2nd. Nehemiah was living in B.C. 445.

3rd. If so, he could not be the Nehemiah who came up with Zerubbabel in B.C. 536. Because the age, in that case, to which he must have lived, would be incredible.

Your correspondent thus asks us to take for granted the "almost

universally allowed" arrangement of the reign of Cyrus. In other words, he simply begs the question at issue.

His argument is good, if we admit the correctness of his chronology, which is called in question, but needs no further consideration, until he can establish that the first year of Cyrus was B.C. 536.

He proceeds to add, "there is no scriptural warrant for assuming that Nehemiah the Tirshatha sealed the covenant with those priests who came up from Babylon to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel." As Sir Isaac Newton, no ordinary sifter of evidence, has read the scriptural warrant to the same effect as that set forth in the words objected to, it may perhaps be interesting to some to know the grounds of the assumption.

Now, on a first glance at the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, it will be observed, that Jeshua the high priest, and Zerubbabel, on their arrival at Jerusalem, were immediately engaged in keeping the first feast of tabernacles, with the accustomed burnt-offerings, "as written in the law of Moses," which law we may presume, therefore, was read on the occasion (Ezra iii. 2—6): and that at the time of the sealing of the covenant by Nehemiah (Neh. viii. 13—17), those who it is said "*were come again out of the captivity*" were engaged in the very same acts,—*viz.*, in reading the law, and keeping the feast of tabernacles for the *first* time. For "they found written in the law which the Lord had commanded by Moses, that the children of Israel should dwell in booths in the feast of the seventh month;" "and the congregation of them that were come again out of the captivity made booths, and sat under the booths: for since the days of Jeshua, the son of Nun, unto that day had not the children of Israel done so." Now if these latter words are intended to imply what they express, that is, that those who had been in actual captivity at Babylon, not their descendants of the third generation, now sat under booths, and kept the first feast of tabernacles since the time of the son of Nun, or even since the first of *Cyrus*, then can there be no question that the feast of tabernacles in the Book of Ezra, and the feast of tabernacles in the Book of Nehemiah, are one and the same feast. That the "congregation of them that were come again out of the captivity" (Neh. viii. 17), refers to "the children of the province that went out of the captivity," (vii. 6,) not their grandchildren, I think, is obvious: but taking the words relating to the keeping of the feast as not intended to express that the feast had in no instance been kept since the days of Joshua, still the implied antithesis here seems to be, that from the days of Jeshua, the son of Nun, *to the days of Jeshua, the son of Jozadak*, no *such* feast had been celebrated; the inference from which would be, that the feast and the sealing of the covenant must have been in the days of Jeshua, the son of Jozadak, who was high priest in the reigns of Cyrus and Darius.

Again, if we are to "*see at once*," as your correspondent writes, "that the *seventh* month spoken of in Nehemiah vii. 73, has reference to what occurred in Judea in B.C. 536-5; but the *seventh* month spoken of in Nehemiah viii. 2, *evidently* refers to what took place in Jerusalem some ninety years afterwards in B.C. 445;" then is it also clear that

the captives there spoken of as having come out of captivity had in fact never been in captivity, and that the following chapters of Nehemiah are thus abruptly disarranged:—

Chapter vii.	B.C. 536.
„ viii., ix., x.	445.
„ xi. to xii. 9	536.
„ xii. 27.	445.

Such an ingenious interlacing of histories ninety years apart by Nehemiah did not on investigation by Sir Isaac appear to him so evident. For he writes in his *Chronology of the Empire of the Persians*, p. 358, “The history of the Jews, under Zerubbabel, is contained partly in the three first chapters of Ezra, and first five verses of the fourth; and partly in the Book of Nehemiah, from the fifth verse of the seventh chapter to the ninth verse of the twelfth; for Nehemiah copied all this out of the chronicles of the Jews written before his days, as may appear by reading the place, and considering that the priests and Levites who sealed the covenant on the twenty-fourth day of the seventh month (Neh. x.) were the very same with those who returned from captivity in the first year of Cyrus (Neh. xii.), and that all those who returned sealed it. This will be perceived by the following comparison of their names:—

“THE PRIESTS WHO RETURNED.

Nehemiah (Ezra ii. 2).
 Serajah.
 *
 Jeremiah.
 Ezra.
 *
 Amariah.
 Malluch.
 Hattush.
 Shechaniah or Shebaniah (Neh. xii. 2, 14).
 *
 Rehum or Harim (Ibid., iii. 15).
 Meremoth.
 Iddo.
 *
 Ginnetho.
 *
 *
 Abijah.
 Miamin.
 Maadiah.
 Bilgai.
 Shemajah.
 Jeshua.
 Binnui.
 Kadmiel.
 Sherebiah.
 Judah.

THE PRIESTS WHO SEALED.

Nehemiah.
 Serajah.
 Azariah.
 Jeremiah.
 Ezra (Neh. viii.)
 Pashur.
 Amariah.
 Malchijah.
 Hattush.
 Shebaniah.
 Malluch.
 Harim.
 Meremoth.
 Obadia or Obdia.
 Daniel.
 Ginnethon.
 Baruch.
 Meshullam.
 Abijah.
 Mijamin.
 Maaziah.
 Bilgai.
 Shemajah.
 Jeshua.
 Binnui.
 Kadmiel.
 Shebaniah.
 Hodijah.

“Comparing therefore the books of Ezra and Nehemiah together, the history of the Jews under Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius Hystaspes, is

that they returned from captivity under Zerubbabel, in the first year of Cyrus, with the holy vessels, and a commission to build the temple, and came to Jerusalem and Judah, every one to his city, and dwelt in their cities until the seventh month, and then coming to Jerusalem they first built the altar, and in the first day of the seventh month began to offer the daily burnt-offerings, and read in the book of the law, and they kept a solemn feast, and *sealed a covenant*." So that Newton has interpreted the book of Nehemiah in the same sense as that objected to by your correspondent, and the words he objects to have not been either hastily or unadvisedly written, as he supposes.

I have always felt the greatest reverence for these observations of Newton, and it is one of the most interesting points connected with this enquiry, to trace the working of the mind of the great mathematician and philosopher while engaged in the investigation of this intricate period of history, which was the occupation of the latter years of his life. His data all appear to point directly to the same conclusion, which must have presented itself to his mind, viz., that Cyrus was contemporary with Darius the son of Hystaspes, and that Darius was he who was called Darius the Mede; though he has shrunk from drawing the conclusion.

1. He has shewn that Nehemiah the son of Hachaliah, according to the common reckoning of the reign of Cyrus, must be supposed to have lived to the incredible age of 120 years and upwards. But declining the inference that the reign of Cyrus, therefore, must be lowered to the level of the reign of Darius, he has left the books of Ezra and Nehemiah encumbered with this insuperable difficulty.

2. He admitted that the commencement of the "sixty-two weeks" of Daniel ending in the birth of Christ must be placed in the year B.C. 536-5, and that the "seven weeks" or forty-nine years, which properly precede the sixty-two, form the period of a jubilee:^a yet he failed to place the jubilee where he had thus fixed it, and also to draw the important inference, that the whole period of seventy weeks, or 490 years, from the time of the delivery of the prophecy in the first year of Darius son of Ahasuerus, must have commenced in the year B.C. 493, when Darius was about threescore and two years old, as Ctesias attests.

3. He admitted that Darius the Mede of Daniel was son of Ahasuerus, that is, of Cyaxares the son of Astyages,^b which last king, according to Herodotus, married in the year of the eclipse B.C. 585, and that Darius, his reputed grandson, lived to the age of upwards of sixty-two: but failed to draw the necessary inference, that this great king must have been "set over the realm of the Chaldeans" during the reign of Darius son of Hystaspes, and was therefore identical with that prince; and preferred to place, contrary to all authority, the eclipse of B.C. 585 which he rightly calculated, in the reign of Cyaxares son of Astyages, instead of the reign of Cyaxares father of Astyages. Had Newton, on the authority of Xenophon, placed the conquest of Egypt by Persia in the reign of Cambyses, who married Mandane, who was the father, not

^a *Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel*, p. 133.

^b *Short Chronicle*, pp. 37, 38.

the son, of Cyrus who conquered Babylon, and on the authority of Ctesias, made Cyrus who conquered Astyages, the father, not the son, of Cambyses who conquered Egypt, his combined data would have been complete, and the inference at which he was evidently aiming would have been arrived at. As it is, though fully impressed with the difficulties of the subject, he has left them without solution. Another very recent writer, equally impressed with the difficulties, who has given much study and attention towards their solution, viz., the late Duke of Manchester, who has collected much valuable material bearing upon the subject, rather than accept the contradictions and absurdities of the current scheme, has been willing to come to the extraordinary inference that Cyrus and his son Cambyses must be identified with two kings of Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar, father and son. Such are the evidences of the extreme difficulty of the problem. Yet the solution I have suggested is simple, and by no means violent, viz., that Ctesias and Xenophon should be allowed to correct the errors they had detected in Herodotus, from whom we shall then learn, that Cyrus or Coresh, who released the Jews from captivity, was the son of Cambyses king of Persia, and not his father, thus making him contemporary with Darius. And this when admitted will lead us to a consideration of the religious ferment which pervaded Persia in the time of these princes, and of the contentions between Cyrus and Darius, so clearly alluded to by Daniel, who was well acquainted with both, but which religious ferment is scarcely referred to by Herodotus, Ctesias, or Xenophon.

Your correspondent concludes with the unhappy conjecture, that Newton "would almost certainly have rejected the notion that the Tirshatha, the son of Hachaliah, and cupbearer of Longimanus, is to be identified with the Nehemiah who came to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel." If he will refer to Newton's *Chronology*, p. 368, he will read, "Meshullam the son of Berechiah, and Azariah the son of Maaschiah, the son of 'Ananiah, were fathers of their houses at the repairing of the wall, Neh. iii. 4, 23; and that their grandfathers, Meshazabeel and Hananiah, subscribed the covenant in the reign of Cyrus; Neh. x. 21, 23. Yea, Nehemiah, the same Nehemiah the son of Hachaliah, was the Tirshatha, and subscribed it, Neh. x. 1, and viii. 9; Ezra ii. 2, 63." If so, will your correspondent tell us why Newton should almost certainly have rejected the notion that the son of Hachaliah, the cupbearer of Longimanus, should be identified with the Nehemiah who came up with Zerubbabel?

I. W. BOSANQUET.

Claymore, 17th Feb., 1862.

KELLY ON THE REVELATION.

ALLOW me a few words in reference to the notice in your October issue of Mr. Kelly's *Lectures on the Revelation*, in which I observe a very serious insinuation against the doctrine of that work.

I feel the more called on to draw attention to it, as I am convinced the author will not deem it to demand any notice on his own part.

Mr. Kelly, says the reviewer (*J.S.L.*, p. 177), considers that in the Revelation "the Lord Jesus is viewed not in his place of intimacy. . . . Somewhat similar is that remarkable expression which has perplexed so many in the Gospel of Mark (chap. xiii. 32), etc." These remarks are then compared with a portion of the Athanasian Creed, with which they are attempted to be shewn as at variance.

Now sir, I am persuaded that no person could peruse Mr. Kelly's work, or any part of it, without being assured of his soundness in the faith on fundamental points. And I submit that not only are the statements animadverted or consistent with orthodoxy, (the Athanasian Creed if you will), but that they afford the only sound and intelligent view of the passages in question, as opposed to the profane use to which they (especially that in St. Mark) have been perverted to the denial of the divine glory of our blessed Lord. The criticism of the review seems to me to be founded on a confusion of unity of *person* with unity of *character*, in our Lord—as if the distinction of the various characters in which he may be viewed as having taken flesh amounted to a division of his person. For it is this distinction alone which the sentences from the *Lectures* clearly have reference.

That Jesus was God, even as a man here below, is of course undoubted, and I observe that in the very same page of the *Lectures*, this truth is strongly insisted on. But the question is, in what way could he who was God be spoken of, as Scripture does speak of him, as having a revelation given to him—unless it be, as Mr. Kelly observes, as being "viewed, not in his place of intimacy, as the only-begotten Son in the bosom of the Father, but in one of comparative distance?" How could he be said not to know "the day and the hour," as in Mark, except on the principle that He is "the Servant-Son of God all through that Gospel; and it is the perfection of a servant not to know what his Lord doeth—to know, if we may so say, only what he is told?" If any other satisfactory explanation can be given, why is it not advanced?

Then again, as to another point noticed, namely, that the Revelation is addressed to *servants*, I would observe that even Christians may be looked on as God's servants, as well as, doubtless, through grace, his sons. And as to this relationship having a special connexion with the people of God in the latter day, as Mr. K. believes, I would remark, that this need not in anywise imply, as the reviewer imagines, retrogression in the ways of God, but the contrary. For, on Mr. Kelly's view, we, the sons, should at the period referred to be exalted to full glory and blessedness in heaven, while on earth hitherto rebellious Israel, not to speak of "the nations," shall become the true and blessed servants of the Lord.

* * *

THE "TE DEUM."

THE misgivings of your correspondent A. H. W. and his friend Lamed, as to the universally received character of the *Te Deum*, lie so much

upon the surface, that I feel rather surprised that the former should have thought it worth while to record them in the pages of your Journal. But as the *Guardian* well observes, "Men seem ready to throw their opinions of all kinds as it were into the melting-pot, and watch with a great deal more curiosity than anxiety what is to come forth. What is new is more valued than what is true, or rather whatever is new is taken for the time as true."

The idea that our Lord can ever be addressed as the "Father Everlasting" is utterly opposed to the *usus loquendi* of Scripture and of the universal Church. Lamed, as cited by your correspondent, adduces two passages in support of it. According to him, the term Father Everlasting is applied to Christ in Isaiah ix. 6. So we read in the Authorized Version, but this rendering is not borne out when the passage is investigated. Hengstenberg observes in his *Christology*, "This allows of a twofold explanation. Either we may suppose, according to a frequent usage of the state construct, that Father of Eternity is the same as Eternal Father: and the meaning would be, that the Messiah will not, as must be the case with an earthly king, however excellent, leave his people destitute after a short reign, but rule over them and bless them for ever. Or we may explain it by the usage of the Arabic, in which he who possesses a thing is called the father of it, *e.g.*, the father of mercy, "the merciful." We have the more reason to suppose this usage adopted here, since in respect to proper names especially, it very often occurs in Hebrew. Thus, *e.g.*, אבִי הַקָּדוֹשׁ Father of strength, "strong," אבִי הַכְּבוֹד Father of glory, "glorious." In "neither case" is the meaning identical with that which we attach to the words "Father Everlasting." By these we especially mean the "Ancient of days," he who ever *has been*. But in this passage the prophet would designate Him who is to *rule over his people*, implying rather the power and dominion of the Messiah which he predicted *was to be*. So it is understood by the Septuagint and the Vulgate. Πατήρ του μελλοντος αιωνος, Pater futuri sæculi. This is in perfect harmony with the preceding words, "The government shall be upon his shoulders." And St. Paul says, "He must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet." Plainly then the term "Everlasting Father" is here wholly inapplicable.

Again, Lamed tells us that "the Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth," is addressed to Christ, and hence he would infer that the above expression found in the second verse of the *Te Deum* is appropriately applied to our Lord. The prophet no doubt saw the glory of Christ, for the evangelist asserts it. But the "threefold invocation" of the Seraphim, would lead us to infer that in some awful and mysterious manner the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity were present, though the voice might only have proceeded from Him who afterwards assumed our human nature. And that the Holy Three were present, is evident from the eighth verse. "Also I heard the voice of the Lord saying, Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?" But we have no warrant for inferring that the invocation was addressed to the Second Person in *particular*, and certainly not for using that term which we exclusively appropriate to God the Father.

Let us now see whether we have any sanction for the use of this expression from the language of the New Testament. Our Lord in the pages of the Gospel is nowhere presented to us in such a way as to lead us to suppose that in his intercourse with his disciples he was forgetful of that human nature which he had voluntarily assumed. Yet it is never brought more prominently forward than is absolutely necessary. On one occasion it is indeed most strikingly expressed, but then our Lord condescends to humble himself as the first-born, "bringing many sons to glory." In the language of Bishop Pearson, "As we find one person in a peculiar manner the Son of God, so must we look upon God as in a more peculiar manner the Father of that Son." "I ascend unto my Father and your Father," saith our Saviour; the same of both, but in a different manner, denoted by the article prefixed before the one, and not the other: which distinction in the original we may preserve by this translation, "I ascend unto the Father of me, and Father of you; first of me and then of you: not therefore his because ours, but therefore ours because his. So far we are the sons of God, as we are like unto him, and our similitude unto God consisteth in our conformity to the likeness of his Son." If this reasoning be correct, what possible ground have we for addressing the Son of God as the "Everlasting Father?" And what again is the language of creeds and confessions? Certainly not in accordance with this singular interpretation. The Athanasian Creed pronounces that "the Father is eternal" and the "Son eternal" or everlasting, but it does not permit us to say that the Son is the "Eternal Father!" This would be the very CON-FUSION OF THE PERSONS against which that creed expressly cautions us.

Lamed, as quoted by your correspondent, says, "I suspect the versicles 11. The Father of an infinite Majesty; 12. Thine honourable, true and only Son; 13. Also the Holy Ghost the Comforter; to be an interpolation occasioned by the fraud or injudicious zeal of some firm believer in the doctrine of the Trinity. They appear out of place." To those who can make up their minds to an "impossible theory" they may appear out of place. To those who read with the Church universal, they are exactly placed where we should expect to find them.

The variations, as given by Dr. Todd, do not in general effect the sense, nor do they improve the rhythm of the Latin, which is infinitely more metrical as it stands in what may be called the "received text."

Both Mr. Thomson and Dr. Todd, according to your correspondent, agree in considering the proper text of versicle 21, "*Æternā fac cum Sanctis tuis in gloria munerari*," instead of the usual reading "*numerari*." Make them with thy saints to be rewarded with glory everlasting, "instead of numbered with thy saints." The interchange of the

^c Ἀναβαίνομεν πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα μου καὶ Πατέρα ὑμῶν. St John xx. 17. Had Πατέρα in both places had its article, there would have seemed two Fathers; had the article been prefixed to Πατέρα ὑμῶν, He would have seemed first ours, then Christ's: but being prefixed to Πατέρα μου, it shews God to be principally and originally Christ's, and by our reference unto Him, our Father.—Pearson on the Creed, article i. note.

"m" and the "n" might easily have occurred, but certainly it does seem to accord better with the humility of the true Christian that he should have asked to be "numbered" with the saints than that he should ask to be "rewarded." Moreover the common reading is borne out by a passage in the Canon in the Mass inserted by Pope Gregory, in which the same word occurs in a passage nearly identical with the verse in the *Te Deum*.^d But to proceed in the order of your correspondent's letter, he says, "Dr. Todd's MSS. also omit what he has little doubt are spurious additions to the original hymn, viz., ver. 26, *Dignare, Domine die isto sine peccato nos custodire*," and the two following verses. But as Canon Stanley remarks in his *Lectures on the Eastern Church*, "The position of the Nicene Creed in our Liturgy is a perpetual memorial of the distant *East*. Other like memorials remain in the 'Kyrie Eleison,' the Gloria in Excelsis, *parts of the Te Deum*, and the prayer of St. Chrysostom." Now it is remarkable that in the Codex Alexandrinus and Usseus de Symbolis we find most probably the very original Greek, the Latin of which Dr. Todd is inclined to pronounce spurious.

Καταξίωσον Κυριε και την ημεραν ταυτην
Αναμαρτητους φυλαχθηναι ημας.

Are we not then permitted to draw the conclusion, that this verse "is genuine?" and if so, the others equally.

"Neither Dr. Todd nor Mr. Thomson notice the mistranslation of 'die isto' by 'this' day. It is clearly 'Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us at that day without sin, i.e., at the day of judgment.'"

I think A. H. W. will, on reflection, be disposed to admit that the common reading is the "true" one. To ask to be "kept from sin" when the day of probation is past, when mortal man must "immediately" be put into the possession of immortal happiness or immortal misery, would be the embodiment of an idea that could by no possibility enter into the mind of a believer in revelation.

Lastly, the very language and structure of the *Te Deum* itself stubbornly refuses to be bent or moulded into shape so as to favour the interpretation which it is endeavoured to be put upon it. It must be evident, that the first portion of the *Te Deum* is a hymn to the Holy Trinity, marked out by the Trisagion in the fifth verse, with the mention of the Son and the Holy Ghost in the twelfth and thirteenth. But the fourteenth and fifteenth verses, "Thou art the King of Glory, O Christ; Thou art the Everlasting Son of the Father," commence the enumeration of our Lord's incarnation, passion, resurrection and exaltation to glory, and consequent commission to judge the world in righteousness. By no process of reasoning or deduction can we be brought to believe that the "Father Everlasting" celebrated in the *second* verse, is the same identical Person in the Triune Godhead as the "Everlasting Son

^d Diesque nostros in tua pace disponas, atque ab æterna damnatione nos eripi et in electorum tuorum jubeas grege numerari.—See Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ*, vol. i., p. 113.

of the Father" in the *fifteenth* verse. Reason and revelation revolt against such a monstrous supposition.

We then may most satisfactorily conclude in the words with which your correspondent commences his communication, that the *Te Deum* is "at once a hymn, a creed, and a prayer, addressed in terms of the most absolute orthodoxy, and the most animated fervour, partly to the Triune Jehovah, and partly to the Son of God, the Saviour of mankind." Some of your readers may feel gratified in perusing the language in which Le Comte de Maistre, in his *Soirées de St. Petersburg*, describes this noble voice of the universal Church. "Ce cantique inimitable, qu'on n'a jamais pu traduire avec succès, ne présente pas la plus légère trace du travail, et de la méditation: c'est une poésie brûlante, affranchie de tout mètre; c'est un dithyrambe divin où l'enthousiasme volant de ses propres ailes méprise toutes les ressources de l'art. Je doute que la foi, l'amour, la reconnaissance aient parlé jamais de langage plus vrai et plus pénétrant."

February 15th, 1862.

H. P.

CHRONOLOGY OF OUR LORD'S LAST PASSOVER.

I AVAIL myself of the opportunity afforded me by Mr. Wratislaw's letter, on the "Hebrew Divisions of the Day," in your Journal of January last, to recur to the subject of the Chronology of our Lord's last Passover. I do so partly in explanation of a portion of the reasoning of my essay, to which he refers; and partly in reply to an interpretation which he gives of a text, on which I relied very much in support of my theory.

With regard to the meaning of the phrase "between the two evenings," I now fully agree with him. I had been disposed to think that it referred only to the period of twilight subsequent to sunset, though my essay shews that I was not positive: I now adopt the view that it also includes a portion of the day preceding sunset, and corresponding to the first evening of the Hebrews. This alteration does not affect my argument, while it seems to suggest the solution of the chief difficulty connected with my view. From the circumstances connected with the Passover of Exodus xii. I argued that there "at any rate we must understand the phrase to signify the beginning of the fourteenth day," not its close. The same reasoning applies to it now with the same force. Although the expression itself might mean either portion of the day, the accompanying circumstances determine which portion is meant.

But while this is so, I think it possible that the alteration may suggest a solution of the chief difficulty connected with my theory. How, if the time originally commanded and long observed for killing the passover was subsequent to sunset, the Jews could have come to change the hour to the time preceding sunset, thus transferring the sacrifice from the beginning of the fourteenth day to its close, appears to many minds a very grave objection to my view. I always felt it

myself as a serious difficulty, though by no means justifying the rejection of a view apparently taught plainly in Scripture. I will now mention what I consider at least a possible solution of this difficulty.

The phrase "between the two evenings," signifying the time preceding, as well as following sunset, the command to kill the passover at this time *left the period of the day intended uncertain, so far as this particular phrase was concerned*. Either the beginning of the fourteenth day or the end of the fourteenth day would equally suit its meaning and requirement. It consequently left the question of the exact period of the day undetermined in case at any future time doubts might arise upon this point; while, in case for any reason the Jews in general were inclined to think the concluding portion of the day the proper time, they could appeal to this phrase as affording them, not absolute proof, but very considerable countenance.

Now it is quite possible that periods of uncertainty might arise when the question, as to the proper time for slaying the Paschal lamb, would come into discussion. We find such periods in the known history of the Jewish nation. Such a period would seem to have been that preceding the famous passover of King Josiah (2 Kings xxii. 8—11; xxiii. 21). If the passover had not actually fallen into long and total disuse, the proper manner of celebrating it had at least been forgotten. Such a period was the seventy years' captivity in Babylon, during which there was no Paschal offering, and from which, perhaps, not a single individual returned who had ever taken part at a Paschal festival. Such a period might have been in the terrible times of Macabean history. Now if such a period did occur, and the question as to the time for killing the passover was mooted, we may see from the phrase "between the two evenings," *in connexion with a sacrifice of daily occurrence*, a very probable reason for selecting the time preceding sunset in preference to that following sunset. The daily evening sacrifice was, according to Josephus, offered up about the ninth hour, i.e., towards the close of each day, and shortly before sunset, and this daily evening sacrifice was commanded in the law to be offered up "*between the two evenings*" (Exod. xxix. 39—41). Now, suppose the question of the proper time for killing the passover to have, from whatever cause, become doubtful, it would be extremely natural for those who contended for the time preceding sunset to point to the practice of the daily evening sacrifice as determining the question; and it is very likely that it was an argument which would be generally acquiesced in. It would be an argument having in itself a good deal of probability, while to the popular comprehension it would be almost irresistible. I offer this as a possible solution of a difficulty affecting my theory. I do not think it an improbable one.

And now for a few words in reply to Mr. Wratismaw's proposed translation of ~~וּבְעֵינָם~~ in Deut. xvi. 6. I must first premise that, as between Mr. Wratismaw and me, in this place there is not the question of the meaning of the particle *ו* in composition with an infinitive. I have discussed its meaning fully (Journal for October, p. 57), but it is not the question here. It may mean "as," or "when," or "about,"

without any prejudice to our present question. That question is what is the meaning of the phrase וְכָנֹחַ without any particle? The Septuagint does not translate it in Deut. xvi. 6 by $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\upsilon\sigma\mu\alpha\varsigma$:— $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma$ is its translation for the particle כִּי ; $\delta\upsilon\sigma\mu\alpha\varsigma$ is its translation for וְכָנֹחַ . Mr. Wratislaw proposes to translate the phrase by “the decline of the sun in the sky” previous to sunset, though he allows that “sunset” is its more usual signification. I maintain that “sunset” is its only meaning.

We cannot determine this question by its aspect towards any favourite theory of our own, but solely by the established usage of a language now dead. To me the Hebrew expression appears as clearly defined as “sunset” is in English, and that we might just as well propose a modification of one phrase as of the other.

I have not many books, but so far as I know, every Hebrew authority is unanimous in holding the meaning of “sunset,” and in ignoring any other meaning. Fuerst on וְכָנֹחַ , and Gesenius on וְכָנֹחַ and וְכָנֹחַ , give this, and no other sense. The phrase occurs some thirty-five times throughout the Old Testament, alike in its historical, and devotional, and prophetic parts. The Septuagint, Vulgate, and Montanus, without one exception, give it the meaning of “sunset.” The Authorized Version gives it the same meaning, except in two places, where it translates it by “westward” and “west,” because the sun sets in the west. This meaning suits every passage where it occurs (see particularly Psalm l. 1; cxiii. 3; Ecclesiastes i. 5; Jeremiah xv. 9. Mic. iii. 6; Amos viii. 9; Mal. i. 2). I consider myself therefore warranted in saying that it has no other sense than “sunset.” Can Mr. Wratislaw, or any other scholar, produce a single authority for any other meaning? Virgil’s “suadentque cadentia sidera somnos” is scarcely such. Ovid supplies us with the most probable sense, when he says, “quid vetat et stellas, ut quæque oriturque, caditque.”

We could not, at any rate, argue with much force from the Latin to the Hebrew phrase. Each must follow its own usage. I ask for some Hebrew authority for Mr. Wratislaw’s proposed translation, and until this is given we must not put an unheard-of sense upon a well-established phrase, either for the purpose of establishing or overthrowing a theory.

We have then in Deut. xvi. 6, this command, “*thou shalt sacrifice the passover at even, when the sun is set.*” Had I no other authority I should rely on this as establishing the main point of my essay. Whatever evidence we have, or think we have, from other sources, as to the state of parties among the Jews in our Lord’s time, on this question, it is after all by what the Old Testament and the New say about it, that we must stand or fall. To the testimony of the former I now appeal, as confidently as I ever did, for proof of my main position, that the original time for killing the Paschal lamb was at or subsequent to sunset.

With respect to the Rev. Franke Parker’s letter, I confess that I am unable to see much force in any of his arguments till he comes to speak of the difference which my theory supposes, between the hour

when the typical Paschal lamb was to be slain, and the hour when Christ, our passover, was crucified.

I have often thought over this point, for, of course, it at once suggests itself to every one considering the question. I do not deny that it has some force, for I am perfectly persuaded that the Paschal lamb was intended to be a type of Christ. But I also think that, according to my view, we can find quite sufficient resemblance to justify the application of the type to Christ, for, according to that view, he was crucified on the very day on which God commanded the Paschal lamb to be slain, and at the very hour when the Jewish nation in general slew their passover. I consider this quite sufficient resemblance in point of time between the type and the antitype.

Mr. Parker's letter then would seem to leave my argument untouched. He has not impugned my interpretation of any of those passages of the Old Testament by which the question must be decided, and on which I still rely with perfect confidence.

I will conclude by merely quoting again the passage from St. Luke, which Mr. Parker has quoted, and which establishes—if words are capable of establishing anything—my view, that the early Gospels relate that our Lord did partake of the passover in the year in which he suffered: "Jesus sent Peter and John, saying, Go and prepare us the passover that we may eat; and they made ready the passover. And when the hour was come, he sat down, and the twelve apostles with him. And he said unto them, with desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer: for I say unto you, I will not any more eat thereof, until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God" (Luke xxii. 8—16). While that text remains a part of Scripture it will be vain for any one to maintain that it is not the teaching of St. Luke, with whom Matthew and Mark agree, that our Lord partook of the passover in the year in which he suffered. H. C.

IN *The Journal of Sacred Literature* of last October (vol. xiv., p. 50) there appeared a very ingenious article to prove that the supper that our Lord ate with his disciples on Maundy-Thursday was the passover, the writer maintaining that the Thursday was the proper passover day as ordered at the original institution; and that the Jews, in some unexplained manner, by wrongly calculating the time, kept it on the following day, Friday. This argument he supports by a close examination of the narratives of the four evangelists, and certainly with very great plausibility. There is, however, one flaw in the argument, one omission, which vitiates the whole. The writer has overlooked the fact that the passover was a sacrifice as well as a commemorative feast, and he has omitted to shew how our Lord, or his disciples, could possibly have accomplished the sacrifice at any other time than that appointed—wrongly or rightly—by the authority of the priesthood. Every one acquainted with the Mosaic law must be aware that the all-important part of every sacrifice was the offering of the blood; that this could only be done by a priest, and in the temple; that, whatever irregularity

ties there may have been before, these directions were most scrupulously observed after the return from Babylon.

In the Mishna treatise *Pesachim* (chap. v., § 2), we read, "When the passover sacrifice has not been sacrificed as such, or that its blood has not been received as such, or as such has been brought to the altar and sprinkled, or that one sacrificial act had been done to it as a passover sacrifice, and another not as such, or when the reverse of this has taken place, it will not be valid." In the treatise on sacrifices, we are told that there are four sacrificial acts, without which no sacrifice is efficacious—1st. To receive the blood into the proper vessel; 2nd. To bring it to the altar; 3rd. To sprinkle it; 4th. To kill the animal with intention.

Again, "The passover sacrifice was slaughtered for three successive bands or divisions of people, because it is said (Ex. xii. 6) 'the whole assembly of the congregation of Israel shall slaughter it,' i.e., the three sets, according to the expressions—*assembly*, *congregation*, and *Israel*. The first division entered until the court of the temple was filled, the doors of the court were then closed, and *Tekiah Teruah* and *Tekiah* were sounded. The priests then placed themselves in double rows, holding each a bowl of silver or gold in his hand, namely, one row held silver bowls, and another gold ones, but not mixed. These bowls had no stands underneath, that the priests might not put them down, and the blood become coagulated. The Israelite slaughtered, and the priest received the blood and gave it to another [priest], who passed it further to others, receiving each a full bowl, and [at the same time] returning an empty one, the priest nearest to the altar poured it out in one jet at the base of the altar."—*Ib.*, § 5.

I could quote more from the Mishna, besides other writers,^a of the minute ceremonies connected with the sacrifice of the passover, but this I think is quite sufficient to shew the utter impossibility of the theory that our Lord ate the passover on Thursday, while the Jews sacrificed it on Friday. To make the matter more clear I will add the following order of events. It stands thus: the fourteenth day was the "preparation," i.e., from sunset on Thursday to sunset on Friday. On Friday afternoon, between the "evenings," i.e., between the daily evening sacrifice—which, on the passover day, was offered an hour earlier to give time for the greater sacrifice—and sunset, the lamb was killed, dressed, and the blood offered; after which it was carried home, roasted, and eaten. Was it in any way possible that our Lord could have accomplished this on Thursday? Where were the priests who would have offered the blood? Where were the Levites who would have permitted an irregular sacrifice to take place in the temple?

I shall not take up much space to prove that Friday was the day on which the Jews kept the passover; that the writer admits; he denies, however, that it was the right day. This matter is set at rest by calculating Pentecost; Whit-Sunday being fifty days after Easter-day, Pentecost was the fiftieth day after the first sheaf was reaped (Deut.

^a e.g., Hammond, note c. on St. Mark xiv.; Lightfoot's Hebrew and Talmudical exercitation on St. Matt. xxvi.; and above all Deyling's exhaustive treatise.

xvi. 9); that sheaf was reaped on "the morning after the Sabbath" (Levit. xxiii. 15), the "Sabbath" here being the day of the passover. Of course, if this "morrow" were the weekly Sabbath, as happened in the present instance, the cutting was deferred till the day following, i.e., Easter-day. Had Thursday been the passover day, then the cutting of the sheaf would have taken place on Friday, and Pentecost would have been on Friday before Whit-Sunday, and not on Whit-Sunday itself. Again, Deyling gives a list of days, from Jewish sources, on which the passover fell, which proves that the passover day fell on Friday in the year of the crucifixion. Again, I suppose it will be admitted that our Lord celebrated the Eucharist with leavened bread; the universal tradition of the Eastern Church proves this; leavened bread could not be used after ten o'clock on Friday morning. R. Meir says "it is lawful to eat [leaven] on the fourteenth the whole of the first five hours, and what remains must be burned at the commencement of the sixth hour." But R. Jehudah says, "it is only permitted to eat [leaven] the first four hours: it must be abstained from during the whole of the fifth hour, and it must be burnt at the commencement of the sixth hour." *Ib.*, chap. i., § 4. Thus leaven would be in use the whole of Thursday evening, which it would not be had our Lord eaten the passover.

We may now enquire what supper it was that our Lord ate, if it were not the passover? It was, no doubt, what the Mishna calls the "festive offering," and might be eaten either before or after the real passover, which consisted, among other things, of offerings of fine flour and wine: these always accompanying the actual passover lamb might very easily receive the appellation from the greater sacrifice, and be included in the common title "the passover," just as the seven days that followed were accounted part of the feast. See Numb. xxviii. 11—25. Deut. xvi. 2—9. The bread of this flour was called ὁ ἄρτος τῆς εὐχαριστίας, and that portion of the peace-offering was always called the "memorial." The fitness of these for the institution of the Eucharist must be obvious to all. It was this peace-offering—not the holy sacrament—that was the ψωμίον, dipped probably in wine, which our Lord gave to Judas. The peace-offering, given at such a time, and under such circumstances, to one whose plans were laid for betraying him who gave it, would, indeed, be a κρίμα to him that received it.

There is another matter connected with this subject which I have never seen mentioned, but which strikes me as worthy of consideration. It is this: there is a probability that no passover was sacrificed in the temple on the day that our Lord was crucified; for this reason, the time for offering the sacrifice was from 3 p.m. to 6 p.m. *This was exactly the time that the supernatural darkness occurred.* Now, as the ceremonies of killing and dressing the lamb were very minute and particular, and the least omission fatal to the efficacy of the offering, is it not possible that the darkness would prevent the accomplishing of the sacrifice? i.e., that when the true passover was slain, no other was offered. When the great antitype appeared, the type ceased. The idea is a very striking one, and certainly quite possible.

EDWIN L. BLINKINSOPP.

It was with great pleasure that I read Mr. Franke Parker's letter in your last, maintaining that the last supper was not the passover, an opinion in which I had hitherto imagined that I stood alone,^b although Dean Alford, in the last edition of his first volume, has done me the honour of giving a complete abstract of my dissertation to that effect.^c Mr. Franke Parker has also done good service in drawing attention to the selection of our Lord from his fellows on the tenth day, and also to his resurrection on the day in which the sheaf of first fruits was offered. Whether we accept my theory of a twofold reckoning of the day, *i.e.*, either from evening sacrifice to evening sacrifice, or from sunset to sunset, which would make the space "between the evenings" debatable ground between two days, or have recourse (which is the more simple method) to the long bright twilight of Syria, mentioned by Canon Stanley, which, according to Mr. Constable, Aben Ezra says is of an hour's duration, there was plenty of time for the disciples to go from Bethany to Jerusalem on the day on which they killed the passover, and to make all needful preparations for the sacrifice on what we should call the next day. And that such preparations were necessary is clear from the fact, that 256,500 lambs were sacrificed at the passover in one year (Jos., *B.J.*, vi., 9, 3), whose blood had to be separately sprinkled at the base of an altar, and whose fat had to be burned upon it. Surely some system was requisite to perform such a business in a limited time, and the expression *ἐτοιμάσαι τὸ πάσχα* may well be understood of the preparations necessary in consequence of its requirements. The necessity for sprinkling the blood on the altar, and sacrificing in the court of the temple, is admitted by the Karaites (Bochart, *Haer.*, p. 574).

But as regards Mr. Constable's theory, ingenious and ingeniously supported as it is, I think it can be made out to be next to an impossibility, and to be entirely destitute of evidence.

1. The ordinary evening sacrifice was directed to take place at the same time, "between the evenings," as that of the passover. Persons disagreeing as to the proper time of the passover must also have disagreed as to the proper time of the evening sacrifice. But the temple practice was established by Ezra, or some of the great leaders, after the return from captivity; and surely there was no room for, or even possibility of such a dispute while the temple remained in existence.

2. There is absolutely no evidence whatever that there was any controversy in our Lord's days as to the time of keeping the passover. The Karaites and Samaritans are quoted by Gesenius as holding the view which Mr. Constable favours. Of the Samaritans, our first knowledge, according to Winer's *Realwörterbuch*, dates from A.D. 1589;

^b The author of the *Paschal Chronicle* repeatedly says that our Lord did not eat the legal and typical passover on this occasion. The same writer quotes Hippolytus as saying, "He who long since said 'I no more eat the passover,' probably observed the supper *before* the passover; the passover he did not eat, but suffered; for it was not yet the time to eat it." See the preface, *passim*, and the *Chronicle* sub anno 32. Ed.

^c The dissertation is entitled "The Last Supper not a passover," in "Barabas the Scapegoat, and other sermons and dissertations," by A. H. Wratislaw." J. W. Parker and Son, West Strand.

and I should scarcely think their authority of any great value in the matter. The Karaites require more notice. I find from Trigland, *De Karæis*, and Wolfe's preface, that our first knowledge of them, as a distinct sect, does not go back farther than A.D. 740. Some have thought them to be the "scribes" of the New Testament, as opposed to the Pharisees and Sadducees; and others have imagined them to be a revival of the Sadducees without the objectionable tenets ascribed to the latter by our Lord. Neither party offer any evidence. They claim the celebrated doctor *Schammai*, the opponent of the Pharisee *Hillel*, as one of their ancestors, and refer to a succession of teachers, from the time of Alexander Jannæus to the eighth century after Christ. But it is perfectly clear that they can produce no evidence whatever for their existence as a distinct sect till after the publication of the Talmud. No doubt, individual teachers, from time to time, protested against the traditional school; but these were never formed into a distinct sect, except that of the Sadducees, who could not have held the office of high priest had they not conformed to the ordinary temple practice. The Essenes rejected animal sacrifices altogether. The Karaites appear to have flourished between the eighth and fourteenth centuries after Christ, and our principal knowledge of them is derived from an account addressed to Trigland by a Karaite in the year 1699. *Aben Ezra*, a late rabbi, is the only authority quoted by *Bochart* in his *Hyarozoicon*, p. 558, for the idea that the two evenings correspond to sunset and perfect darkness. There is no authority whatever in *Kuinoel's* own reference to *Bochart* for this assertion, that this was a point controverted between the Pharisees and Sadducees. I am sorry that so careful and ingenious a writer as *Mr. Constable* should have relied on so broken a reed as *Kuinoel*. It appears that there is no ground whatever for supposing that the disputes about the time of celebrating the passover had any other origin than that of speculations on the text of Scripture long after the destruction of the temple and cessation of sacrifices.

3. The difficulty of John xiii. 29 is dismissed in a very offhand manner by *Mr. Constable*. His explanation is about as satisfactory as *Bochart's*, which supposes the passover spoken of as subsequent to the last supper, to indicate not the passover itself, but the peace-offerings which were offered during the next seven days.

4. I wonder at *Mr. Constable's* taking up *Dean Alford's* idea, that *Joseph of Arimathæa* had already eaten his passover. Surely the arrangements of Numb. ix. 6—13 for a second passover the next month, in case of necessary uncleanness, *especially that arising from touching a dead body*, are a sufficient answer to this.

5. Lastly, it is quite contrary to our Lord's practice to interfere authoritatively in a matter of purely ritual observance, involving no question of morality either directly or indirectly.

I think these objections, especially that from the analogy of the evening sacrifice, are fatal to *Mr. Constable's* view; while as against that advocated by *Mr. Franke Parker* and myself, there is merely the obvious though not necessary construction of the three first Gospels. We have merely to suppose that making ready the passover was

currently used for making the preparations necessary for celebrating it afterwards instead of indicating the actual preparation of the meal. And in all probability, if we were better acquainted with the Jewish language and custom of the day, we should not see the shadow of a difficulty anywhere.

It will, perhaps, be as well to add that indications of a good deal of business being done in Judea between sunset and absolute darkness are given by Mark i. 32. "And at even, when the sun did set, they brought unto him all that were diseased and them that were possessed with devils: and all the city was gathered together at the door." The parallel passage in Luke iv. 40 indicates that a considerable time was thus spent.

A. H. WRATISLAW.

P.S.—An additional probability, in favour of the view, that the last supper was not a passover, is furnished by Dean Ellicott in p. 438 of the *Aids to Faith*. His words are: "Few, perhaps, would, at first sight, be inclined to pause long on the words, *ἐρχόμενος ἀπὸ ἀγροῦ*, used both by St. Mark (xv. 21) and St. Luke (xxiii. 26) in reference to Simon of Cyrene; and yet they supply some ground for drawing the inference, that in the earlier part of the day referred to fieldwork had been done, and consequently that it was not Nisan 15 but Nisan 14; and that thus, even according to the synoptical evangelists, the Lord celebrated the last supper on the day preceding the legal passover." This argument is equally in favour of Mr. Constable's view and of that advocated (for the first time, I believe, in England) by Mr. Parker and myself. Mr. Constable's view being, I think, shewn to be untenable on other grounds, whatever weight it possesses, passes entirely to the side of our theory, that the last supper was not a passover at all.

A. H. W.

THE DAY OF THE CRUCIFIXION.

IN my paper "On the Chronology of our Lord's last Passover," which you inserted in your number for January, I assumed that the crucifixion was on a Friday, but it may easily be proved.

I shall repeat my table which I gave you, and add two others.

In my last paper I noticed that the resurrection must have been on the 16th of Nisan, or Jesus would not by his resurrection have become the first-fruits of them that slept; and that the resurrection was on a Sunday, the first day of the week, is evident from St. Matthew xxviii. 1; St. Mark xvi. 1; St. Luke xxiv. 1; St. John xx. 1; and if the resurrection was on the 16th of Nisan and on a Sunday, the crucifixion, which was three days before it, must have been on a Friday, if the consultation to take Jesus by subtlety, which was *two days before the Passover*, was on the 13th day of Nisan.

This is evident from table I.

JESUS CHRIST THE PASSEVER LAMB AND THE FIRST FRUITS.

Abib or Nisan.	Days before or after Passover.	Days of the Week.	St. Matt.	St. Mark.	St. Luke.	St. John.	Events.
IX.	VI.	Sunday				xii. 1	{ Jesus comes to Bethany. Public entry of Jesus into Jerusalem. The fig-tree cursed. The fig-tree observed to be withered. Consultation to take Jesus by subtilty. The Crucifixion—the Passover. The great Sabbath of the 7th day and 15th of Nisan. The resurrection—the first fruits.
X.	V.	Monday	xxi. 1—17	xi. 1, 11	xix. 29	" 12	
XI.	IV.	Tuesday	" 18, 19	" 12, 19	" 45		
XII.	III.	Wednesday	" 20	" 20	xx. 1		
XIII.	II.	Thursday	xxvi. 2	xiv. 1	xxii. 1		
XIV.	I.	Friday	" 17 xxvii. 1	" 12 xvi. 1	" 7 xxiii. 1, 54	xix. 14	
XV.	II.	Saturday	" 62	" 42	" 56	" 31	
XVI.	III.	Sunday	xxviii. 1	xvi. 1	xxiv. 1	xx. 1.	

TABLE II.

TABLE III.

Abib or Nisan.	Days before or after Passover.	Days of the Week.	Abib or Nisan.	Days before or after Passover.	Days of the Week.
VIII.	VI.	Saturday	VIII.	VI.	Friday
IX.	V.	Sunday	IX.	V.	Saturday
X.	IV.	Monday	X.	IV.	Sunday
XI.	III.	Tuesday	XI.	III.	Monday
XII.	II.	Wednesday	XII.	II.	Tuesday
XIII.	I.	Thursday	XIII.	I.	Wednesday
XIV.		Friday	XIV.		Thursday
XV.	I.	Saturday	XV.	I.	Friday
XVI.	II.	Sunday	XVI.	II.	Saturday
XVII.	III.	Monday	XVII.	III.	Sunday

Archbishop Newcome, in his *Harmony of the Gospels*, assumes that the "two days before the Passover," when this consultation took place, (Mark xiv. 1), means Wednesday (the Passover being on a Friday), that is, *two days before the Passover* means, according to Archbishop Newcome, the 12th of Nisan. But this mode of reckoning, as seen in table II., would place the 5th day before the Passover in the 9th of Nisan. But according to John xii. 1, 12, Jesus made his public entry into Jerusalem on the 5th day before the Passover; and as his crucifixion corresponded to the sacrifice of the Passover Lamb, so his public entry into Jerusalem corresponded to the taking up of the Passover Lamb, and this taking up was on the 10th day of Nisan. Hence the 5th day before the Passover must also have been the 10th day of Nisan, that is, in reckoning the five days the day of the Passover must be

included; and the second day before the Passover must have been the 13th day of Nisan, and hence, as before, the crucifixion must have been on a Friday (the resurrection having been on a Sunday). This would also place the resurrection on the 16th of Nisan, (the crucifixion, which was three days before, having been on the 14th of Nisan.)

Further: if *two days before the Passover* means Wednesday, the Passover being on a Friday, *three days after the Passover* must mean Monday, as seen in table II.: but no one will contend that the resurrection was on a Monday. Hence *two days before the Passover* could not have been Wednesday, but must have been Thursday, the Passover being Friday.

Further: if *two days before the Passover* means the 12th of Nisan, *three days after the Passover* must mean the 17th of Nisan. In this case it could not be said of Jesus that by his resurrection He became the first-fruits of them that slept; for I have shewn that the first-fruits were offered on the 16th of Nisan. Hence *two days before the Passover* could not have been the 12th, but must have been the 13th of Nisan.

But may it not be that the resurrection having been on a Sunday, the crucifixion three days before might have been on a Thursday? According to this mode of reckoning, as set forth in table III., the 5th day before the Passover would have been on the 9th day of Nisan, as also in Table II. But it must have been, as already shewn, on the 10th day of Nisan.

Further: by this mode of reckoning (table III.) the 5th day before the Passover must have been on a Saturday, and Jesus must have travelled from Jerusalem to Bethany on a Sabbath day: but this must have been more than twice as much as a Sabbath day's journey; for according to John xi. 18, it was about 15 furlongs. According to Acts i. 12, it was a Sabbath day's journey from Jerusalem to the Mount of Olives; and according to Josephus, *Wars*, v. 2, 3, it was six furlongs from Jerusalem to the Mount of Olives. Hence I can not suppose that Jesus travelled from Jerusalem to Bethany on a Sabbath day; that is, the fifth day before the Passover could not have been on a Saturday: nor can I well suppose, with table II., that it was on a Sunday: for I learn from John xii. 1, that Jesus came to Bethany on the day before. Hence I conclude that it must have been on a Monday, as in table I.

Further: if the 14th of Nisan was on a Thursday (as in table III.,) and the resurrection three days after was on a Sunday, the resurrection must have been on the 17th of Nisan, as before in table II., and Jesus could not have become by His resurrection the first-fruits of them that slept. Hence as before, it is evident that as the resurrection was on a Sunday, the crucifixion, which was three days before, must have been on a Friday.

It will now be important to shew that the inference which I have drawn from Jesus Christ being our Passover Lamb and our first-fruits, is supported by the historical accounts which are given by the evangelists of the crucifixion and the resurrection.

From Matt. xxvi. 17; xxvii. 1, 62, it is evident that the crucifixion

was on the day of the preparation of the Passover; and that the application to Pilate for the guard over the sepulchre was made on the day after the preparation. It is not expressly said by St. Matthew that this day of the application was a Sabbath day; but from Matthew xxviii. 1, it is evident that this day of application must have been not only a Sabbath day, but also a Sabbath which was followed by the first day of the week, when the resurrection took place. Hence the crucifixion must have been on a Friday. From Mark xv. 42 it is also evident that the crucifixion was on the day of the preparation, and that this day was the day before a Sabbath; and from Mark xvi. 1 it is evident that the resurrection was on the first day of the week which followed this same Sabbath. Hence, too, the crucifixion must have been on a Friday. From Luke xxiii. 54 it is also evident that the crucifixion was on the day of the preparation, and that this day was the day before a Sabbath; and from verse 56 and xxiv. 1 it is also evident that the resurrection was on the first day of the week which followed this same Sabbath. Hence also it is evident that the resurrection must have been on a Friday.

From John xix. 31 it is also evident that the crucifixion was on the day of the preparation, and the day before a Sabbath; and from John xx. 1 it is evident that the resurrection was on the first day of the week, and it is quite consistent with the supposition that the Sabbath which succeeded the day of the preparation was also the Sabbath which preceded the first day of the week, when the resurrection took place. St. John says of this Sabbath, "*that Sabbath day was an high day.*" Doubtless, as remarked by Bonaventura, this was said because that Sabbath was a double festival, that is, a seventh-day Sabbath and also a Sabbath of the 15th of Nisan, the first day of the feast of unleavened bread (Lev. xxiii. 6, 7); and this would shew that the crucifixion was on a Friday.

At all events, it is quite inconsistent with the statements of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, that there was more than one day between the crucifixion and the resurrection. Thus the inference, as to the crucifixion having been on a Friday, which has been drawn from Jesus Christ being our Passover Lamb and our first-fruits, is fully supported by the statements of the four evangelists as to the crucifixion and the resurrection.

FRANKE PARKER.

Luffingcott, Launceston,
Nov. 29, 1861.

WILL you allow me to draw the attention of your correspondent, Mr. Franke Parker, to a circumstance which seems to have escaped his observation. In his remarks (in your January number) on the "Chronology of our Lord's Last Supper," he identifies the day of the crucifixion with that of the slaying and eating of the ordinary Paschal

lamb, *i. e.*, he makes it the fourteenth of the month Nisan. At first sight this seems obviously probable. Christ is "our passover"—our "Lamb;" and when should he have been "sacrificed for us" but at the time appointed (Exod. xii. 6), "in the evening" (or between the two evenings) of the fourteenth day of the first month? I need not refer to all the texts where this day is mentioned as that of the Paschal Supper. The passover was killed on that day as late as Josiah's reign (see 2 Chron. xxxv. 1); and later still, in the time of Ezra (see Ezra vi. 19). And excepting the occasional postponement to the fourteenth of the *second* month (see 2 Chron. xxx. 2), there seems to have been no variation of practice so long as the passover was kept at all. It is inconceivable, therefore, that the apostles should have mistaken that day for this; or that the evangelists should have concurred in mistaking it. Yet from St. Matthew xxvi. 17 we learn that the day previous to the crucifixion was "the first day of unleavened bread," *i. e.*, "*the fourteenth*" day of the month (see Exod. xii. 18). From St. Mark xiv. 12 we learn the same. The day of our Lord's last supper was "the first day of unleavened bread, when they killed the passover." From St. Luke xxii. 7 we learn the same. It was on "the day of unleavened bread when the passover must be killed," that Jesus sent Peter and John to prepare. That our Lord did not, as some have thought, anticipate the day of national observance, or correct any supposed error in the Jewish reckoning of the fourteenth of Nisan, may be gathered from the fact that St. Matthew and St. Mark represent the *disciples* as originating the question of preparation. *They* knew that the day was come, and asked, "Where wilt Thou that we prepare?" The only Scripture text that I am aware of in favour of referring the Paschal Supper to the following day, and making *Friday* the fourteenth of Nisan, is John xviii. 28. The members of the Sanhedrim "went not into the judgment-hall (on the Friday morning) lest they should be defiled, but *that they might eat the passover.*" It would seem from these words that the passover was *not yet eaten*—that the fourteenth of Nisan was not yet past. But it must be remembered that *the whole "feast of unleavened bread"* was frequently called "the passover," as in 2 Kings xxiii. 21—23; Luke ii. 41; xxii. 1; Acts xii. 4; etc., etc. And what was properly called "*the feast*" began on the *fifteenth* of Nisan (see Numb. xxviii. 17). "In the fifteenth of this month is the feast." What then is more obvious than that the desire of keeping "the *feast* of the passover" might be what St. John refers to?

But there remains the argument based on the necessity of our Lord's fulfilling the *type*; and it is to this I beg to draw attention. If the Paschal Lamb had been the only type to be fulfilled by our Lord's death, nothing perhaps would justify the supposition that He was crucified on the fifteenth (rather than the fourteenth) of Nisan, short of a direct assertion of Scripture to that effect. But there were other types equally requiring fulfilment; as, for instance, the type of the "red heifer" for the "water of separation." This was not only to be burnt, but *slain* "without the camp" (Numb. xix. 3; compare Heb. xiii. 11, 12). In the particular of *place*, Jesus, who "suffered

without the gate," clearly fulfilled this type of the *red heifer*, and *not that of the Paschal Lamb*; which last was slain originally in *the camp*, and latterly in *the temple*. The two types could not be both fulfilled in that particular. But again, there was a specified sacrifice to be offered for a "burnt-offering" on the day after the Paschal supper (see Numb. xxviii. 18), on "the *fifteenth day of the month*," which was to be "a holy convocation." Was this ordinance to have no fulfilment? We learn too, from Deut. xvi. 2, that "the passover" was to be sacrificed "of the flock, and of the *herd*,"—not of lambs only, but of *bullocks*; and both were to be eaten (see verse 3). Compare also 2 Chron. xxxv. 7—13, where *oxen* are distinctly mentioned as among the "passover offerings." It will be clear from this that more was eaten at "the passover" than the Paschal supper. And that either the ordinance for the *fifteenth day* must have been as a type unfulfilled, or the fulfilment must interfere with the *perfect* fulfilment of the ordinance specially limited to the previous day. A due attention to the variety and the partial incompatibility of Scripture types prefiguring our Lord, will at once lead us to perceive that for the fulfilment of *all*, that of each must have been in some degree sacrificed. And thus, while the Paschal lamb type was fulfilled in the *hour* of our Lord's death, the red heifer type was fulfilled in the *place*,—"without the camp." And the offering of oxen above-mentioned was fulfilled as a type in the *day* on which our Lord suffered. As well might it be argued that Jesus must have been crucified on the tenth day of the seventh month—the great day of atonement, because He was the true atoning sacrifice; as that He must have suffered on the fourteenth day of the first month because He was the true passover lamb. The "scapegoat's" *fellow*, whose blood was taken within the veil, found its typical fulfilment, as we know, neither in the particular of *place*, nor of *day*, nor of *hour*, but in Christ's ascending with his own blood into the "holiest" within the veil of the heavens.

But an objection to my conclusion may be raised from the supposed mode of reckoning the day of Pentecost. In Bloomfield's synopsis on the words, ἐν Σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ (Luke vi. 1), he says, "In Lev. xxiii. 15, God directs the Jews to number the seven weeks to the Pentecost, ἀπὸ δευτέρας τοῦ Πάσχα—from the second day of the pass-over." Commentators seem to have assumed that the "*Sabbath*," mentioned in Lev. xxiii. 11 and 15, must be the "holy convocation" on the first day of the passover *feast*, i. e., on the fifteenth of Nisan. The direction in Leviticus is, first, about the "wave sheaf;" ver. 11, "On the morrow after *the Sabbath* the priest shall wave it;" then ver. 15, "Ye shall count unto you from *the morrow after the Sabbath*, from the day that ye brought the sheaf," etc. This "*Sabbath*," we are told, does not mean the Saturday—the seventh day of the *week*, but the first day of the *feast*," and "the morrow" will then of course be "*the second day of the feast*," and always the sixteenth of Nisan. Now this, Josephus tells us, was the day on which the first fruit-offering was made, i. e., on which the sheaf was waved (see *Antiq.*, iii., x. 5). But Josephus frequently follows the Septuagint, or has been brought

by transcribers into harmony with it; and in Lev. xxiii. 11, the Septuagint reads, instead of "on the morrow after the sabbath," "on the morrow after the first day," *τῇ ἐπαύριον τῆς πρώτης*. I cannot help thinking that this may have been a transcriber's error arising from the insertion in the text of an explanatory gloss. Adapting the inserted words to the syntactical requirements of the context, and omitting part of the phrase explained, he may have written *τῇ ἐπαύριον τῆς πρώτης*, where the text he copied read (in accordance with the Hebrew and our English Bible) *τῇ ἐπαύριον τῶν σαββάτων* (scil.) *τῇ πρώτῃ*, "on the morrow after the sabbath, viz., the first day of the week." It will be clear that in a typical point of view much would be gained by making the seventh day of the week, the sabbath of the commandment, always prefigure our Lord's rest in the sepulchre; and the first day of the week, as the day of waving the sheaf, and offering the first-fruits, always prefigure the day when "Christ the first-fruits" rose from the grave: by making the Pentecost always a Sunday, which it obviously would often not have been, if computed from a fixed day of the month, the sixteenth of Nisan. Bishop Patrick tells us, though he disapproves the notion, that it was the opinion of the Sadducees, that the "Sabbath" in question was the regular *seventh day* of the week, our Saturday. That it was so I have little doubt; and that the sheaf was always waved on a *Sunday*; the morrow after the *first Sabbath* in the passover-feast week. This would explain St. Luke's words *Σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον*, better than the received theory, for if sabbaths were computed from a day which was frequently not a Sabbath of ordinary rest, either the computation would be a vague one, or the day on which the disciples rubbed the ears of corn was possibly no Sabbath at all. That the sheaf was not always waved on the same day of the month or year, seems to be indicated in the Greek by the introduction of the particle *ἀν—ἐν ᾗ ἀνέφερε* τὸ δῶγμα (Lev. xxiii. 12; see also ver. 15).

Wendlebury, Jan. 22nd, 1862.

W. L. B.

COPPER MINES IN THE SINAITIC PENINSULA.*

THERE are several shafts of old copper mines in the sandstone on the west side of Wady Mughara, about a quarter of a mile north of the place where it crosses Wady Mokatteb, with hieroglyphic inscriptions and sculptures, said by Wilkinson to be older than the Exodus. Turquoises are also found in this neighbourhood; these derive their colour, I am informed, from copper. There are also Egyptian copper mines, and a large heap of copper slag, at Sarabit-el-Khadin, close to the burial-place.

The soil in several wādys near Wady Makatteb looked as if very rich in gold-dust, but on examination it was very light, and seemed to be mica. I mention this, as I have seen the same appearance described in a book of travels, where the writer, a lady, seriously proposed gold-washing if water could be found sufficiently near.

W. O.

* See *J. S. L.*, January, 1862, p. 265.

THE SINAI QUESTION.

On my return from Palestine, I found an accumulation of numbers of *The Journal of Sacred Literature* which had been published during my absence, and in them several very interesting letters, etc., on Sinai. I must join Mr. Crossley in wishing heartily that we had some full and correct map of the Sinai district. Travellers seem to have gone on in the same two or three tracks without noticing or describing the branch wādys and cross-communications between the routes, and there certainly appears to be no map which could give a stranger any idea of the geography of the country.

Jebel Musa seems so completely given up as a candidate for the true Sinai, that I think that it might as well be left out of the question. Our party spent considerable time and pains in satisfying ourselves that there was no valley or series of vallies in sight of that spot which could be occupied by the Israelites. The monks at the convent seemed to know nothing of the question whether the law was given from that spot; their claim for sanctity was the cleft in the rock where they say Moses was hidden while the glory of the Lord passed by (Exod. xxxiii. 22.)^b

Jebel Catherin is also out of the question for the same reason. But with regard to the Ras Sufsafah the difficulties are not so great as your correspondent G. seems to imagine. I cannot explain Lord Lindsay's statements, they appear inconsistent with each other; nor does a reference to his lordship's book throw any light on the subject, except that he evidently believed that the Israelites did encamp on Er Raheh. G. has been puzzled by the diversity of names for the same plain given by different travellers. Er Raheh, from the watershed to the front of the mountain, is about two miles long, and varies from, say, half a mile to a mile wide, but at the watershed it joins on to, and is continued back, about five miles in the upper part of the Nukb Hawy; so that the whole, nearly level, space is about seven miles by two-thirds of a mile on the average. And this does not include the broad horn extending to the convent of St. Cosmo and St. Damian on the west, nor the wide termination of the Wādy Es Sheykh on the east, both of which would add considerably to the space in sight of Sufsafah.

Nor is the absence of grass, at present, of any importance; there is an abundance of plants suitable for pasturage. As Wady Ghurandel and Wady Feiran are the only fertile spots between Suez and any Sinai, a little grass or a few shrubs, more or less, are, I think, of no consequence.

Again, the perpendicular character of the Jebel Musa-Sufsafah does not make it so inaccessible. There are two entrances from the Wady Ed Deir to the celebrated cypress on the platform north of Jebel Musa. There is at least one practicable path close to the corner

^b Neither did they shew the place where Korah was swallowed up. They positively declared that it could not possibly be shewn here, as the event took place at Kadesh.

between Er Raheh and Wady Ed Deir; there is another from the convent of the Forty Martyrs to the top; and there is a path in front leading up from Er Raheh practicable to near the top, where it is at present interrupted by a huge boulder: there may be more, but these we examined and tried. Our party, when on the spot, considered that this perpendicular feature of the mount rendered barriers more indispensable, as it was quite easy to go up and touch the mount itself, unless some impediment were put in the way; and goats could have ascended to the very top without the slightest difficulty.

There is one point that I have never seen mentioned with regard to this mountain, that the upper part is composed of seven or eight ranges of hills running east and west, and these broken into three or four peaks each; so that the vallies in some places form ravines coming down to the plain. The tendency of this mass of granite rock is plainly to wear away on the sides, leaving the top overhanging, so that the mountain might not have been so steep, as at present, 3000 years ago.

M. R. E., I think, justly finds fault with Stanley for making the hill of the church of Paran the one on which Moses stood during the battle of Rephidim. The hill is actually in the cultivated part, and the battle must have been fought among the gardens. Surely the Amalekites would not have waited until the invaders had gained possession of part of the oasis and sanctuary, before they made any attempt to keep them back. Burckhart is correct in stating that the breadth of the valley, near the city of Paran, does not exceed one hundred paces, but there the wady is at its narrowest. And it is precisely at this very narrow place that the traveller can see Serbal—about four miles distant. The high rocks, which bound the valley, cut off the view in the other parts.

I wish Mr. Crossley had favoured us with some of the difficulties, etc., which he mentions as having accumulated, then travellers might test and examine them on the spot. With the inaccurate maps and limited knowledge we have of the country, it would be almost impossible for any one to pretend to answer them in England, unless his attention had been directed to the point from personal motives. He should also state whether he has ever visited the country, or writes from hearsay. If, however, he can safely lead his Israelites from Shur to a Pi Hahiroth, south of Jebel Attakah, and then having crossed the Red Sea by Murkha to Debbet Er Ramleh, I do not think that he need be afraid of any difficulties that the granitic region offers.

W. O.

NOAH'S FLOOD AND BAPTISM.

IN the ninth article of the recent work, *Aids to Faith*, by Charles John Ellicott, B. D., at p. 397 he says, "St Peter plainly and distinctly declares that the water of the flood is typical of baptism" (1 Peter iii. 21). This opinion is found in all our commentaries, critical and popular, even though the nature of the type is far from being obvious; the water

in the flood being that *from* which Noah was saved, whereas the water of baptism is typical of that *by* which we are saved. I venture to propose a different interpretation of the passage for the consideration of your readers.

It is generally agreed that the apostle makes a digression from the main thought at verse 19, "By which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison," etc., and verse 21 is supposed to form a part of this paragraph, so that we read "eight souls were saved by water, the like figure whereunto even baptism doth also now save us." It seems to me more natural to close the digression with verse 20; verse 19 and 20 being complete in themselves, and containing all that the apostle required to say about the spirits in prison and the flood. In this case we take up the suspended thread of thought from verse 18, and read as follows, "Being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the spirit, the like figure whereunto even baptism doth also now save us." The order of thought and even the same terms are to be found in two of Paul's epistles. Rom. vi. 3—5, "Know ye not that so many of us as were baptized unto Jesus Christ were baptized unto his death? therefore we are buried with him by baptism unto death; that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life;" and Col. ii. 12, "Buried with him in baptism, wherein also ye are risen with him through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the dead." Unless there are objections to this exposition more formidable than any I am aware of, it would seem to be free from many of the difficulties which press on the usual view, and to yield a very noble sense.

Johnstone, 30th January, 1862.

JAMES INGLIS.

THE TEN TRIBES.

IN the January number of this Journal is a short notice^c of a work on *Ethnology and Languages*. One of the essays in the volume is on the "Question of the supposed Lost Tribes of Israel." The writer of the brief review says of this essay:—"We commend it to all who believe in the loss of the tribes in question, and who have faith in one or other of the thousand theories concerning them. There is as much said of the disappearance of these tribes as if they had been ten nations instead of so many clans; or as if their disappearance were a singular and unparalleled phenomenon. We have before us a list of ancient nations, and we can point to scores among them whose disappearance is as sudden and more inexplicable than that of the ten family tribes of Israel. The Bible supplies us with numerous like examples. Returning to the ten tribes, we are glad to find it stated that the Bible really does not countenance the common notion."

Will you permit me to trouble you with a communication on this subject.

^c *Essays Ethnological and Linguistic*, by the late James Kennedy, Esq., LL.B., J.S.L., January, 1862, p. 489.

In the year 1855 was published a pamphlet with the title, "Question of the supposed Lost Tribes of Israel. A Paper read before Section E. of the British Association at Liverpool, the 26th September, 1854, by James Kennedy, Esq., LL.B."^d It was favourably noticed in this Journal. I procured the work, and was somewhat astonished at finding that the writer had allowed himself, and been allowed by such an audience, to fall into the grave error of assigning to one of the most memorable historical facts in the Old Testament a position, the very opposite in point of time to that which it manifestly and unquestionably occupies in the sacred narrative.

Mr. Kennedy was a diligent, though not very discriminating enquirer, whose sincerity cannot for a moment be doubted, and who would, of course, take additional pains with his task, as he intended to state his views publicly before the British Association, and afterwards commit them to the press. Accordingly, while we fully admit his sincerity, we can only account for his strange error by imputing it to such honest and sheer scorn of the notion of a past loss and yet future restoration of the ten tribes, that his mind was thoroughly prepossessed by the conviction that he had only to open his Bible to discover at once the utter absurdity of the notion in question, and to find that such a considerable body of Israelites of the ten tribes had been left in their land by the Assyrians, as to warrant us to regard the united body, formed by the amalgamation of these with Judah and Benjamin, as virtually the twelve tribes, forming one single nation. Thus, any hypothesis would seem to him unscriptural and absurd, which assumes the ten tribes to be still existing in heathen lands, as a national remnant distinct from Judah and Benjamin.

No sooner, therefore, did Mr. Kennedy's eye rest on the record of the invitation which Hezekiah "sent throughout *all Israel*, from Beer-sheba to Dan," urging the Israelites to join him and their Jewish brethren in keeping the approaching Paschal feast at Jerusalem—no sooner did he read the words, "Ye children of Israel, turn again unto the Lord God of Abraham, Isaac and Israel, and he will return to the REMNANT of you *that are escaped out of the hands of the kings of Assyria*,"—than, under the influence of deep prejudice, he would hastily infer that this "*escaped remnant*" consisted of those Israelites who had neither fallen by the Assyrian sword, nor been carried away captive at the *last* Assyrian invasion, when Shalmaneser,^e having overrun Samaria, besieged and took the capital, and removed the great body of the survivors beyond the Euphrates and Tigris. In short, Mr. K.

^d Arthur Hall, Virtue and Co.

^e In this Journal, Dr. E. Hincks has stated that the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions teach us that the final siege of Samaria was begun by Shalmaneser, but terminated by his successor Sargon. With great probability he considers that the question is left open in the Biblical narrative, where the sacred historian having said that, in the fourth year of Hezekiah, *Shalmaneser* came up against Samaria, proceeds to add—"and they (the Assyrians) took it. And *the king of Assyria* (without naming either Shalmaneser or Sargon) did carry away Israel into Assyria" (2 Kings xviii. 9—11).

fully believed that this "escaped remnant" of Israelites, which was living in Palestine at the time of Hezekiah's great passover, was also living there after the final overthrow of Samaria.

Let us now look more closely at the chronological mistake to which we have alluded, and attend to the following passage from Mr. Kennedy's paper read before the British Association at Liverpool.

"Samaria was taken by Shalmaneser in the ninth year of Hoshea, which was the sixth year of the reign of Hezekiah, king of Judah (2 Kings xviii. 10). It must have been *after this event*, and in apprehension of a like fate impending over Judah, that Hezekiah took counsel of his princes and all the congregation to keep a solemn passover (2 Chr. xxx. 2). He then 'sent to all Israel and Judah, and wrote letters also to Ephraim and Manasseh, that they should come to the house of the Lord at Jerusalem, to keep the passover.'"

In the following extract, the italics are the author's, the capitals ours:—

"From these and the following verses," says Mr. Kennedy, "It is apparent that a considerable portion of the people of Israel had been left behind by the Assyrians, and we may conclude **EVEN THE LARGER PORTION OF THEM**. For the narrative proceeds to state, 'So they established a decree to make proclamation *throughout all Israel*, from Beersheba even to Dan.' . . . 'So the posts went *throughout all Israel and Judah*. . . . Ye children of Israel turn again unto the God of Abraham, and he will return to *the remnant of you that are escaped out of the hands of the king of Assyria*.' This address, then, to those who escaped out of the hands of the king of Assyria, issued throughout all Israel, from Beersheba to Dan, proves incontestably that all Israel had not been swept away by the Assyrians after the taking of Samaria, but that a considerable remnant had been able to escape from the captivity and remain in their own land. **THE EXACT YEAR OF HEZEKIAH'S REIGN** in which this solemn passover was kept, is not stated, but it was probably before the fourteenth year, as it was then that Sennacherib came up against all the fenced cities of Judah. . . . A multitude of the people, even many of Ephraim and Manasseh, Issachar and Zebulun, had not cleansed themselves, yet did they eat the passover otherwise than was written" (pp. 18, 19).

The following is the author's deliberate, but erroneous conclusion; we have twice introduced italics:—

"From these passages it is indubitable that even *immediately after* Israel is said to have been carried away captive by the Assyrians (*i.e.*, finally under Shalmaneser) there was still a large remnant of them left in their own land, among whom we have particularly specified six out of the ten tribes, viz., Dan and Ephraim, Manasseh, Asher, Issa-

¹ Instead of regarding those left by the Assyrians at the overthrow of Samaria as "a considerable remnant, even the larger portion of the nation," we would rather, in order to describe their scanty number, borrow the figurative language of the prophet, "Yet gleaning grapes shall be left in it, as the shaking of an olive-tree, two or three berries in the top of the outermost bough, four or five in the outermost fruitful branches thereof, saith the Lord God of Israel."

char, and Zebulun, which tribes may therefore be presumed to have *become amalgamated with Judah and Benjamin.*"

Now let us ask what would be the results, were all Mr. Kennedy's strange conclusions proved to be as correct as they are doubtless the contrary?

I. A number of Israelites, at least equal to that finally carried into captivity by the Assyrians when Samaria was taken, would have been left in the land to become amalgamated with Judah and Benjamin. The descendants of these would have formed no inconsiderable portion of the exiles carried away by Nebuchadnezzar beyond the Euphrates. Hence the liberated captives, who returned with Zerubbabel and Jeshua, might be fairly considered as representing the twelve tribes united into one nation, and nobody could venture to speak of the yet future restoration of the ten tribes, as a people distinct from Judah and Benjamin.

II. The infidel would rejoice to see Old Testament prediction and narrative manifestly degraded to the level of oriental exaggeration. For if we admit the accuracy of Mr. K's. conclusion,—“It is apparent that a considerable portion of the people of Israel had been left behind by the Assyrians, and we may conclude even the larger portion of them”—what becomes of the two following instances of Biblical prophecy and history?

PREDICTION.

“The Lord shall smite Israel (the ten tribes) as a reed is shaken in the water, and he shall root up Israel out of this good land which he gave to their fathers, and shall scatter them beyond the river (Euphrates), because they have made their groves, provoke the Lord to anger” (1 Kings xiv. 15).

HISTORY.

“Therefore the Lord was very angry with Israel, and removed them out of his sight; there was none left but the tribe of Judah's only. And the Lord rejected all the seed of Israel (the ten tribes), and afflicted them, and delivered them into the hands of spoilers, until he had cast them out of his sight” (2 Kings xvii. 18, 20).

And what becomes also of the historical illustration by which the Lord, through his servant Jeremiah, explained the disastrous and desolating character of his intended predicted judgment upon Judah? “And I will cast you (Judah) out of my sight, *as I have cast out all your brethren*, even the whole seed of Ephraim” (Jer. vii. 15).

Few will be found sufficiently bold to assert that the Biblical history, fairly interpreted, warrants us to think that Nebuchadnezzar and the Chaldeans left behind them, on the western side of the Jordan, even a larger number of Jews than they took with them into Chaldea. Yet, on Mr. Kennedy's view, some such theory must be held to render the illustration at all correct,—“I will cast Judah out of my sight *as I have cast out the whole seed of Ephraim.*” Of course, the illustrative particle “as” does not designate a similarity of *duration*: for the Lord expressly declares (Jer. xxix. 10), that “after the seventy years to be accomplished at Babylon,” he would cause the exiles to return to

* When Israel was subdued and carried away into captivity by the Assyrians, Judah and Benjamin formed one united kingdom under the house of David. Hence in this passage, these two united tribes are spoken of as “the tribe of Judah only.”

the region of the Jordan. But this particle does certainly seem to designate a strong similarity in reference to desolation. We do not for a moment here mean to assert that the desolation amounted (in a metaphysical strictness of speech) to¹ utter depopulation, so that not a single Israelite was left behind by the Assyrians, nor a single Jew or Benjamite by the Chaldeans. Indeed in the latter case we know that "a remnant of men and women and children, and of the poor of the land, were not carried away captive to Babylou," but remained in the land, under Gedaliah the son of Ahikam, whom Nebuchadnezzar had appointed to be their governor. After, however, Gedaliah and several of his people had been put to death treacherously by Ishmael, who was of the seed royal, Johanan the son of Kareah assembled all the captains of the forces who were with him, and all the remnant of the people, whom he had recovered from Ishmael. These consulted Jeremiah in his character of the prophet of the Lord as to the course which it would be proper for them to take. After ten days he had declared to them that, if they would remain in Judæa, they should be under the divine protection and blessing. To this gracious promise, however, was added a denunciation that if they should depart and settle in the land of Egypt, the divine favour would be utterly withdrawn from them. They refused to hearken to the message from heaven and departed into Egypt. Thus the desolation of Judæa was rendered more forlorn by the ungrateful and rebellious act of the remnant which had been mercifully spared and warned.

There would seem also to have been left by the Assyrians in Samaria, or to have escaped their notice, a few scattered² Israelites, after the final overthrow of the kingdom of the ten tribes, and it was probably the descendants of these who constituted the comparatively scanty portion from whom, almost a century after the overthrow of Samaria, the Levites, in the reign of Josiah (2 Chron. xxxiv. 8, 10), when that king was repairing the house of the Lord, gathered money, and who are spoken of as "Manasseh and Ephraim, and all the remnant of Israel."

Mr. Kennedy, as we have seen above, writes that "The exact year of Hezekiah's reign in which this solemn passover was kept, is not stated." Now had he approached the Biblical narrative with an unprejudiced mind, and spent an hour in the patient and attentive perusal of the latter half of the twenty-eighth and the twenty-ninth and the first two verses of the thirtieth chapter of the second book of Chronicles, he must have inevitably discovered that Hezekiah's great passover was

¹ This would, however, be the case in many particular localities. Thus, Hosea (x. 14), describing the barbarities of the Assyrian invader, says to Israel (the ten tribes)—"All thy fortresses shall be spoiled, as Shalman spoiled Beth-arbel in the day of battle: the mother was dashed in pieces upon her children."

² On the final advance of Shalmaneser, several of the families which had, three years before, joined in keeping Hezekiah's great passover at Jerusalem, may have escaped into Judæa, and of these some may have afterwards returned into Samaria. There is, therefore, no difficulty in accounting for the Israelitish remnant in Josiah's reign, without having recourse to Mr. Kennedy's erroneous hypothesis.

certainly kept in the *second* month of the first year of his reign, and some five years *before* the final desolation of Samaria by the Assyrians, which event took place in the sixth year of this king's reign.

The proof of this is not difficult, and we may perhaps be pardoned if we are somewhat longer in shewing it, than is absolutely necessary. We may begin by contrasting the conduct of Hezekiah with that of his father Ahaz, one of the most worthless of the Jewish kings.

"Ahaz gathered together the vessels of the house of God, and cut in pieces the vessels of the house of God, and shut up the doors of the house of the Lord, and hemade him altars in every corner of Jerusalem" (2 Chron. xxviii. 24).

"Hezekiah, in the first year of his reign, in the first month, opened the doors of the house of the Lord, and repaired them. And he brought in the priests and the Levites, and gathered them together into the east street, and said unto them, Hear me, ye Levites, and sanctify now yourselves, and sanctify the house of the Lord God of your fathers, and carry forth the filthiness out of the holy place" (2 Chron. xxix. 3—5).

Accordingly, the priests began on the "first day of the month to sanctify, and on the eighth day of the month came they to the porch of the Lord; so they sanctified the house of the Lord in eight days, and on the *sixteenth* day of the *first* month they made an end" (2 Chron. xxix. 17). Thus we see that with all their diligence, stimulated as it doubtless was by the fervent zeal of Hezekiah, the priests were unable to finish their task of cleansing in time to keep the passover of that year according to the Mosaic law, which enjoined the Paschal lamb to be slain and eaten on the *fourteenth* day of the first month. Afterwards, however, to meet the case of sincere Israelites, who might be unavoidably prevented from keeping the passover in the first month, Moses was commanded to inform the people that such Israelites would thenceforth be permitted to celebrate the festival on the fourteenth day of the *second* month (Num. ix. 11).

Hezekiah's loyal and obedient heart gladly availed itself of this privilege. He took counsel, therefore, with the princes and all the congregation in Jerusalem, and they resolved to keep the passover in the second month, *i.e.*, beyond all question, in the second month of Hezekiah's *first* year. "And there assembled at Jerusalem much people to keep the feast of unleavened bread in the second month a very great congregation. . . Then they killed the passover on the *fourteenth* day of the *second* month" (2 Chron. xxx. 13—15). This great passover was undoubtedly the first passover kept by Hezekiah after his accession to the throne.

Who can bring himself to believe, without overwhelming evidence, that this pious and zealous king waited until after the overthrow of Samaria in the sixth year of his reign, before he kept the great Hebrew festival, which, according to the plain divine injunction, was to be celebrated every year?

Few of the various theories on various subjects, which have been embraced by one class or other of the students of prophecy, have been treated with greater contempt than the notion of the restoration of the Ten Tribes of Palestine. When I first read Mr. Kennedy's paper,

which had been favourably noticed in this Journal, I sent a short statement of the grave error of the author in assigning so late a date to Hezekiah's great festival; and the Editor, with that fairness which I have always experienced at his hands, immediately inserted it. I have since written a brief notice of Mr. K.'s paper in another Journal,¹ from which I will request permission to make a short extract.

"Thus, then, it does not seem possible that any unprejudiced reader of this deeply interesting history should fail to see that Hezekiah's great passover was celebrated in the *second* month of the *first* year of his reign. Yet we must not go so far as to say that it is impossible for a reader—coming to the perusal of the sacred narrative with a very strong mental persuasion that the notion of a yet future restoration of the ten tribes to their own land is a fond and pitiable delusion—to gather hastily and rashly from the sacred record that this passover, which was certainly kept in the second month of the first year, was not celebrated until after the *sixth* year of Hezekiah's reign. For such a strange mistake has really been made."

We can now more clearly understand the language of Hezekiah (so strangely mistaken by Mr. Kennedy), when, in his invitation to the Israelites to unite with Judah and Benjamin in celebrating the passover at Jerusalem, he said, "Turn again unto the Lord, and he will return to the *remnant* of you *that are escaped out of the hands of the kings of Assyria*." In fact, this "remnant" consisted of those who had survived the desolating invasions of Pul and Tiglath Pileser, and other subsequent and unrecorded inroads. And the greater part of this very remnant, before the lapse of many years, was to be slain or carried away captive by the army of Shalmaneser. Accordingly, if *before* the invasion by Shalmaneser, and in the *first* year of Hezekiah, the Israelites, who had survived the desolations and captivities of Pul and Tiglath Pileser, were regarded as a remnant, the scattered few who, in the sixth of Hezekiah, survived the capture of Samaria and the final overthrow of the kingdom of the ten tribes, and who still remained in the land, were only *the scanty* REMNANT of that remnant. It is very likely that some of the children of Israel—especially those who had accepted the invitation to Hezekiah's passover—would take refuge in Judæa at the advance of Shalmaneser, and of these some might probably return afterwards into their own land and rejoin the scattered few who had been left or overlooked by the Assyrians. And from these, as we have already observed, probably descended those Israelites of whom we read in the history of Josiah's reign.

We may also add that the fact of heathen colonists having been sent into Samaria by the Assyrians—"And the king of Assyria brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Ava, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria, *instead of the children of Israel*; and they possessed Samaria and dwelt in the cities thereof" (2 Kings xvii. 24)—goes very far to prove that only a very scanty and insignificant remnant of Israelites remained in the land

¹ The Quarterly Journal of Prophecy.

after the overthrow of the kingdom of Samaria. Indeed, the statement of the sacred historian, in the immediately preceding verses, should be decisive upon this point. — “For the children of Israel walked in all the sins of Jeroboam, which he did; they departed not from them until the Lord removed Israel out of his sight, as he had said by all his servants the prophets. So was Israel carried away out of their own land to Assyria, unto this day” (2 Kings xvii. 22, 23). The rationalist may think little of the clause—“as he had said by all his servants the prophets,”—but he cannot deny that the Biblical historian expressly asserts that the Israelites were carried away out of their own land to Assyria; that heathen colonists possessed and dwelt in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel thus carried away into a foreign land; and that they or their descendants were still residing beyond the Euphrates and Tigris at the time in which he was drawing up his narrative.^k

We say, “they or their descendants,” as it cannot perhaps be exactly ascertained at what precise period the latter part of the seventeenth chapter of the second book of Kings was compiled, in which the compiler tells us—“So was Israel carried away out of their own land to Assyria *unto this day*.” The words “unto this day” evidently lead us to conclude that this portion of the history was not drawn up until some considerable time after the destruction of the kingdom of Samaria. This conjecture seems fully confirmed by the last verse of the chapter in question, which thus describes the conduct of the heathen colonists of Samaria. “So these nations feared the Lord, and served their graven images, both their children and their children’s children; *as did their fathers*, so do they unto this day” (2 Kings xvii. 41). This carries us at least three generations below the final capture of Samaria. If we take the time of three generations literally, the chapter in question may have been drawn up in the reign of Josiah. It is, however, very far more probable that the phrase “children’s children,” is not to be strictly interpreted, and that it is a summary method of describing several generations. And it is most likely that the portion of the history of which we are speaking was compiled after the return from the captivity, and not later than the days of Ezra and Nehemiah. If so, we have a Biblical testimony, later than the return from the Babylonian captivity, to the important fact, that captive and exiled Israel still resided as a distinct and separate body from Judah and Benjamin in the remote lands in which their fathers had been located by their Assyrian conquerors. So much for the scriptural character of the theory which teaches that a large remnant of the ten tribes was left in Palestine “to become amalgamated with those of Judah and Benjamin”—a remnant so large that the notion of the loss of the ten tribes, their continuance hitherto as a distinct (though widely scattered and dispersed) people from Judah and Benjamin, and their possible yet future

^k It appears from Ezra iv. 2, that Esarhaddon also sent colonists into Samaria. The Asnapper mentioned in Ezra iv. 10 may have been Esarhaddon’s viceroy at Babylon, under whose superintendence this immigration was effected.

discovery and restoration to Palestine, is too puerile and baseless to be entertained by any one who is of sound mind.

What was the Jewish historical tradition, long after the close of the scriptural canon? Mr. Kennedy allows that Josephus in the eleventh book of his Jewish history, written about A.D. 93, says, with reference to the return from captivity of those who came back with Zerubbabel—"The entire body of the people of Israel (the ten tribes) remained in that country (beyond the Euphrates); wherefore there are but two tribes in Asia and Europe subject to the Romans, while the ten tribes are beyond the Euphrates till now, and are an immense multitude, not to be estimated by numbers." Mr. K. also quotes from St. Jerome, the learned Christian father who flourished in the fourth century, and who says in his notes on Hosea—"Unto this day the ten tribes are subject to the kings of the Parthians, nor has their captivity ever been loosed." And again St. Jerome says,—“The ten tribes inhabit at this day the cities and mountains of the Medes.” Of course we have no wish to rate the testimony of Josephus (or, it may be Pseudo-Josephus) and Jerome above its true value. It may assist, however, in shewing the probability of the opinion that the Jewish historical tradition concerning the removal of the ten tribes beyond the Euphrates, and their continuance in those eastern regions as a separate and distinct people from Judah and Benjamin, had remained unchanged from the day in which the latter portion of the seventeenth chapter of the second book of Kings was penned, even to the days of St. Jerome, who flourished in the fourth century of the Christian era.

It is highly probable that, when Mohammedism arose, which, abhorring idolatry, recognized only one supreme God, which enjoined circumcision, and which highly honoured the memory of the patriarch Abraham, that gradually thousands, and tens of thousands, of eastern Jews and Israelites; the already circumcised descendants of Abraham, and believers in the Divine unity, were prevailed upon to embrace that false creed, as, in so doing, they could still retain so much of the faith and miraculous history of their forefathers.

May I be allowed to suggest that the reviewer of Mr. Kennedy's volume of essays has perhaps, in one instance, scarcely expressed himself with sufficient caution. He says—"There is as much said of the disappearance of the (ten) tribes in question, as if they had been ten nations instead of so many clans; or as if their disappearance were a singular and unparalleled phenomenon. We have before us a list of ancient nations, and we can point to scores among them whose disappearance is as sudden and more inexplicable than that of the family tribes of Israel. The Bible itself supplies us with numerous like examples." We would submit that it is the collection of historical facts which relate to them that makes the destiny of these ten clans or family tribes far more interesting than would be the destinies even of

¹ Mr. Kennedy thinks elsewhere, that the eleventh book of Josephus' *Ancient History* has been interpolated, and that what is quoted in the text was not written by him, but by some Rabbi of a later age. But even granting this, the passage would still be a Jewish testimony to the Jewish historical tradition on the subject in question.

ten mighty nations, unconnected with the revealed will of the omnipotent Ruler of heaven and earth. These ten clans or family tribes formed the majority of that wonderful nation which left Egypt at the express command of the Most High, who by his power carried them through the divided waters of the Red Sea, and the intervening wilderness, into the promised land. There they lived under a law of divine enactment, with a warning, that if they forsook the worship and statutes of Jehovah to follow the idolatries of the surrounding nations, they should be carried away captives into distant regions, and be depredicated of that good land which God had promised to them, and in which, faithful to his promise, he had afterwards securely placed them. Their history, from the day that the patriarch Jacob entered Egypt at the call of his son Joseph, to the day that Samaria finally fell before the invading Assyrian, is intimately connected with the revealed will and outstretched arm of the Most High God. Nothing like this can be predicated of any other nation, however renowned and powerful. Here the ten clans or family tribes of Israel (with their brethren of Judah and Benjamin) stand out in bold relief, distinct from every people that has ever been named in ancient or modern history. G.

REMARKS UPON THE RECENT REPLIES TO "ESSAYS AND REVIEWS."^m

I TAKE the liberty of sending for insertion in your Journal, a few remarks on the recent volumes of replies to *Essays and Reviews*. It will be sufficient, in the first place, if I extract a few specimens of the tone in which the Rev. H. J. Rose thinks proper to speak. He has "profound contempt for Dr. Williams's arrogant assertions" (p. 124); for his "imbecile weakness" (p. 128). He speaks at p. 111, of his "bare-faced impudence;" at p. 109, of "a puerile attack;" at p. 102, of an "insane crusade," and "rash assertion;" at p. 92, of a "paltry attack;" at p. 85, of "subterfuge and quibble;" and at p. 82, of "criminal misrepresentation." Surely, such language as this, unheard of among gentlemen even in the heat of controversy, argues an insecure

^m The writer of this letter is a clergyman distinguished for his high character and learning. He believes that the *mode* of defending and of stating orthodox views, which finds favour with many, is superficial and unsound. He is of opinion that there is a more excellent way, and if we are not mistaken, the aim of the letter is to shew that it is not only important to defend the faith, but to defend it in the right way, and that our agreement with some or all of a man's religious opinions, should not prevent us from demanding that our adversaries be courteously and intelligently answered. The end does not justify the means, and if the reverend writer of this letter expresses himself more strongly upon the point in hand than we should, it is not because his convictions are deeper. So far only we are in unison with him. We hold no brief for *Essays and Reviews*, we believe them strangely and lamentably wrong—not always but often—we have admitted gentlemanly and scholarlike replies to them; but for consistency's sake and for Christ's sake, we must implore that they be answered by solid arguments and not by vituperation.—ED.

position. It is only equalled by the tone in which Dr. Wordsworth has permitted himself to indulge in his counter-remarks upon the essay of Professor Jowett (see pp. 454—481). But we will allude to these hereafter. We shall be content with analyzing a single instance of Mr. Rose's criticisms, and take that which stands first, viz., his defence of the old interpretation of Gen. xlix. 10, which we venture to pronounce equally opposed to Hebrew syntax and to the context of the passage.

After quoting the English translation of this passage, "*The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come,*" Mr. Rose remarks (p. 95) that "such has been the translation from the earliest days."

This is not true. The earliest translation of which we know is that of the Septuagint, "*A ruler shall not fail from Judah, and a leader from his thighs, until [the things] reserved for him come; and he [is] the expectation of the Gentiles.*"

According, however, to another reading, the third clause should be rendered "*until he for whom it [the kingdom?] is reserved shall come.*" But this reading, which has very little MS. authority, is the rendering of Aquila, and occurs in Justin's *Apol.*, § 32, twice; and in the *Eccle. Hist. of Eusebius*, l. vi. Epiphanius, however, gives the passage (*Adv. Hær.*, xx., 40), as we find it in the Septuagint.

The Targum of Onkelos (after Christ, cir. 150), "*A ruler shall not be taken away from the house of Judah, nor a scribe from his posterity until Messiah, whose is the kingdom, shall come, and him shall the people obey.*"

With this agree the Targ. Jerus, Targ. Ben Uzziel, and the Syriac and Arabic versions; the latter, however, supplying THE UNIVERSE for kingdom.

The Vulgate renders, "*Till he shall come WHO IS TO BE SENT, and he shall be the expectation of the Gentiles.*"

The truth is that the passage, as it stands in the English Bible, is not at all a "*translation*," as Mr. Rose calls it; the word *Shiloh*, concerning which so much controversy has arisen, being given in the original form.

It is, however, quite true that the interpretation adopted by Baron Bunsen is comparatively of modern date. But this circumstance by no means detracts necessarily from its value. For it may be justified by the occurrence of the same phrases in 1 Sam. iv. 12; 1 Kings xiv. 4; Judges xxi. 12; 1 Sam. iv. 4. The meaning of the writer is this, that this tribe of Judah should take the lead of the other tribes in the war against the Canaanites (comp. Judges i. 1, 199; xx. 18; Numb. xi. 1 *sqq.*; x. 14), and that the war would not be concluded or victory won until they had reached Shiloh, a city on this side the Jordan, and had there placed the ark of God (comp. Josh. xviii. 1).

The concluding clause should be rendered, "*And to him shall be the obedience of the people.*" The root of the Hebrew word is found in Arabic, but is lost in the other Semitic dialects.

We take our leave of Mr. Rose's performance with the simple expression of a conviction, that whoever will be at the trouble to peruse

the two essays side by side, will infallibly arise from such perusal convinced that in suggestive thought, in cogency of criticism, and in gentlemanly style, Dr. Williams is immeasurably superior. Of Mr. Rorison's essay we can speak most favourably as to style and power of writing. He fails, however, entirely to establish the position that a literal interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis is in any way possible. To use his own language at p. 336, "The days of creation are transfigured from registers of time into definitives of strophes or stanzas, lamps and landmarks of a creative sequence, a mystic drapery, a parabolic setting, shadowing by the sacred cycle of seven, the truths of an ordered progress," etc. Of course this interpretation leaves the whole question entirely open to Mr. Godwin, Mr. Miller, Dr. Buckland, or any other writer who may offer an explanation of this ancient poem, for such Mr. Rorison esteems it. We may dismiss his essay with the remark that, at p. 335, he has mistaken the nature of "parallelism." The peculiarity of this mode of constructing sentences which Mr. R. rightly observes is "not proper to historical narrative," consists in so arranging the clauses of a sentence that the latter shall explain the former. The first words of the 104th Psalm, "Praise the Lord, O my soul," explained by their paraphrase "and all that is within me bless his holy name," is an instance of parallelism to which there is nothing similar in the first of Genesis or in the Lord's Prayer as arranged by Mr. R. We can by no means subscribe, therefore, on such slender grounds, to Mr. Rorison's italicised announcement that he has discovered *the true key* to the cosmogonic puzzle of Moses.

Dr. Heurtley's essay on miracles is a very weak production. He tells us at p. 48, that "*a miracle in the scriptural notion of the word is a violation neither of the laws of matter, nor of any other of the laws of nature. It is simply the intervention of a being possessing superhuman power,*" etc. Let us test the worth of this definition by a single instance. It is a law of nature that water having less specific gravity than a solid shall yield to the pressure of that solid acting freely in a vertical direction, and not counteracted by other and artificial means. In consequence of this natural law a man, if he attempts to walk on the water, goes straight to the bottom; but when our Lord walked upon the water, he did not thus sink, and, as it seems to us, it is in this violation of the laws of nature that the miracle consists. And this simple argument may be applied to each of the marvels recorded in Scripture; and it may be safely affirmed that if they are mere variations of the laws of nature *usually in operation*, they either fail in their object as signs and proofs of divine interference, or that Nature 1862 years ago must have been very different in her operation from Nature in these modern times. We also notice a serious fallacy of statement in p. 149. Dr. Heurtley says, and justly, that when man "moulds or controls the operation of the ordinary laws of matter which are in exercise around him . . . his doings are not miracles;" but the reason which he assigns for this is not the true reason. He should have said, "Because men do not change the laws of matter," instead of saying as he does, "Because they (his doings) do not extend beyond

the range of his unassisted powers." The whole subsequent essay is built upon this inconsequent definition, and may be dismissed with it. In fact all that follows is the stale and tedious repetition of the old arguments—the *crambe repetita* of ordinary writers upon evidences.

The replies of Mr. Goulbourn to Dr. Temple, of Mr. Irons to Mr. Wilson, and of Mr. Haddon to Dr. Pattison, which are rather counter-essays with special side objects of their own, than attacks upon those whom they nominally criticize, need no special notice. The remarks, perhaps, of Dr. Irons will be perused with satisfaction by many who think the existing relations between Church and State highly unsatisfactory, and who believe that the immediate severance of an unnatural bond is the only solution of the difficulty.

We must now devote a few concluding words to the Rev. Dr. Wordsworth's remarks in reply to Professor Jowett upon the *Interpretation of Scripture*.

It is strange to see how slow theological writers are to unlearn the habit, which seems to have clung to them from the days of Jerome downwards, of substituting abuse for argument, and of supposing that violence of assertion can build up a falling cause. Certainly the learned doctor is herein not one whit behind the Rev. H. J. Rose. For instance, Mr. Jowett's essay is a "whispering-gallery of indistinct sounds muttering evil" (p. 465), which is surely somewhat of a contradiction in terms, for if the sounds are so indistinct, how can they be known as evil? Then Professor Jowett, "armed *cap-a-pie* in a panoply of ignorance" (p. 416); "a visionary æon in the pure pleroma of his own imagination" (p. 420); "his stock in trade a *totum nil*" (p. 421); "corrects the Holy Ghost" (p. 484); "administers poison to the souls of his youthful hearers" (p. 473); "fights with the fiery darts of the wicked one against the Holy Spirit of God" (p. 436); and brings accusations against the evangelists which would "not be received by any justice of the peace at any petty sessions" (p. 436). The essay itself is "hollow, worthless, presumptuous, profane" (p. 467), "arrogant" (p. 486), "irreverent" (p. 485), and is a proof of "miserable ignorance, pitiful infatuation, the fruit of arrogance and irreverence" (p. 485). It ought to be considered, as indeed it is, a sufficient refutation of the reply, that such language is to be found in its every page.

It is not our intention to follow the learned doctor in his recapitulation of arguments which must be familiar to all who are acquainted with the difficulties which he undertakes to shew are no difficulties at all. We will be content to point out that the supposition at p. 434, as what *might have happened*, can never stand as a proof of the fulfilment of a prophecy;—that the statement (p. 438), "the books of the New Testament were delivered [which? where? when?] by the apostles and evangelists to the Church [name?] as of equal authority with the books of the Old Testament," can never be proved. That the attempt to shew that St. Paul did not expect the end of the world to happen in his time is a failure; as is shewn by the criticism on the text, "We which are alive and remain," etc.

"St. Paul's *we*," says the doctor, "is an universal *we*, and is

applicable to every age" (p. 443). The answer to which is, that although St. Paul by the use of the word *we* identifies himself with others at a distance, and opposed to him, *he never uses it of those who live at a subsequent period*. We deny also that Luke's Gospel traces up the pedigree of *Jesus* to David *by natural descent* (p. 448). The pedigree is that of *Joseph*, and the Greek does not admit of any other construction; and we remain unconvinced by the arguments (p. 452), and uninfluenced by the exhortations (p. 459), relative to inspiration. It must be sufficient for any plain reader of the Scriptures to know that the writers nowhere assert their own inspiration. The only passage where the word *theopneustos* occurs refers to the books, or rather part of the books, of the *Old Testament*.

We have thus noticed the salient points of these official replies, and feel convinced that the writers of *Essays and Reviews* have as little to fear from their strictures, as the friends of orthodoxy have to rejoice in their champions. And, least of all, will the more liberal and intelligent find any echo in their bosoms to the language of the Bishop of Oxford, when he calls for the *severe, firm, unflinching action of authority* (Preface, pp. 15, 16.)

CLERICUS.



NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Commentary on the Epistles to the Seven Churches in Asia. Revelation ii., iii. By RICHARD CHEVENIX TRENCH, D.D., Dean of Westminster. 8vo. London: Parker, Son, and Bourn. 1861.

THERE is a beautiful simplicity and transparency of style and spirit about the works of Dean Trench, which, connected with their pure thoughts and living theology, fixes our attention and wins our hearts. To praise his English would be superfluous, for his accomplishments in this department are known to all. To say that his writings are sincere, earnest, and pious, would be only to say what none deny. To claim for them any remarkable profundity or originality, would also be wrong. They do not dazzle us by their novelty or their ingenuity. They are not brilliant and imaginative. They are not even extraordinary for their learning. And yet they lure us on by the calm and easy, quiet and natural flow of thoughts and words. They instruct us by their undeniable good sense, and they enlist our suffrages by their invariable right feeling. They owe nothing to those devices to which many owe their popularity, and yet they are undeniably adapted for popularity. They remind us of the phrase of Horace,—“*Simplex munditiis*,” and when we have said this we have said all we need say.

We gather from the preface that this volume is based upon lectures delivered at King's College, to which much has been added, and some alterations applied. In reference to the epistles to the seven churches, Dean Trench says with perfect accuracy :—

“The points of peculiar attraction which they offer to the student of ecclesiastical history are many. Who are these angels of the churches? What do we learn from their evident pre-eminence in their several churches about the government and constitution of the church in the later apostolic times? or is it lawful to draw any conclusions? Again, was there a body of heretics actually bearing the name of Nicolaitans in the times of St. John? And those that had the doctrine of Balaam, and the followers of the woman Jezebel, with what heretics mentioned elsewhere, shall we identify them? Or, once more, what is the worth of that historico-prophetical scheme of interpretation adopted by our own Joseph Mede and Henry More, and many others down even to the present day? who see in these seven epistles the mystery of the whole evolution of the Church from the days of the apostles to the close of the present dispensation? Was this so intended by the Spirit? or is it only a dream and fancy of men?”

We shall see what answer is given to some of these questions, as we proceed. Our author continues :—

“Nor less is there a strong attraction in these epistles for those who occupy themselves with questions of pure exegesis, from the fact of so many unsolved, or imperfectly solved, problems of interpretation being found in them. It is seldom within so small a compass that so many questions to which no answer can be given with perfect confidence, occur. What for instance, is the exact meaning, and what the etymology of *χαλκοῖς θύραις* (i. 15, ii. 18)? What the interpretation of the white stone with the new name written upon it (ii. 17)? Why is Pergamum called ‘Satan’s seat’ (ii. 13)? With many other questions of the same kind.”

Dean Trench goes on to illustrate what he calls "the entire originality of these epistles;" their theological interest and their practical interest. He regrets that some portions of the Book of Revelation, as the second and third chapters, are not appointed to be read in the congregation.

The apostle John is accepted as the author of the Revelation. By "the seven spirits" the Holy Ghost "sevenfold in his operations" is understood. The idea that the Apocalypse was written during the reign of Domitian is favoured. The Lord's day is accepted as a designation of Sunday, and the term is supposed to have had its origin here. The seven churches in Asia are regarded as typical and representative churches. *Chalcolibanus* is considered at some length, and the explanation preferred which regards it as "burnished brass," and which was first suggested by Bochart. This makes it a hybrid from the Greek *χαλκός*, and the Hebrew *נָחַשׁ*. The "angels" of the churches are explained as their bishops; and an inference is drawn from the terms in favour of the apostolic institution of episcopal government in the church. We can but allude to an interesting discussion of the number "seven" which occurs so frequently in the Apocalypse.

In chap. ii. 6 the Nicolaitans are mentioned, and are identified by Dr. Trench with the followers of Balaam, or imitators of Balaam mentioned in the fourteenth verse. Herein he takes the ground of numerous expositors who find in the word Nicolaus a translation of the Hebrew word Balaam. The etymology is ingenious but doubtful, and the identification by no means certain. Indeed the fair construction of verses 14, 15, requires us imperatively to distinguish the followers of Balaam from those of Nicolaus: "Thou hast them that hold the doctrine of Balaam,—so hast thou also them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitans." There is no fair escape from this exegesis, and the other would never have been devised, but from the supposed impossibility that Nicolaus, one of the seven first deacons, became a heretic. Now, in the first place, the opinions of the Balaamites and Nicolaitans are *not* said to be the same; indeed the views of the latter are not stated at all in this chapter. In the second place several of the fathers expressly affirm the existence of a sect of Nicolaitans. Putting aside all other testimony we have the witness of Irenæus, who says:—"Nicolaitæ autem, magistrum quidem habent Nicolaum, unum ex vii. qui primi ad diaconium ab apostolis ordinati sunt, qui indiscrete vivunt. Plenissime autem per Joannis Apocalypsin manifestantur qui sint, nullam differentiam esse docentes in mœchando et idolothytm edere. Qua propter dixit et de iis sermo: sed hoc habes quod odisti opera Nicolaitarum, quæ et ego odi." There is also the twofold evidence of Hippolytus, whose acquaintance with early heresies was very extensive and accurate. The first statement of his to which we will refer is in his *Refutatio Omnium Hæresiarum*, lib. vii., p. 408 (Göttingen, 1859), where he expressly speaks of Nicolaus, one of the seven appointed deacons by the apostles, as the father of the Gnostics, and ascribes to

him the opinions named by Irenæus in much the same words. According to him Cerdo and Simon started from the Nicolaitan ground. His other statement is unique, and only exists in a Syriac MS. in the British Museum. The passage not only shews who the princess was that is named upon the pedestal of the statue of Hippolytus, but adds to our knowledge of the sentiments of the Nicolaitans. On these accounts, and as it is brief, we give it. It is headed, "Of Hippolytus, bishop and martyr; from the discourse upon the resurrection, to Mammea the queen; she was the mother of Alexander, who was at that time emperor of the Romans." The extract itself runs to the following effect:—

"The origin of the heresy of the Nicolaitans. Now this was Nicolaus, one of those deacons who were chosen at the beginning, as is made known in the Acts. He being moved by a strange spirit first introduced it in this manner, saying that there had happened a resurrection to him; for he thought this, that the resurrection was that we should believe in Christ and be washed; but he said there was not a resurrection of the flesh. Since many took occasion from him, they set up heresies. Especially from them arose those 'that are called Gnostics, of whom were Hymenæus and Philetus, concerning whom the apostle wrote, saying, 'They say that the resurrection has already happened, and overthrown the faith of many.'"

The genuineness of this passage will scarcely be questioned, and it is highly important on two accounts; first, because like the passage in the *Refutation of all Heresies*, it regards Nicolaus as the father of the Gnostics; and, secondly, because it shews that Nicolaus denied the literal resurrection. In his view the resurrection consisted in faith and baptism. We may add that the passage is interesting as tracing a connexion between the errors of Nicolaus and those of Hymenæus and Philetus, the former of whom is condemned in 1 Tim. i. 20; and both of whom are condemned in 2 Tim. ii. 17. Nor is it unworthy of remark that the Paschal Chronicle in describing the death of Simon, son of Cleopas under Trajan, says he was accused by the followers of Cerinthus and by the Nicolaitans. It is easy to see how those who believed the resurrection to be already past, could pervert those words of our Lord: "In the resurrection, they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven" (Matt. xxii. 30). We conclude, therefore, that it is next to demonstrable that the Nicolaitans were an actually existing sect of heretics when the apostle wrote the Revelation. That they were not the same as the Balaamites, we must hold, until the words, "so also hast thou them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitans," can be reconciled with the contrary supposition.

The next question is why Pergamum (so Dr. Trench writes the name) is called "Satan's seat?" The answer might seem to be supplied by what follows. There Antipas was martyred; there the followers of Balaam, and those of Nicolaus were to be found. A celebrated temple to Æsculapius was in the city, but otherwise, there is little to make it extraordinary in a religious aspect. Possibly the inhabitants generally were very hostile to Christ.

The next enquiry, who were the followers of Jezebel, seems best answered by saying that this name, like that of Balaam, was never

borne or recognized as the name of a party, and that it is introduced only to characterize the errors rebuked. Jezebel, the daughter of Ethbaal the Sidonian; and wife of Ahab, aptly symbolizes the union of idolatry with apostacy, the practice of all cruelties and abominations under the name of religion. It is the opinion of Dr. Trench that some wicked woman in Thyatira is meant, and this is not impossible.

We consider the churches actual churches, even though representative; and the good and evil as actually existing in those churches, by whatever name it is called.

The remaining enquiries started by the accomplished author, we must dismiss. We have seen many examples of beautiful and ingenious criticism in the volume. With much of that criticism we wholly agree. Above all we admire the believing, reverent, and loving spirit in which everything is written. Even when we cannot concur in the author's conclusions, we respect them, and the author none the less because we differ from him. It is a pleasure and refreshing to take up a sensible book upon any part of the Apocalypse in these days of unbridled license of interpretation, demanded by shallow thinkers, and suffered *ad nauseam* by superficial critics.

The Revelation of Jesus Christ by John. Expounded by FRANCIS BODFIELD HOOPER. Two Vols. 8vo. London: J. and F. H. Rivington.

SPECULATION is the bane of apocalyptic interpreters. Not content with the analysis of the text, and a fair exhibition of its actual sense; not satisfied with endeavouring to ascertain the literary structure of the book, its religious teachings, its moral lessons, and its general bearing upon faith and practice; not regarding their vocation fulfilled, in adding to these things some notices of other men's labours; almost every one of them ushers into being "a new theory of the Apocalypse." The failure of others; the possibility of refuting them; the charms of novelty; the possession of an inventive faculty, and an ability to trace analogies, are among the chief causes to which we owe the generation of new theories of the Apocalypse. In our time we have turned over many thousands of pages upon the subject, and have been well nigh bewildered by the multitude of opinions. We almost despair of arriving at a satisfactory solution, and we ask in all earnestness, What is the Apocalypse? Is it a poem, a drama, a history, a prophecy, or an allegory? Does it exhibit past or future events, or is it a symbolization of great principles? Is it a compound of any two or more, or of all these? If a poem, what is its arrangement and design? If a drama, what is its plan and intention? If a history, what is its period? If a prophecy, where does it begin and end? Does it relate to apostolic times only, or to the period ending with Constantine, or to the whole history of the church from the days of John to the eternal world? Does it begin with the creation, as Mr. Hooper thinks, and end with the future state? If it predicts the fortunes of the church of Christ,

how can we classify the events foretold? Does it comprehend prophecies of Jews, Pagans, Mohammedans, Papists, and Protestants? Does it involve the rise and fall of empires, dynasties, and civil rulers? If it is an allegory, of what is it an allegory? Where is the key to its mystic symbols? How can we distinguish between the typical and the literal?

Such are a few of the questions which we have asked, and which others have answered in every possible way, and with every diversity of meaning. We call these a few of our questions, because when we descend to details, questions are infinite, and answers are not much less so. To our own minds it is apparent that the book can be consistently interpreted on a variety of principles. We believe it has been thus interpreted. But we are not less certain that every consistent interpretation cannot be right, and that amid the vast crowd of theories all are wrong save one. Others believe this, but their choice is different, and the disciples of twenty diverse schools accept as equally infallible twenty different systems. The followers of Messrs. Stuart, Elliott, Maurice, Kelly, Godwin, Porter, Desprez, Hooper, etc., will all endorse the view of their master as the only correct one. Ancients and modern, Catholics and Protestants, from Hippolytus to Mr. Hooper, have felt themselves at liberty here to speculate or exercise their ingenuity.

In such a case, the lot of a plain reader is indeed hard; and not much less so is that of the modern critic. The former cannot investigate all claims to the possession of the true key to this marvellous book, and must be content to choose among a few, or to confess his ignorance. The latter is required by his vocation to investigate, and to judge between those whose merits are very unequal, and derived from most dissimilar sources. For ourselves, we shall not undertake to say what the Apocalypse is; but for the comfort of unlearned persons, we will say that the book is as beautiful and grand in its imagery as it is obscure and mysterious in its intention; that its moral and spiritual lessons are as certain and definite, as its plan and structure are intricate. For the purposes of Christian edification the pious and intelligent man may find its careful perusal a source of pleasure and of profit.

We now turn to Mr. Hooper's elaborate work, consisting of well nigh 1100 pages. It is necessary for us to say, however, that we cannot undertake to pronounce an opinion upon all its features. A frontispiece is prefixed and designed to shew, 1. The structure of the Revelation at a glance; 2. The form and arrangement of the seven seal roll; 3. The synthetical structure of the seven seal roll; and 4. The author's scheme of interpretation of the seven seal roll. The author translates the book on the principle of strict literality; he therefore says, *e. g.*, "the wood of life" for "the tree of life." He objects to the schemes which the initiated call præterist, presentist, and futurist. With him the salient points lie in the seven seal book, reaching from vi. 1 to xx. 10. The first six seals depict the history of the six ages, from the creation to the second destruction of Jerusalem. The seventh seal marks off the sabbatical, millennial, or celestial age.

The seven trumpets lie between B.C. 70 and A.D. 70; the last extends from A.D. 1 to A.D. 70. The new Jerusalem symbolizes Christ's church in its progress to its highest state of purity and perfection. Mr. Hooper finds in the book, 7 parts, 27 heptads, 24 hours, and 1260 stichs. He gives a minute, elaborate, and most ingenious exposition of the symbols, ending with a remark of profound importance, that *parallelism is no proof of identity*. This is the one thing which Apocalyptic interpreters seem to have forgotten. Parallels have been accepted as identities; analogies as types and fulfilments. Something like fifty pages are given to these preliminary matters, but they are really the foundation of all that follows, the grammar and lexicon of Mr. Hooper's book.

The exposition follows. It starts with the affirmation that the Apocalypse is divisible into, 1. An introduction, i. 1—10; 2. A vision, i. 11 to xxii. 5; and 3. A conclusion, xxii. 6—21. The introduction consists of a title, a salutation, and an exordium. The vision commencing with i. 11, extends over nearly the entire book. The manifestation of the Saviour, the Epistles to the churches, the seals, the trumpets, etc., form one continuous chain. Everything is of course symbolical. Consequently the epistles to the seven churches, are not actually addressed to those seven which are named. Ephesus, means Corinth; Smyrna, signifies Thessalonica; Pergamos, is a symbol of Rome; Thyatira of Colosse; Sardis of Ephesus; Philadelphia of Philippi; and Laodicea of Galatia. Mr. Hooper adopts the fashionable, but as we have said in noticing Dean Trench's work, the doubtful opinion, that the Nicolaitans were not a sect so called, but the same as the followers of Balaam. Antipas and Jezebel are, of course, also regarded as symbolical.

With unwearied footstep and unfaltering tread, we are led on by our guide through the successive heptads. There is always so much of novelty and skilfulness that we are constrained to make this general admission, that Mr. Hooper's theory of the Apocalypse is as probable as that of the most popular expounders. We go further, and argue from its extremely probable aspect, against those which it differs from. If the Apocalypse relates to events and not to principles, we are ready to say, Mr. Hooper is the most ingenious and satisfactory expounder we know. And yet a thought has arisen in our mind in reference to Mr. Hooper's views, so far as they may be called symbolically historical; and this thought has not been satisfied. We have the Old Testament history in a tolerably intelligible form, why then should the divine spirit give us the same in mystic symbols, which have remained unriddled till now? The obvious answer to this is, that the Apocalypse is meant to shew us Christ in all the history of the church from Adam to the last man. This answer is not sufficient; for first, we know or might have known the fact by other and simpler methods; secondly, the discovery of the fact *now*, really adds nothing to our knowledge: thirdly, the exposition itself is only hypothetical: fourthly, a system of symbols relating to such facts would be expected to come before the

facts and not after them. Symbols are not given to expound events, but events to expound symbols. Such a system does not remove the veil from history, but the contrary.

We have not criticized the style of these volumes, because it is unstudied and manifestly occupied but little of the author's thoughts. Nor have we said anything about the translation, except that it is very literal. The criticisms which occur, are sometimes appropriate, but not always to our liking. Thus in xiii. 8, our version reads, "Whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world." Eminent modern critics understand it to mean, "Whose names are not written from the foundation of the world in the book of life of the Lamb that was slain." This sense is justified by chap. xvii. 8, and by the authority of the most important manuscripts. Mr. Hooper argues earnestly but unsuccessfully in favour of the view taken in our version.

One feature of the work must not be lost sight of, and that is, the extensive use made of various symbolical and apocryphal works of early date. The fourth of Esdras, Hermas, Enoch, and others fall under this category, and we must admire the ability with which they are pressed into the service. Nowhere, however, has he in our opinion been more successful than in refuting the theories of others. His relentless hand strips them of their disguises and exposes their hollowness. Some of them he utterly annihilates, and others he leaves in woful plight.

Before closing, we will observe that the work is written in a spirit of sincere faith and reverence, and is in the strictest sense orthodox and evangelical. There are passages in it of real beauty and power, and as a whole it keeps up its interest so well, that there is no temptation either to sleep over it or to lay it aside. If we cannot pronounce it constructed on the right principle, neither can we say that it is wrong. The author believes it is right, and we are none the less pleased with him for saying so rather positively.

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1. *Aids to Faith: a Series of Theological Essays.* By several writers. Edited by WILLIAM THOMPSON, D.D., Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. London: Murray.
 2. *Replies to "Essays and Reviews."* With a Preface by the LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD; and Letters from the Radcliffe Observer, and the Reader in Geology in the University of Oxford. Oxford and London: J. H. and James Parker.
 3. *Seven Answers to the Seven Essays and Reviews.* By J. N. GRIFFIN, M.A. With an Introduction by the Right Hon. J. NAPIER. London: Longmans.

We place together these three volumes, although not in all respects similar. They are, however, alike in this, that they are called forth by the *Essays and Reviews*, and in this, that they express the opinions of a plurality of writers. Eight names are represented by the *Aids to*

Faith, ten names by the *Replies*, and two names by the *Answers*, or twenty in all. Some of these names are well known and influential, and all of them belong to gentlemen who are presumed to be able to speak with some authority. We shall not enter into a profound analysis of these works, but content ourselves with a few indications of their character and merits.

1. *Aids to Faith* is edited by the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, who intimates in a brief preface that he is responsible for the choice of contributors and the arrangement of subjects. "Each has written independently, without any editorial interference, beyond a few hints to prevent omissions and repetitions? Beyond this, and the production of one of the essays, the responsibility of the editor does not go."

The first essay is by Professor Mansel, on "Miracles as Evidences of Christianity." A writer in the present number of this Journal has animadverted upon Mr. Mansel's defence of the faith, and, we think, to some extent very justly. It is impossible for us to coincide with the learned professor in some of his characteristic opinions, although we fully agree with him as to the reality and immense importance of the Scripture miracles. Miracles are, in fact, one of the ingredients which go to demonstrate the heavenly origin of religion. It is, perhaps, to be regretted that we have to prove the proof to be a proof. The utmost we can hope to do is to shew that miracles are possible, probable, and recorded by credible witnesses. No one who believes in a divine revelation, or who believes that God can reveal himself to man, ought to deny these three points, and the utmost such a one should require, is that we should vindicate the sincerity and truthfulness of the historian and asserted witnesses. If we believe in the resurrection of Christ, if we admit the inspiration of any sacred writer, and if we own the dictation of any prophecy, we believe in miracles, that is, we admit the principle. To be logical and consistent, no man whose faith relies upon Christ, can deny miracles, for his knowledge of Christ is derived from those authors who record his incarnation, resurrection, and ascension to heaven, as well as all other miracles wrought in his human lifetime. Unbelief of the miracles and belief in the Christ are anomalies, and how they can be reconciled we know not. Miracles are after all facts, and as such can be witnessed and recorded. We cannot believe that the multiplied witnesses to the miracles of the New Testament, were either all so imbecile or so false, as to record and attest what really never occurred. We cannot believe that Christ and his apostles were parties either to delusion or to fraud; if they were, we cannot discover any betrayal or confession of the secret; they lived and died, and future ages have avowed the same confidence in the miracles. It is only when men plunge into the fogs of speculation that they begin to question miracles. Such persons, however, are very hard to deal with, and to follow them in speculation will never convince them. Professor Mansel is not free from this fault, and if there be one point where it will be more mischievous than at any other, it is where he imagines himself the strongest. He quotes

with approval from a German writer the dicta, "*Nature conceals God; Man reveals God.*" No system of evidences which rests on such a basis can be substantial. The nineteenth Psalm; the doctrine of the prophets; and above all, the solemn declarations of St. Paul (Rom. i. 18—21; Acts xiv. 15—17, etc.), and other Scripture testimonies are fatal to this opinion. Ought we not rather to say that God manifests himself in his works, whether man perceives him or not? Does not the old argument from design proceed wholly on the assumption that nature reveals God? While then we believe in miracles as firmly as Professor Mansel, we do not think all his arguments for them are of the best.

The second essay on the study of the evidences of Christianity, by the Bishop of Cork, contains some good things well said. He is not farthest from the truth when he speaks of the extensive decay of theological learning among the evangelical party. The revival system of the last century is connected with this, as cause and effect. Now the time is come for controversy, few indeed are equal to it on lofty scientific principles. Personal experience of the power of the Gospel may be to me sufficient evidence of its truth; but how is my personal experience to convince an unbeliever, and answer his scientific objections?

The third essay, on prophecy, is by Dr. McCaul, whose Hebrew and rabbinical learning very well qualify him for such a work; and yet this very circumstance makes him a little too scholastic for plain readers. Prophecies are called anticipated histories. They are really miracles—mental miracles of course, and are susceptible of historical proof. Here are certain assumed predictions, and there are the facts which correspond to them; the question is, what is the relation of the two? Which was written first? are the previously-written prophecies to be accounted for except by a divine afflatus?

The fourth essay, on ideology and subscription, by the Rev. F. C. Cook, is a plea for common sense and honesty; for ideology after all is but the abnegation of common sense, and honesty without that is not good for much. Ideology is the art of teaching men how to deny anything and to profess anything. It will never flourish in this country, and must be an exotic everywhere. Mr. Cook has pretty effectively disposed of it.

The fifth essay, on the Mosaic record of the creation, is by Dr. McCaul. The criticism of the paper is good, so far as philology is concerned, but we have little faith in the geological part of it. Dr. McCaul abides by the opinion that "days" in Genesis are extensive periods of unequal duration. The whole affair strikes us as being more ingenious than solid, but interspersed with a number of valuable remarks.

The sixth essay, on the genuineness and authenticity of the Pentateuch, reflects much credit upon its accomplished writer, the Rev. G. Rawlinson. It is tangible, comprehensive and instructive. If not invulnerable at all points, it is well armed, and ought to be carefully studied.

The seventh essay is by the Rev. E. H. Browne. There is some very correct thinking in this paper, and it is especially gratifying to hear the writer speak in favour of those who consider definite theories of inspiration to be doubtful and dangerous. After all, the one great point gained by inspiration is, that it makes the Scriptures an infallible depository of religious truth. If the Scriptures are not divinely inspired, the whole system of the Gospel is a human invention and may be a delusion.

Essay the eighth, on the death of Christ, by the editor, is an able and well-written paper, which it will be found not easy to answer. The sacrificial character of the Lord's death is here shewn to be a doctrine of Scripture and the belief of the Church. Every approach to the doctrine of transubstantiation is but a perversion of the universally accepted truth of the atonement.

The ninth essay, by Professor Ellicott, is on Scripture and its interpretation, and is written with that calm moderation and accurate perception for which its excellent author is distinguished. We should have no hesitation in preferring this paper to the one of Professor Jowett which called it forth.

"When Greek meets Greek then comes the tug of war." The *Aids to Faith* are, however, not so much replies as counter-essays to *Essays and Reviews*. That volume furnished the occasion and most of the texts, but there is unmistakeable evidence that Mr. Maurice is more than remembered. These circumstances have given a tone to some portions of the book, which forcibly remind us that we live in polemical times, that rival systems are rife among us. Possibly some would have preferred direct to indirect warfare, and would have liked to see the Bishop of Gloucester and his train ostensibly pitted against the seven essayists (and Mr. Maurice). Be that as it may, we are very much obliged to the Oxford essayists for calling forth so respectable a defence of the old faith as we here have.

2. The volume of *Replies* is an ostensible answer to the *Essays and Reviews*. Here we have no less a man than the Bishop of Oxford at the head of seven gentlemen whose names appear upon the title-page. But if we may speak plainly, we do not consider this volume equal to the *Aids to Faith*. In this case the publishers selected the subjects and the writers, but the Bishop of Oxford wrote the preface and otherwise assisted in the production of the work. His lordship of Oxford always writes well, but in a controversial work like this it is to be regretted that he asks for the distinct, solemn, and if need be, severe decision of authority, that assertions such as these cannot be put forward as possibly true, or even advanced as admitting of question, by honest men, who are bound by voluntary obligations to teach the Christian revelation as the truth of God. If stated at all, this should have been stated elsewhere. Certainly it should not have been put first; for whatever is affirmed to the contrary, it will be taken, and is taken, as evincing fear of argument. With his lordship's second proposition we entirely concur, that "we need the calm, comprehensive,

and scholar-like declaration of positive truth upon all the matters in dispute."

The first essay, on the "Education of the World," in answer to Dr. Temple, is by Dr. Goulbourn, whose task was, in our judgment, comparatively easy.

The second essay, on "Bunsen, the Critical School, and Dr. Williams," by the Rev. H. J. Rose, has disappointed us. It is too much in the brow-beating style, and although we utterly repudiate the principles of Dr. Williams' essay, we do not think this either a fair or a sufficient answer. Its force is weakened, if not destroyed, by the abundance of its epithets, epithets which ought not to find a place in so grave a production as this is presumed to be. Mr. Rose is not equal in extent of scholarship or depth of intellect either to Bunsen or Dr. Williams, and assuredly not in vivacity and beauty of style to Canon Stanley, whose article in the *Edinburgh Review* he ventures to call "so feeble a performance."

"Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis
Tempus eget."

The third essay, by Dr. Heurtley, is on miracles, in reply to Baden Powell. This essay is both able and elaborate, but it concedes too much in admitting that real miracles may be wrought by superhuman evil beings. If we admitted this, we should despair of shewing that miracles are an evidence of the divine mission of the apostles and prophets.

The fourth essay, by Dr. Irons, on the idea of the National Church, scarcely comes within our province.

The fifth essay, on the creative work, by the Rev. G. Rorison, is an answer to Mr. Goodwin. We do not at all agree with Mr. Goodwin, but learned and able as his opponent is, we are free to confess that the reply is not in our judgment adequate to the occasion. We prefer even that of Dr. McCaul in *Aids to Faith* on some accounts. Mr. Rorison also makes the mistake which Mr. Rose makes, though not to the same extent, that is, of indulging in epithets.

The sixth essay, by the Rev. A. W. Haddan, on Rationalism, replies to Mr. Pattison, but seems to require no particular remark, but that it well merits careful perusal.

The seventh essay, which in all these cases should, we think, have come first, is on the "Interpretation of Scripture," from the pen of Canon Wordsworth. Now the learned author of this paper has fallen into Mr. Rose's mistake. This is to be lamented, for Professor Jowett is a man of so excellent a spirit, and who has expressed himself so courteously in his essay, that he of all men should have been dealt with tenderly. Some regard should be had for the gentle and loving spirit, the learning and the talent of one whose views are nevertheless often mistaken. Canon Wordsworth apparently does not view the Greek professor so favourably, and we are sorry for it. He is wrong we believe, but is not the man to use the "insidious language of insinuation and inuendo." When controversy begins to impute motives,

it ceases to be controversy. What it becomes, we will not say. To be frank, we are not only disinclined to the use of these weapons in a learned discussion, we repudiate and condemn them. Bring forth your strong reasons, and answer like men; let it be seen that you know why you believe; but if you wish to convince your adversary, more than to silence him and to win the plaudits of your friends, treat him as a sincere and an honest man. Hear what he has to say, and answer him, shew him his errors, turn him to the truth, love him as one for whom Christ died, and save his soul, but do not frown upon him and scold him. Lay not a stumbling-block more in the way of your weak brother, for he is your brother, though he stumbles.

But waiving this, albeit of vital importance, we may say that Canon Wordsworth fairly answers Professor Jowett on a variety of details, although he belongs to a school of interpreters which is on the wane. Modern criticism must be heard, and the problem is how to ally it with the old traditional methods. This modern criticism is apt to be self-willed and headstrong, and is too fond of innovation. These tendencies want restraining and modifying till criticism shall not be in danger of associating with scepticism, and forgetting the faith in which it was cradled. The traditional spirit is conservative, but it must condescend to recognize modern criticism as a co-worker, and the resolution of the two will end in real progress, which is required. Tradition must not stand still and call after its natural ally in terms of reproach,—

“Quæ mens tam dira, miserrima conjux,
Impulit his cingi telis? Aut quo ruis?”

The closing letters of the volume are rather to be regarded as protests from Oxford men, and as such call for no special comment.

3. The *Seven Answers* by Mr. Griffin, with an introduction by Mr. Napier, we may dismiss in a few words. Both gentlemen are profound believers of the orthodox school. Mr. Griffin displays considerable ability, and some of his replies are highly commendable. He allows himself, however, to shew a little too much feeling, but he is so earnest and pious, and often so ingenious, that his work, notwithstanding its want of proper revision, will be read with pleasure by evangelical Christians.

To conclude all we have to say upon the subject of these volumes; during their perusal we have often been led to ask ourselves, what is the proper method of discovering, defining and dealing with heresy? We have been compelled to believe that many of these writers have fallen into the dangerous error of regarding the rejection of a traditional interpretation of a text as heresy. Heresy is not the denial of a current exposition of a text, so much as the denial of a doctrine; in other words, a merely critical or scientific heresy must be never confounded with doctrinal heresy. Time was when to reject 1 John v. 7, would have exposed a man to the charge of Socinianism; but now, it is rejected with impunity by most orthodox divines. We believe that there are many critical heresies in the *Essays and Reviews*, and some

in the volumes before us. We consider the teaching of *Essays and Reviews* as often most objectionable in substance as well as in form. We believe that there are some opinions advanced in each of the volumes reviewed by us, which are considered at least to be debateable. We are convinced that there are some things new and true and good in the *Essays and Reviews*, and that they ought not to be condemned *en masse* by every ignorant empiric, who cannot understand either them or their reasons, and therefore condemns them indiscriminately. We must not lose sight of the many true and excellent things contained in the volumes reviewed. It is our conviction that the cause of truth demands the strictest justice, and is only advanced by honesty, candour, learning, and the spirit of Christ. This is why we have spoken so plainly of the enormous importance of rightly conducting our controversy. A flaw in our *method* leads to the same results as one in our *system*.

Monumenta Vaticana historiam Ecclesiasticam sæculi xvi. illustrantia.

Ex tabulariis Sanctæ sedis Apostolicæ Secretis, excerptis, digessit, recensuit, prolegomenisque et indicibus instruxit HUGO LÄMMER. Unacum fragmentis Neapolitanis ac Florentinis. Friburgi Brisgoviae. 1861. 8vo.

Dr. LÄMMER considers that these extracts will throw light upon the origin and progress of Protestantism, and upon the course pursued by the papal see in opposing the new heretics. He is of opinion that the measures taken by Rome were in accordance with truth and charity, and that these documents may help to refute the lies and calumnies which have been current for three centuries. The contents of the archives are threefold:—1. Pontifical instructions, or such as emanate from the Popes or their councillors. 2. Memorials, tracts, and reports. 3. Accounts of Venetian ambassadors to their senate, forwarded to Rome. This volume includes a long series of documents, two hundred and forty-two in number, not including the Neapolitan and Florentine extracts. The first is addressed by Leo X. to Erasmus, January 15, 1521; and the last is from Paul Vergerius to the legates of the council, March 15, 1546. All the series lies between these dates. The writers of these letters, for such they are for the most part, have recorded many curious items, matters of fact, and opinion, which will be sought for elsewhere in vain. Popes, cardinals, and other high dignitaries here speak freely, so far as is consistent with that reserve which becomes their exalted stations. We are permitted to look behind the curtain, and hear the personal opinions of the actors in that great sixteenth century drama. Some of the articles relate to our own country, but not so many as we had expected to find. Still there is an interesting series from Cardinal Campegius in reference to his English legation in 1528 and 1529. Among these we find much that it is well to know, but not much worth calling additions to our history. There is alongside of these English letters one from Cardinal Wolsey, or rather,

part of one to Cardinal Rudolfo, respecting the captivity of Clement VII., and the necessity of restoring him. It is dated London, July 12, 1527. It shews that even then the sovereign pontiff did not have roses without thorns. However, hear what the Cardinal says :—

.... " Quid in communem omnium parentem et universi orbis cardines sceleratius moliri, quid in ipsum Christum ejusque sanctissimas reliquias immanius excogitari poterat, quod non illi qui Christianum nomen falso profitentur, a nullis abstinentes sceleribus ineffabili nunc sævitia et impietate superaverint ? . . . Dum itaque accepta injuria recens adhuc animis residet, omnia experienda, lapidem omnem movendum esse judico *ad sanguinis usque effusionem*, ut Romanæ Ecclesiæ Apostolicæque Sedis collapsam dignitatem in pristinum gradum revocemus, ut languentibus membris indubitam Christi Vicarium sanctissimumque caput a tam miseranda captivitate restituamus."

The "*ad sanguinis usque effusionem*" principle here advocated for the restoration of the Pope was in those days very popular. It is frequently illustrated in the volume before us. One of the pieces is headed, "Instructiones datæ a Paulo, PP. iii., anno 1539, Cardinali Polo misso ad imperatorem et regem Christianissimum pro reductione regis et regni Angliæ ad Catholicam religionem diu ab illis cultam." The Protestants viewed this as a "*reductio ad absurdum*;" the Catholics as the subjection of rebels against the Church. Neither of them probably at that time saw any impropriety in the use of force where argument failed. Had the Pope gained his end, and Cardinal Pole accomplished his mission successfully, England would have been the scene of a fiery crusade. All Catholic Europe, from Vienna to Lisbon, and from Sicily to Paris, would have sent forth its hosts "*pro reductione regis et regni Angliæ ad Catholicam religionem*." We are glad to know that the scheme was a failure; it is none the less needful for us to include it among those measures which Dr. Lämmer so complacently tells us were "*conformable to truth and charity*." To our minds the doctrine and the love, the "*veritas*" and the "*charitas*," wear a singular aspect in the instructions given to the English cardinal by the Pope; they remind us more of the sword of Peter than of the Gospel of Paul. Much the same features are borne by divers others of these interesting papers, but this one is so worthy to be known that we give a somewhat literal version of the whole of it. The instructions then, are to this effect :—

"First, to bless his majesty in the name of our most holy Lord, and then to expound the reasons of the journey of your very reverend lordship to his majesty, and to the most Christian king, those (namely) which he has from his holiness in the mandates respecting the impiety and fury of the King of England. At length to persuade his majesty to resolve with all earnestness to aim at the reduction of that realm of England to the true religion; nor further to suffer that king to rage with impunity against God and against the saints, so long worshipped by himself and all his kingdom; in which matter he shall not have as a leader the authority of the apostolic see, and of our most holy Lord, who that he may shew the way which in this matter other princes may follow, has published a bull. He^a will have the most Christian king who, in his prudence and piety, has willingly offered not to be wanting. He will have the King of Scotland and the newly-created Scottish Cardinal,^b a man to be made much

^a i. e., the emperor.

^b i. e., Beaton.

account of (*virum magnificiendum*), and of much authority in those parts. Therefore, let commerce (*commercia*) be prohibited, and if anything else shall seem to pertain to this business, let it not be omitted, as in your prudence, your most reverend lordship will think and say better.

"And whereas the expedition which is preparing against the Turks, very much impedes this reduction of England, and the holding of a council for matters of faith, and for extirpating the Lutheran heresy, your most reverend lordship shall try with all your might to persuade his majesty, that it is for better (lest the present occasion for restoring our religion to its pristine form should be lost) that by the entire league, the most Christian king included, a truce should be agreed to with the Turks for some time to come, than for the sake of that expedition against the said Turks, long and doubtful, and expensive as it cannot but be, to set aside the opportunity of promoting the English and Lutheran business; and at the same time to shew his majesty that which will be most certain, that although the war with the Turks had turned out altogether prosperously and as desired, that the league and his victorious majesty might not be able after the victory to take vengeance upon heretics, and those who were ill-affected towards religion (*male de religione meritos*); they would in the meantime endeavour to conspire and invade Italy, (and) with the money of the king of England, with which he so much (*maxime*) abounds, and the German soldiery whereby the Lutherans are strong, would devastate and seize the provinces most deprived of protection on account of the war with the Turks. And besides these things, you shall not withhold whatever shall seem to your most reverend lordship to advance the business."

There is no mistaking the meaning of these instructions. Pope Paul III. thought he could enlist Catholic Europe in a crusade against England, and tried to carry out his idea. This precious document might have been framed by Antonelli himself. Whoever framed it, it shews that no hope of "reducing" England was entertained except by the sword. It was hoped that the continental powers would find faithful allies in the Scottish king and the persecuting Beaton. These are not doctrines for our time. None who understand the spirit of the Gospel can approve of them. None who do approve of them can proclaim them openly with impunity.

Our readers will judge from the specimens we have given, that this is a very interesting book. Much of it is in Italian, some of it in Latin, and a little of it in German. Those who are engaged in studying the records of the time will do well to examine it, and will find in it something worth noticing respecting most of the leading European countries and characters of that day.

Die Kirchen Geschichte des Johannes von Ephesus. Aus dem Syrischen übersetzt. Mit einer Abhandlung über die Trithheiten. ("The Church History of John of Ephesus. Translated from the Syriac. With a dissertation on the Trithheites.") By Dr. J. M. SCHÖNFELDER. 8vo. Munich: Lentner. 1862.

THE literature of this work is soon enumerated. In 1853, Dr. Cureton published the Syriac text; in 1856, Dr. Land published a dissertation upon it in German; and in 1860, the Rev. R. P. Smith published an English translation. We now have to add the German version of Dr. Schönfelder. It is to be regretted perhaps that we have not the whole

work of John, for it is in many respects very valuable. The portion which has been printed is not all that is extant, as considerably more exists among the MSS. in the British Museum. Who will undertake to copy and edit them? The greatest difficulty is the commercial one. Such undertakings do not pay; and recourse must be had either to private or public beneficence. Another difficulty lies in the way of a translator, and that is the inadequacy of existing lexicons, none of which take in all the words of works like this. Quatremère began a complete lexicon, but died without completing it; and his collections, if we mistake not, are in the hands of the Rev. R. P. Smith, who purposes publishing them with such additions as he can make. Bernstein devoted years to the same work, and actually published a first number of his lexicon; but death has removed him too. To this day therefore, all we have to recur to for general purposes, are the work of Ferrarius (1622); and that of Castell in Walton's Polyglott (1669), or as edited separately by Michaelis (1788). A lexicon is the first great want of the Syriac student. But it will probably be a generation before all the words in the MSS. actually in Europe, are all registered and their meanings determined. Meantime all who study these MSS. would do well to record what they find, and where they find them; and if they could be deposited in some common dépôt so much the better. Whatever can be done should be done, and no time should be lost.

Dr. Schönfelder prefixes an introduction to his work, which will be consulted with advantage. To his translation he appends various brief notes, and the text is interspersed with Syriac words, the translation of which is uncertain, or which are on other accounts thought worthy of special notice. The translation is followed by a dissertation (pp. 267—311) upon a sect whom their enemies called Tritheites, because they were accused of believing in three gods. The third part of John's history here translated embraces a period of about fifty years, or from A.D. 536 to 586. As the work of a monophysite it breathes a strong party spirit, but it contains many new facts in history, and much to confirm or correct what we already know. Of Mr. Payne Smith's book, the translator says he has made but little use, so that we may regard him as expressing an independent opinion as to the sense of particular passages. The version is more close than that of Mr. Smith, and so far as we have examined it appears to be tolerably accurate.

Meletemata Ignatiana. Critica de Epistolarum Ignatianarum versione Syriaca commentatio, quam scripsit AD. MERX. Halle. 1861.

For the present, we can do no more than give an extract from the preface of this work, containing a short notice of the Ignatian controversy, and a sketch of the method pursued by Dr. Merx. He says:—

"Two Greek recensions of the Ignatian epistles are extant, a larger and a shorter, but the text of each is in no few cases dubious. Meier of Giessen alone defends the longer recension; but no one has accepted his theory, so that the shorter recension is held by all to be the more ancient. In all there are twelve

epistles inscribed with the name of Ignatius, five of which, to Maria Cassobolita, the Tarsenses, the Philippians, the Antiochians, and Hero, are reckoned spurious by all, because not enumerated by Eusebius. The other seven, which Eusebius names, to the Magnesians, Trallians, Smyrnians, Philadelphians, Ephesians, Romans, and Polycarp, although often challenged, have always found defenders. The three last, found in Syriac among the MSS. in the British Museum, and in a short form, are accounted genuine to the exclusion of all the rest, by Cureton, Bunsen, and Lipsius, against whom, as is wont to happen with men who take a middle ground, opposition has been raised by both parties: for Baur of Tübingen has attacked Bunsen because they retain these three epistles; and Uhlhorn, Denzinger, Hefele, etc., differ from them and oppose them because they reject the rest. This being the case, that we may give every one his due, we shall so proceed, that we shall first compare the scope and form of the epistles which we have not in Syriac, with those of which a Syriac version is extant. Then we shall have to examine the nature of the Syriac version, and define its relation to the Greek text, in doing which the Syriac fragments are not to be neglected. We shall next look into the Syriac and ask whether the connexion has been well preserved with so many omissions. When we treat of the Syrian, we shall not only use the Greek recensions, but the Armenian version, which contains thirteen epistles, and which Petermann contends has been made from the Syriac. As we are ignorant of the language we yield to the authority of a greater man, and only cite the opinion of another well versed in Armenian (P. Joseph Kallergi), who says that the style of this version was a riddle to the Armenians themselves, until it was proved by Petermann that the version had a Shemitic origin. Of the larger Greek recension we do not think it needful to dispute, because to a man all count it spurious: but since the text of the lesser recension is corrupt in many places, we must sometimes ask whether the larger does not supply a better reading, which seems often probable, because the Syrian, Armenian, and larger Greek follow the same readings against the shorter Greek recension."

Dr. Merx believes that seven epistles are genuine, but that Dr. Cureton's three are not entire, but excerpts from the ancient version. Besides this ancient Syriac version, he thinks there was another in the same language, and possibly a third. The genuine epistles in 'their purest form are not free from corruption. The subject is ingeniously treated, and the book ought to be studied by those who are interested in the Ignatian controversy.

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1. *Peden the Prophet: a Tale of the Covenanters.* Founded on fact. By the Rev. A. M. BROWN, D.D. London: John Snow.
 2. *The Two Thousand Confessors of 1662.* By THOMAS COLEMAN. London: John Snow.
 3. *The English Confessors after the Reformation to the days of the Commonwealth.* By THOMAS COLEMAN. London: John Snow.

1. ALEXANDER PEDEN was a covenanter in the times of Charles II. He was regarded by his followers and admirers as a prophet, and strange stories are told of him. Dr. Brown has woven the almost incredible tale of his hero's life into the form of a romantic and thrilling narrative. To the spirit of the old covenanters he yields all homage. He regards them as faithful witnesses for purity of doctrine and discipline, against the errors and cruelties of the high church party. His book is one which will arouse the enthusiasm of such readers as admire the covenanters, and there are still many such. It is well-

written, and in a thoroughly evangelical spirit, although it must be confessed that some portions of it have a mythical look, and exceed too much the limits of probability. Tales of the Covenanters have always been popular with a large party in Scotland, and we advise all who would know how stirring some of those tales can be made, to read the graphic and well-written pages of Dr. Brown.

2. Mr. Coleman's *Two Thousand Confessors* is wholly written from the Puritan standpoint, and as such it must be judged. The author has collected a considerable amount of information which he has put together in an interesting and intelligible form. We think, however, that in enumerating the events which led to the Act of Uniformity, he should not have left out one which probably had more to do with it than he would allow, namely, the abolition of the Prayer Book by the parliament, the setting up of the directory, and the deprivation of such bishops and clergy whose "consciences" forbade them to agree to this. The fact is, that the Act of 1662 was the *denouement* of the grand struggle between the Puritan and the High Church parties which had been going on for more than a century. Each of them always opposed the other, and strove for the pre-eminence; each of them was in turn pre-eminent, but in the end Calvin succumbed. This is the way we read the history. Those who wish to read it from another point of view cannot do better than buy Mr. Coleman's interesting little volume. Beyond question he records the real sufferings of many great and good men, through the exercise of an arbitrary power, of which we happily have no experience.

3. Some of the remarks made about the *Two Thousand Confessors* apply also to this book. It is a record of real oppression for conscience sake. We must not put down all the willingness and patience with which men suffered before the days of toleration to wrong motives. This is what the heathen did, this is what the papists did, this is what all do who do not understand the power and purity of sincere conviction. We are not compelled to endorse all a man holds, because he is willing to suffer for it, or we should have to subscribe the creed of the fakeer or of the poor wretch who falls under the wheels of Juggernaut's car. What we must ever honour is sincere conviction, and such conviction is doubly honourable when it ascends the lofty spiritual elevation of some who have suffered among us. They were sometimes impractical, absurd, or fanatic, but they were sincere. So far John Rogers, John Penry, and James Nayler are on the same level. We can and must admire suffering for conscience sake, and therefore we admire those whom Mr. Coleman sets before us in so able a manner.

There are two things which few of us willingly admit, and yet they are both true: first, that those who are not of our party can suffer aright, undeservedly and in the true martyr spirit; secondly, that those who are of our party can be unjustly severe, oppressive, or persecuting. If there be two facts in English history more demonstrable than others they are, that the Presbyterians oppressed and persecuted the Episcopalians under the Commonwealth, and that the Episcopalians

oppressed and persecuted the Presbyterians under Charles the Second. It is equally clear that this intolerant and exclusive spirit was active at other times under Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I., and not less clear that the Puritans, who went over to America to enjoy "freedom to worship God in their own way," refused that very freedom to men who did not agree with them. Thus, all parties have their martyrs and their persecutors; the weakest have ever gone to the wall, as the proverb says. The precepts of Christ's holy and loving Gospel have been unheard amid the din of human passions and the clashing of human interests. It will still be so, if one party among us claims all the martyrs and confessors. This will be to provoke reprisals, and then we shall have gained nothing by all our lessons in Christian charity. O, to be wise as serpents, and harmless as doves!

A Book of Family Prayer, compiled chiefly from the devotions of Jeremy Taylor and other divines of the Seventeenth century.
London: Longmans.

THE editor says of the devotions here collected, "They are prayers whose genuine fervour will be brought out into clear light by constant use, while they express admirably the practical temper and comprehensive spirit of the Church of England." It would be affectation to praise prayers by Jeremy Taylor, Ken, Spinckes, Lake, Hele, and Cosin. They are beautiful, and appropriate, and devout.

Clark's Foreign Theological Library. History of the Development of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ. By Dr. J. A. DÖRNER. Division 1, Vol. I. Division 2, Vol. I. Translated by W. L. ALEXANDER, D.D., and D. W. SIMON. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

THIS is one of the most valuable works ever issued by the Messrs. Clark in their important series. As soon as it is complete we purpose to give it a thorough investigation. In the meantime we can conscientiously recommend it as a most searching, profound, and reliable investigation, with every mark of originality, and exhibiting the results of immense research and deep thought.

Theological and Homiletical Commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew. By J. P. LANGE, D.D. Translated by Rev. A. EVERSHEIM, Ph.D., and Rev. W. B. POPE. Vol. II. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

AN excellent specimen of the believing criticism and exegesis of Germany. The translators appear to have performed their task ably, and we congratulate them and the subscribers upon the execution of the work. As the title says, it is specially designed and adapted for the use of ministers and students.

The Works of Thomas Adams. Vol. II., containing Sermons from texts in the New Testament. Edinburgh: James Nichol.

THIS volume in every way sustains the character we have already given to the series. We cannot but highly commend the zeal and enterprize of the publisher, and express very confidently our approval of the manner in which this cheap and useful series is edited and got up. Thomas Adams was a man of no ordinary stamp, and all he wrote is worthy of a place in every theological library. To ministers of evangelical sentiments these works will be invaluable.

Die Kalendarien und Martyrologien der Angelsachsen; so wie das Martyrologium und der Computus der Herrad von Landsperg; nebst Annalen der Jahre, 1859, und 1860. ("Calendars and Martyrologies of the Anglo-Saxons, with the Martyrology and Computus of Herrad (Lady) von Landsperg, and annals of 1859, 1860.") By F. PIPER. Berlin. 1862.

DR. PIPER is editor of the well-known and well conducted *Evangelical Calendar*, which comprises articles by a number of leading writers. We may expect to find him quite at home in such work as that which he has here done. Nor shall we be disappointed. He has given us a useful, learned, curious, and interesting book. The Lady von Landsperg was an abbess in Alsace in the twelfth century, and composed a curious work called the *Hortus Deliciarum*, out of which Dr. Piper has taken the parts relating to the Calendar, so far as they are required for his purpose. The martyrologium and computus are placed first, although they yield in antiquity to the Anglo-Saxon calendars which are a good deal older. These are full of interest, and are accompanied by various remarks and elucidations which prove that Dr. Piper is well qualified to expound them. To make his series complete he introduces a notice of the Calendar contained in the Common Prayer Book, whereof he says it was first arranged in 1548:—

"A new calendar appeared in 1561, proceeding from the deliberations of a commission, at whose head was the Archbishop of Canterbury: it was called to revise the Scripture lessons, and the calendar too, so far as saints' names were concerned. That Prayer Book actually received its final form in 1662. The introduction of the reformed calendar in 1752 affected the register of times and festivals, but not the names. Indeed, the most recent editions of the Common Prayer Book (at Oxford, Cambridge, and by the Queen's printers since 1847) have dropped the saints' names, except the Biblical ones. This arbitrariness and, indeed, illegality (which is shewn by the Act of 1662) is rightly censured in the edition prepared for the Ecclesiastical History Society, edited by Mr. Stephens, and based upon a collation of legalized copies."

Dr. Piper we see notices the revision of the calendar after the restoration of Charles II., and he fastens upon the delinquencies of recent printers, and very justly, for if the Prayer Book is to be printed by privileged persons, it ought to be according to standard copies and in its integrity. It is for this that the privilege is granted. Where responsibility exists, accuracy ought to be secured. The annals ap-

pended to this work are interesting now, and will hereafter be of much greater worth. The years 1859, 1860, were full of incidents which will not soon be forgotten, especially in Italy. Most of the great events in Italian history during that time are here chronicled, beginning with the outbreak of war between Austria and Sardinia, and concluding with notices of the Waldenses and Italian Protestantism. One section is devoted to obituaries, and among them we find many well-known names.

The book is, as will appear, of a very miscellaneous character, but deserves attention, especially for those portions which refer to the Anglo-Saxon calendars; in these we have an interest altogether peculiar, and we are glad to find so respectable an effort to throw light upon them from the pen of a German professor of theology.

Grundzüge der Neutestamentlichen Gräcität nach den besten Quellen, für studirende der Theologie und Philologie. ("Outlines of New Testament Greek according to the best authorities, for students of Theology and Philology.") By Prof. Dr. S. CH. SCHIRLITZ. 8vo. Giessen. 1861.

DISCUSSIONS as to the character of the Greek of the New Testament, arose in modern times not very long after the volume began to be extensively studied. It was maintained on the one hand that the language was pure Greek, and that all apparent anomalies could be explained on that principle. On the other hand it was asserted that the New Testament Greek differed widely from classical models, and could only be characterized by some distinguishing appellation. The former were called *Purists*, and inasmuch as the latter traced nearly all anomalies to Hebrew influences, their system was styled Hebraism. The purist party seems to have died out before the end of the last century, and modern discoveries as to the nature of language and its laws, have served greatly to modify the opinions of most men. It is now admitted that the Greek of the New Testament belongs to that form of the language which was spoken in Egypt and other countries of the east after the time of Alexander; which is represented by the Septuagint version, and the Old Testament Apocrypha, and which was extensively used by the Jews in their synagogue worship. It is natural to expect a strong Hebrew tincture in books which were written by Jews and converts from Judaism. It is equally natural to look for other peculiarities in books written in different countries and by persons born in different regions. A great amount of useful information was collected before the present century, by those who debated the question we have alluded to. The literature of the subject extends over about two centuries, but it was some time before men came to recognize Cilicisms and other *isms* now pointed out. No doubt Leusden surprised many, if he did not shock them, when in his *De Dialectis Novi Testamenti*, he declared that these dialects were *seven* in number, and that he did not count as one that form of the language which he calls

the "*dialectus communis*." These seven were, the Attic, Ionic, Doric, Æolic, and Bæotic, with the Poetic and the Hebraizing. He did but follow his precursors, and he quotes Caspar Vuyssius (*Dialectologia Sacra*, 1650), as saying that the New Testament contains so many dialects, that there is not a verse in which some dialectic peculiarity is not to be detected.

All this has passed away, and while it is admitted that the Greek of the New Testament is not pure, but intermixed with various idioms, its dialect is one, and that is the Alexandrian (Macedonian). Dr. Schirlitz explains all this very well, and adds thereto in the first or historical part of his work, some other investigations; the question of style and manner for example. Thus we have sections on the Christian element; on our Lord's manner of speaking in gnomes and parables; on the style of Matthew, Mark, Luke, Peter, Jude, James, John, and Paul; and on the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Apocalypse in particular. The second, or grammatical part is divided into two principal sections, treating respectively of forms and syntax.

There is much in the volume which is also in Winer's well-known and useful work, and in that of Buttmann. But, as often happens in like cases, additions are made to what previous writers have collected, and some corrections of them are introduced. The section on the doctrine of forms, will be found very useful, and is much more full than in Winer's work. Scarcely any peculiarity seems to have been overlooked, and so far as we have examined, we have seen reason to accept the explanations offered. The section on syntax is shorter than that of Winer, but it is carefully written and throws considerable light upon many peculiar constructions. There are two very good indexes, one of topics, and one of Greek words; but there is no index of texts, which some will regard as a deficiency, but which the Greek index almost renders unnecessary.

On the whole we receive this work with much pleasure, and accept it as a valuable addition to our aids to the better understanding of the Greek Testament, worth more than many commentaries.

Das Lied Moses: Deut. xxxii. 1—43. ("The Song of Moses.") By A. H. H. KAMPHAUSEN. Leipsic: Brockhaus.

THIS book is dedicated to Frederick Bleek and Baron Bunsen, or rather to their memory; a circumstance which may suggest the author's standpoint. It will not be expected that he will consider this song as a genuine production either of Moses or of his time. He regards the compilation of Deuteronomy as much later than the age of Moses. After discussing the question at considerable length he concludes that the latest date to which it can be referred is 700 B.C. We shall not follow him in this matter, neither shall we commend either his arguments or his conclusion; but we may remark that he shews himself very well acquainted with what has been said upon the subject by German scholars and critics especially, and by Dr. Donaldson in particular.

The exposition contains sundry useful and appropriate observations, but its value is diminished by occasional remarks which savour more of courage than of criticism. One of the supplementary sections will be found instructive to such as wish to become acquainted with the literature of the subject. We are always dissatisfied with critics of this school, who fix on some particular passage, and by means of minute criticism and comparisons with writings known to be of a later date, prove anything they have a mind to. In this way the Pentateuch has been cut into pieces, and these pieces have been shewn to be of the most diversified origin and antiquity. What used to be received as the one work of Moses, is now divided among a multitude who lived at intervals of ages after his time! This mince-meat criticism is of course exceedingly clever, and is naturally very popular with a certain order of minds. It has the charms of novelty and ingenuity. It is not only opposed to old fashioned opinions, it can afford to talk loftily about them as relics of an illiberal and contracted, a credulous and unenlightened age. But after all, neither this "tall talk," nor this captivating destructive criticism, are popular with grave and godly men. Some among them treat it scornfully and reject it without investigation to the hurt of their cause. Others among them oppose and answer it, but so indiscreetly, as to encourage the doubter instead of convincing him. Only a few seem to realize the fact, that next to the possession of the truth, a man's richest endowment is the ability to advocate it well and wisely.

Christliche Sittenlehre. ("Christian Ethics.") By C. F. SCHMID.
Edited by Dr. A. Heller, Stuttgart. 1861.

WE have here a massive book of more than 800 pages, on a theme of great importance. It comprises much more than what we call moral philosophy; it enters deeply into what is better designated moral theology, and touches upon various points of practical theology. The author's name will be familiar to the German student in connexion with his *Biblical Theology of the New Testament*. He was born in 1794, was theological tutor at Tübingen, and died in 1852. He was a decided opponent of the principles of Hegel, Schleiermacher, Baur, etc. He is regarded with affection by German divines of the more orthodox and traditional school. Hence the principles inculcated in the volume before us will, many of them, be likely to find acceptance in this country. The author's spirit is admirable, and much of his work might profitably be translated. Yet it will be manifest at a glance, that with all his earnest and proper spirit, his distinct analysis and his accurate arrangement and statements, Dr. Schmid's moral theology is not wholly in accordance with English standards. As a Lutheran he writes from a Lutheran standpoint, and will be considered as having a confessional bias. It is so when he treats of baptism, penance, and other practical matters. But for all this the volume is well worthy the careful study of those who wish to be well grounded in the Christian doctrine of

morals. By some it will be considered profound, but it will run the risk of being thought the contrary by those who have dived into the deeper, darker, more mysterious and enigmatical pages of men whose names are connected with some of the subjects here treated of.

Novum Testamentum Græce. Ad fidem codicis Vaticani recensuit
PHILIPPUS BUTTMANN. 8vo. Berlin. 1862.

THERE are two impressions of this beautiful book, one on fine large paper, and one in a cheap form. It is printed in a peculiar type, partly in imitation of the ancient uncial manuscripts, but accents and other grammatical signs have been supplied. Every page has a heading indicating the subjects of the text, and the margins are adorned with many references to parallel passages. As a specimen of typography it is very commendable and attractive. We are not able to speak of the accuracy with which the editor and printers have performed their task. A supplementary note informs us of the occasion which gave rise to this volume, and presents us with well known details respecting Mai's edition and its character. There is also a table of passages in which either the Vatican reading is rejected, or the collators differ from each other. These collations will be found useful, and to the critical reader will probably be the most valuable portion of the book. There is one matter respecting which we must advertize the reader, and that is, that the editor of this volume has not limited himself to the known text of Codex B. Some of the Vatican readings are rejected as intimated a few lines back, and passages not in that text have been incorporated, or, rather, added in brackets. We may instance as the most noteworthy, Mark xvi. 9—20, and John vii. 53, to viii. 11. The variations are of course enumerated in the table at the end, but they are sufficiently numerous to justify us in calling this a critical edition on the basis of the Vatican text. It is, moreover, necessary that we should say that the Codex B ends at Heb. ix. 14, and that the remainder is supplied from other sources, and does not agree with the text printed by Cardinal Mai. It is not clear where these additions are taken from. One sentence would lead us to infer that Tischendorf and Lachmann have been used; and such may have been the case, although the words really apply to those parts where Codex B supplies the text.

Einleitung in das Neue Testament. ("Introduction to the New Testament.") By FRIEDRICH BLEEK: Edited by J. F. BLEEK. 8vo. Berlin. 1862.

IN our last number we directed attention to the *Introduction to the Old Testament*, by Dr. Bleek; and the remark which we made upon that volume is equally applicable to this: it contains a mass of valuable information and observations, the result of many years' "study during a long professional career." We are informed indeed, by the editor, the author's son, that Dr. Bleek lectured twenty-four times upon the subject of this work, between 1822 and 1859. The text is copied from

these college lectures, and notes containing more recent information have been inserted by the actual editor. The arrangement is similar to that of the Old Testament volume, with which it is uniform in size and price. An introductory division is followed by Part I., on the origin of single books; Part II., on the history of the canon; and Part III., on the history of the text. The reader may frequently question the conclusions arrived at, but he will find it a useful work.

Synoptische Erklärung der drei ersten Evangelien. ("Synoptical Exposition of the three first Gospels.") By F. BLEEK. Edited by H. HOLTZMANN. Second volume. 8vo. Leipsic: Engelmann. 1862.

THE character of Bleek as a critic is recognized by those who cannot accept his system. Apart from this, there is a vast amount of wisdom and scholarship in his writings. He was honest, painstaking and learned. He can illustrate the New Testament by singularly happy allusions to Old Testament facts and passages. He was skilled in Hebrew as well as Greek, and made a diligent use of the ancient versions. The two volumes on the three first gospels are not the least valuable of his works; and may be used with real profit by judicious and independent students.

Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament. ("Concise Exegetical Manual to the Old Testament.") Part XVII., Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther. By Dr. ERNST BERTHEAU. 8vo. Leipsic: Hirzel. 1862.

WE described this important work at p. 485 of our last volume, and now we have simply to record its completion. The author of this part has previously contributed to the series expositions of the books of Judges, Ruth, Proverbs and Chronicles. He is an accomplished and diligent scholar, and has crowded into his pages an immense mass of erudition and information. By no means to be contemned as a critic, Dr. Bertheau is peculiarly qualified for illustrating the Old Testament books by means of the extensive and varied stores which he has accumulated.

La Syrie en 1861. Condition des Chrétiens en Orient. ("Syria in 1861. Condition of the Christians in the East.") By M. SAINT-MARC GIRARDIN. 12mo. Paris: Didier. 1862.

THIS work professes to set forth the affairs of Syria as described in the despatches presented to the British parliament. Its aim is rather political than religious. Its motto is "neither Russians nor Turks at Constantinople." It looks forward to the time when the Christian East shall be left to the Christians of the East. M. Girardin believes it impossible for the Turkish government long to survive; that it is dying, and that Abdul Aziz cannot regenerate it. The volume is

divided into two parts; the first of which contains a summary of papers in the Blue Book respecting the Syrian massacre of 1860, and the Anglo-French expedition. The second contains extracts from reports made by the English consuls in the East to Sir H. Bulwer on the condition of the Christians. There is very much in the book with which we fully coincide, and we share to some extent in the author's sympathy for the oriental Christians, of whom he says with truth, "we have not had the admiration it deserves, for that miracle the Christian faith preserved in the East in spite of Turkish persecutions. 'Where two or three are met together in my name, there am I in the midst of them:' here is the divine cause of the strength and continuance of the Oriental Church. The Christians of the East have remained assembled in the name of Jesus Christ, notwithstanding Mussulman persecution, and Jesus Christ has been among them."

Scripture Lessons for the unlearned, to be read with the Bible. By M. E. S. London: J. and C. Mozley.

AN excellent idea, ably carried out. The book is admirably fitted for the use of the young and the unlearned as a stepping-stone to important knowledge. It is eminently instructive, scriptural, and practical.

The Ministry of the Bible. By the Rev. E. G. CHARLESWORTH. London: Wertheim, Macintosh and Hunt.

THE contents of this book are very miscellaneous. There are many thoughts which are true, and beautiful, and good, but the author is disposed to be speculative and fanciful. Some might think the style dignified and the book profound, but such is not our judgment. Those who have time on their hands will read it with interest, but they will find among the flowers many things which want weeding out. The spirit of the book is right, and its aim a good one.

Lightford; or, The sure Foundation. By A. C. W. With introduction by the Rev. A. R. C. DALLAS. London: Wertheim, Macintosh and Hunt.

AN exquisite story, charmingly told. We cordially acquiesce in Mr. Dallas's recommendation of it as "a faithful portraiture of very interesting phases in Christian life, from an attentive perusal of which much advantage may be derived, while the interest is awakened by the manner in which the writer has grouped the incidents, characters and intercourse, which faithfully convey a just impression of that which they are intended to represent. It is an excellent book for Christian families.

Les Conférences de Genève, 1861. ("Rapports et discours publiés au nom du Comité de l'Alliance Evangelique.") Par D. TISSOT. Part I. London: Nutt.

AN interesting record of the event commemorated in the title page.

The principal article in this part is a well written paper by Professor Godet on the Lord's day. He pleads for the strict observance of the day; and his essay should be read by those who take an interest in the Sabbath question.

The Words of the Angels; or, Their visits to the Earth, and the Messages they delivered. By RUDOLF STIER, D.D. London: Hamilton and Co.

Dr. Stier is very well known for his practical expositions,—*The words of the Lord Jesus, The words of the Apostles*, etc. These works are very much valued for their lucid development of the sacred text, and for their eminently devout and evangelical spirit. The work before us may be similarly characterized. It is occupied with the various angelic utterances recorded in the New Testament. We cannot compare the translation with the original, but we can say that it is written in a clear and intelligent style. The publishers have done their part well; and the work is one which will be read with profit and pleasure by pious persons. We have ourselves been much gratified with its perusal.

An Historical Survey of the Astronomy of the Ancients. By the Right Hon. Sir GEORGE CORNEWALL LEWIS. 8vo. London: Parker, Son, and Bourn. 1862.

THOSE who know that Sir G. C. Lewis is Secretary of War to Her Majesty's government, will wonder to see so solid and learned a work as the fruit of his vacation hours. It may not be wholly such, but it will be considered so by many. We scarcely know which to call attention to first, the wide range, the multiplicity of recondite details and references, or the ability and fearlessness with which the plan is wrought out. It is a greatly learned and a most independent work, yet it is neither heavy nor impertinent. Almost any intelligent person may read it, yet it is a book for scholars and thoughtful men. Though not theological, it has a direct bearing on the interpretation of Scripture passages, and upon a variety of Biblical allusions. We may rapidly glance at the contents of its chapters:—1. Primitive astronomy of the Greeks and Romans; 2. Philosophical astronomy of the Greeks from the time of Thales to that of Democritus; 3. Scientific astronomy of the Greeks from Plato to Eratosthenes; 4. Scientific astronomy of the Greeks from Hipparchus to Ptolemy. These chapters contain a vast mass of information, and present us with a most searching and able sketch, thoroughly original in its character, and very free, some would say too positive, in its tone. Here, however, the writer is on ground which he has well mastered, and which he may claim as specially his own; where he has few worthy rivals, and where he is at ease.

The fifth chapter, on the astronomy of the Babylonians and Egyptians; the sixth, on the early history and chronology of the Egypt-

tians; and the seventh, on the early history and chronology of the Assyrians, introduce our learned author to a more debateable territory. He is acquainted with the statements of Greek and Latin writers, as well as with those of the moderns. He analyses and selects, criticises and repudiates, argues and concludes, with the air of an authority. His remorseless criticism sweeps away many of the lying legends which the ancients have bequeathed to us, and ancient and modern speculations are pitilessly sifted. The claims to an absurd antiquity for Egypt and Babylon are put out of court, and many of the ridiculous pretensions made in their favour, on other accounts, are ousted. What he believes they were and did, the author gives them credit for without grudging or envy. We almost stand aghast at the boldness with which he throws discredit upon the recent labours of Egyptologists. We fear he has carried this too far, and while we believe there is much uncertainty in a great deal that has been written to explain Egyptian hieroglyphics, we equally believe that much of it is certain. Young and Champollion were far behind Birch, and Sharpe, and others in our own time no doubt, and these latter will be often corrected by their successors. But it would be wrong to class these with those speculators who are prepared with explanations for anything at an hour's notice. The Rev. C. Forster, Dr. Simonides, and plenty besides, can satisfy the credulous and the unscientific. Let them be judged. But scientific men like Birch and Sharpe do not belong to the same category. They are modest, painstaking searchers after truth, whose aim is to read the monuments of Egypt. That they have read many of these we cannot doubt, and casual errors of detail are not sufficient to throw discredit upon their principles or their methods, or the general results they have arrived at. The wonder is, that they have established so much. What they have done gives us the hope of more. There are men of different schools who stand very high, but we do not feel justified in trusting them. Nor ought we to trust these, when they begin to speculate. But we should consider ourselves in danger of Pyrrhonism if we thought the grammars, vocabularies, and versions, which have come out of these enquiries, and even the very alphabets, fundamentally fictitious. Sir G. C. Lewis is an admirable scholar, profoundly versed in ancient and modern literature, and yet in this matter of Egyptian interpretation we honestly believe him mistaken. Perhaps good will come out of his assault; it may put them on their mettle, may persuade them to verify and confirm what they have gained, and lead them to labour more earnestly to supply what is wanting, to correct that which is wrong. There was a danger of their becoming too confident and satisfied, a danger that the public would believe them too implicitly. If all this is not over, Sir G. C. Lewis is not to blame. We hope and trust no patient explorer will be discouraged by his unbelief, and that right minded readers will here at least consider the War Secretary as an outsider, not initiated, who can only speak generally.

The last chapter of the volume is on the navigation of the Phœni-

cians. Here also, as elsewhere, the learned author exhibits a considerable want of faith in much that is commonly believed. But much that he says is most valuable, and calculated to inform us respecting ancient commerce generally. As a whole, the work should be read by every student of antiquity, and yet we do not recommend that it be read with unquestioning credence. Much of it is new, much of it is true, and it is altogether admirable; but there are places in which the author's criticism does not agree with that of men who in their own departments deserve our esteem and regard.

Die Lehre von der Heiligen Liebe, oder Grundzüge der Evangelisch Kirchlich Moral Theologie. ("The Doctrine of Holy Love; or, The outlines of the Moral Theology of the Evangelical Church..") By ERNST SARTORIUS. New edition, in one volume 8vo. 1861.

DR. SARTORIUS was born in 1797, and died in 1859. He studied at Göttingen, where he was brought under the powerful influence of Planck. His first work appeared in 1820, upon certain questions of exegetical and systematical theology. In 1821 he became extraordinary theological professor at Marburg. While there he wrote against rationalism. In 1824 he removed to Dorpat, whence he removed again eleven years later into Prussia, where he became general superintendent, consistorial director, and first court preacher at Königsberg. There he began his *Moral Theology* in 1840, but it did not receive its final form till 1856. Dr. Sartorius was active as a writer, and somewhat given to polemics. His theological principles will be gathered from this work. "God is love," he says, after the apostle John, and from that as his starting point he evolves the system here laid down. "Since now," says he, "a belief in the love wherewith God as Creator and Redeemer first loved us, necessarily produces love in us, by which we love Him again and keep His commandments, so there lies in that theology at the same time, the anthropological principle of evangelical ethics, which are as inseparably connected with that theology, as the love we exercise with the love we believe in. Hence, in love and the reciprocation of it is concentrated (1 John iv. 19) the sum of systematic theology, of law and Gospel, of the doctrine of faith and of life, which although distinct, are yet in principle united to holy love."

It will be readily admitted that there is a theology which appeals to the heart as much as to the understanding, which traces all personal religion worth the name, to God as its author, and not to the will or reason of man. But it is curious to see how often parties are practically at variance with themselves in this matter. The most rigid defender and advocate of the divine may exhibit very little but what is human; and the most zealous advocate of the dignity and power of man may display the most divine features in his religious character. We know how to estimate these characters, and bitterly as we lament to see a true life without a true creed, we more bitterly lament to see

a true creed without a true life. "Why call ye me, Lord, Lord, and do not the things that I say?"

The work of Dr. Sartorius is divided into two main parts, and these again into sections and chapters. The first great division is concerning the love of God in its various manifestations and relations; as in creation, in relation to sin and law, and in the atonement. The second part deals with holy love in man, as the principle of regeneration, obedience, and ultimate perfection. The two closing chapters, on the patience and hope of love in sufferings and death, and on eternal life, the last judgment and the final triumph of holy love, call forth the warmest utterances of our author's heart. Believers in orthodox doctrine, whose hearts are in unison with their creed, will enjoy the perusal of this work, and will be instructed and edified by it, even though they may not endorse every statement it contains.

Christian Faith; its Nature, Objects, Causes, and Effects. By JOHN H. GODWIN. London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder. 1862.

MR. GODWIN does not expect the discovery of new truths in respect to the most important subjects presented in the sacred Scriptures, but he thinks that some of these truths may be stated in an improved form. His aim is not novelty; but to direct attention to the simple form of Christian truth which is seen in the pages of the New Testament. The work is one of the series of *Congregational Lectures*. These lectures are eight in number, and on the topics named in the title. The author maintains that Christian faith is trust, and not mere belief. The object of this faith is Jesus Christ, and not any particular fact or proposition. The causes of faith are both natural and divine; but "the faith which is the consequence of Christian life, cannot be the faith which is required for its commencement." The effects of faith are forgiveness of sin, righteousness, Christian goodness, Christian usefulness, and Christian happiness. The book proceeds throughout on the basis of the New Testament; it contains much solid thought, exhibits frequent peculiarities of expression, and is generally fitted to make men think, as well as to aid them in thinking. It displays considerable ability and originality, and is worthy of a place by the side of the best treatises on the subject. It is independent in its tone, and at the same time calm and intelligible, free from everything like fancy and mere speculation.

Christ the Life of the World: Biblical Studies on Chapters xi.—xxi. of St. John's Gospel. By RUDOLPH BESSER, D.D. Translated from the German, by M. G. HUXTABLE. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1862.

IN a former volume Mr. Huxtable published Besser's *Studies on the First Ten Chapters of St. John*. The translator now completes his design, and reminds us that "Dr. Besser is a Lutheran, both in doctrine and in ecclesiastical discipline, and is at the same time a man who

holds his views heartily, and propounds them uncompromisingly in strong and sharp outline." This is a clause which *nomine mutato* might be affixed to many criticisms of German books. But it detracts very little from their value, for wise readers will know how to deal with the Lutheranism, or any other "ism" they may encounter in good books. Dr. Besser's work is valuable and interesting. It contains many passages of real beauty and power, and is equally practical and devotional in its character. Although pervaded by real earnest feeling, the volume avoids enthusiasm and effervescence. The writer believes, admires, loves, and worships, but he never sacrifices his understanding. Those who are acquainted with the former volume will know how much we mean, when we say that is worthy of all the encomiums bestowed upon its predecessor. It is a hearty Christian book.

A Translation of the Syriac Peshito Version of the Psalms of David.

With notes, critical and explanatory. By the Rev. ANDREW OLIVER, M.A. Boston: E. P. Dutton and Co. London: Trübner and Co.

THIS is the commendable production of an American parish clergyman, who has devoted his spare hours to the study of the Syriac version. The New Testament had been already translated into English by Dr. Murdock and Dr. Etheridge; but hitherto no one, so far as we are aware, had tried his hand upon any book of the Old Testament. We have long asserted the importance of this version, and we rejoice in the attempts made to place it within the reach of a larger number. Mr. Oliver's translation of the Psalms is a good beginning; the work is executed on sound principles, and with all honesty of intention. Still we regard many of the renderings as capable of improvement, and not a few of them as open to question. It would be strange if it were otherwise. So little has been done in this department of study that the best rendering of numerous words and idiomatic phrases has not been fixed. Mr. Oliver is not above the use of italics, and endeavours to convey the meaning of the original, but does not aim at elegance. While then we cannot approve of every rendering, we have much pleasure in directing the attention of our readers to this volume.

St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. Illustrated from Divines of the Church of England. By JAMES FORD, M.A. London: Masters. 1862.

It is refreshing to discover that there are among us men who enjoy all the advantages of modern enlightenment, and who yet are content to abide in the "old paths." Here is a solid octavo of 700 pages, in which the Epistle to the Romans is illustrated and expounded by divines of the Church of England, and mainly by divines of the seventeenth century. We can fancy some men smiling, and ready to dismiss the work at once as "unscientific," "uncritical," and so forth,

when they hear what sources it is derived from. But they would be wrong, for we have here not only the good, and wise, and holy thoughts of good, wise, and holy men; we have also explanations which will stand the ordeal of searching criticism, and illustrations which must commend themselves to all who are able to appreciate them. The seventeenth century was the age of great scholars and mighty theologians; and some of their leaders are represented in Mr. Ford's laborious and well ordered compilation. Who is there that can hear without reverence the names of Andrewes, Barrow, Beveridge, Bramhall, and Bull, of Donne, Faringdon, Felltham, Gurnall, Hacket, and Hall, of Hammond, Hicka, Hooker, Jackson, and Jewell, of Leighton, Lightfoot, Mede, Pearson, and Reynolds, or of Sanderson, Stillington, Taylor, Tillotson, and Ussher? Are not these, and many more of the same order cited by Mr. Ford, worth listening to and learning from?

The seventeenth century was more than an age of Puritanism. The stern necessities of theological discussion called forth the noblest powers of men of all parties, and among the ornaments of the age in England, the High Church can claim some of the brightest. The following century has supplied its quota, but the galaxy of talent and piety is far less luminous. Some of the lights of our own times also make their appearance, and they form honourable additions to an honourable fraternity. Those who relish the old-fashioned divinity and the utterances of men whose faith is not perplexed and hampered by recent speculations, will do well to study this volume. Clergymen engaged in actual service, and having many demands upon their time and thoughts to meet, or such as have but a limited library at their command, will find Mr. Ford's work a real mine full of precious ore, we had almost said a treasury of current coin, of which they may freely avail themselves. In preaching from this important epistle, it will be well to consult the volume before us, so richly does it abound in right thoughts and practical suggestions. For personal edification or family reading, it is equally appropriate. We believe it is characterized throughout by "sound doctrine." We have been much gratified with its perusal, and confidently recommend it as in all respects worthy of a place beside its predecessors by the same skilful hand.

Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church: with an Introduction on the Study of Ecclesiastical History. By ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, D.D., Second edition. London: Murray. Oxford: Parker.

If there is romance anywhere in his subject Canon Stanley will find it. Not only will he find it, he will set it forth in its most bewitching guise; and in this way succeeds in investing what have been thought the driest themes, with grace and interest. What more appalling to a young student than a prospect of a course of Church history? What do common readers know less of than of Church history? As ordi-

narly written it has been made the engine of a party, or the opportunity for a heartless anatomical treatment, a complete vivisection of ancient documents. Exceptions there have been, but it is a known fact that the study is not popular, and that so-called popular works are almost invariably only consulted and not read. Daring souls are found who go down into the catacombs of Baronius, who plunge into the abysses of the Magdeburg centuriators, or who wander over the wide field of Fleury and his congeners. But they are few. The majority are content with meagre compilations; and while some read one or other of these once in a lifetime, most remain content with occasional references to them. And no wonder; for, with the exception of very few, the English Church historians are not inviting or entertaining.

Canon Stanley has shewn how Church history may be written. His graceful pen, aided by a keen perception, a lively imagination, a genial temperament, and good stores of learning, has produced a work which will be read by many. He is right: for while a severe criticism will accuse him of credulity sometimes, and of painting often, he has found out the happy art of writing Church history in a most attractive manner. Nor is this his only merit; he has displayed no little courage in striking out a new tract, and in expressing himself with all honesty and candour. This most transparent volume is one which, with all its questionable statements, presents us with a living form, and not a dead skeleton.

We cannot find space for an analysis of this charming book, but we record our impressions respecting it, and will briefly indicate the sphere it occupies. It contains twelve university lectures, which the Oxford men must have listened to with delight. The introduction contains three sections on the province, the study, and the advantages of ecclesiastical history. This part of the work is very beautiful, and will probably not meet with many objections. The first lecture is on the Eastern Church, its general divisions, its historical epochs, and its general characteristics, with a statement of the advantages of studying its history. The second lecture is on the council of its Nicæa, its oriental character, its general interest, and the peculiarities of its history. The third lecture on the same subject records the meeting of the council, its occasion, the selection of the place, the time, the assemblage, diversity of characters, and preliminary discussions. The fourth lecture continues the enquiry, and goes into the details of the opening of the council. The fifth lecture on the conclusion of the council shews us what was decided, and how the business was concluded. The sixth lecture is on the emperor Constantine, who is judged with rare impartiality. The seventh lecture is an able sketch of Athanasius and his chequered experience.

The eighth lecture is very important, on the relation of Mahometanism to the Eastern Church; a study by itself. The ninth lecture is on the early history of the Russian Church; and the tenth, on its history in the middle ages. Two valuable lectures they are. The eleventh lecture is on the patriarch Nikon, the Russian reformer of the seven-

teenth century. The last lecture is on Peter the Great, and the modern Church of Russia. The volume concludes with a chronological table and an index, two most desirable adjuncts.

If Dr. Stanley will by some be thought to believe too much, he will by others be accused of believing too little. Nevertheless, it is our impression that he has succeeded in giving the most generally truthful representation of the men and times he treats of, than we have elsewhere met with. We earnestly hope that our readers who have not done so will hasten to peruse this fascinating, and yet learned, volume.

The Life and Epistles of St. Paul. By the Rev. W. J. CONYBEARE, M.A., and the Rev. J. S. HOWSON, D.D. Two vols. People's edition. London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts. 1862.

THE third edition of an admirable and highly useful work. The first and second editions were in quarto, with a larger number of illustrations and critical notes. Such as prefer the work in its larger and more expensive forms can still obtain it, but the present has been prepared to meet the wants of a larger number. Owing to the death of Mr. Conybeare, the task of modifying the volumes and of fitting them for more popular use has devolved upon Dr. Howson, who has done his work excellently. The alterations in the text are very few, but the notes have been considerably abridged. The two volumes contain an exhaustive narrative of the life and labours of St. Paul, and a translation of all his epistles. Everything has been done to make this the most complete illustration and exposition of the Acts of the Apostles so far as they relate to the Apostle of the Gentiles. No important source of information has been overlooked, and the whole of the work proceeds on sound critical principles. While we should not accept every conclusion arrived at, as that the epistle to the Ephesians was really addressed to the Laodiceans, we have the utmost confidence in the correct scholarship, accurate research, and genuine ability which appear throughout. An eminent French author tells us that it is one of the most precious books in his library, and he is right in his opinion.

Reasons of Faith; or, The Order of the Christian Argument developed and explained. With an Appendix. By the Rev. G. S. DREW, M.A. London: Bell and Daldy. 1862.

THIS attempt to develop and explain the order of the Christian argument, is meant to indicate a path of inquiry and reflection by which any considerate man may be led forward from facts around him to a position of well grounded and intelligent belief. The author contents himself with furnishing little more than an outline of each branch of evidence, and gives references to works which treat them in detail, especially such works as are likely to be within the reach of those whom he addresses. After an interesting and somewhat original in-

introduction, the chapters proceed in the following order: 1. First steps, Historical trustworthiness of the Evangelists; 2. Purpose of the Gospel history; Life and character of Christ; 3. Jewish position and character of Jesus Christ; 4. Verification of the Old Testament and its unity; 5. Works of Christ bearing witness of Him; 6. Internal evidences; 7. Christ's Gospel, and the religions of the world; 8. Limits of revelation and its mysteries; 9. Christian life; its sphere (the Church), and its interpreter (the Bible); 10. Future prospects; 11. Conclusion. The appendix contains notes and extracts. Mr. Drew is a thoughtful and religious writer, generally clear in his perceptions and expressions, but a little inclined to be speculative on some subjects. There is a freshness, depth and originality in much that he says, which is sufficient to indicate his independence and his ability to strike out a path for himself. A firm believer, he is not ashamed of his faith, and he is well able to give reasons for it. Our readers will not find in this volume a mere common-place work on the evidences, but something more, and for these times, far better.

Supplemental Notes on St. George the Martyr, and on George the Arian Bishop. By JOHN HOGG, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., Honorary Foreign Secretary of the Royal Society of Literature. From the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*. London: John Edward Taylor. 8vo. pp. 32.

THERE are, in history, two persons named George, who are by some said to be identical,—George the Martyr, and George the Arian Bishop of Alexandria. Gibbon was of this opinion, and many writers have followed him; but Mr. Hogg proved, some time ago, from an ancient Greek inscription still existing in the south of Syria, that this asserted identity is contrary to fact. In these notes the subject is resumed and more fully discussed. The question is important in a historical point of view, and Mr. Hogg enters upon its consideration with much enthusiasm. He says:—

“At the same time, it may be asked, why have I taken so great pains to determine from ancient authors the hitherto *unsettled* question, whether the holy *Martyr* George, the tutelar saint of England, be the *same* with the Arian *bishop* of that name, or not? To this I reply, that my trouble would have been of little or no importance, except in a purely historical, or rather, in a biographical view, had not *this Saint* been esteemed for so many centuries the *patron of our country*, under whose banner our soldiers have successfully fought, and especially the patron of the most noble military order in the world.

“For surely every Englishman must feel considerable interest in the question, and more particularly must every distinguished Knight of St. George and the Garter, and, above all, must our gracious Queen, as *Sovereign* of that most illustrious Order, be individually interested in its determination! And who in truth is there among us in England, who would either in battle be inspired with the waving of the red-cross banner, or at home in civil pursuits, regard with any degree of sanctity or respect the name of *Saint* George, had that person really been the infamous heretic, and Arian *bishop* of Alexandria?”

It appears that two or three learned antiquaries of the two last

centuries felt as Mr. Hogg has done, and doubting the identity of these Georges, tried to establish a fairer fame for the patron Saint of England; but they failed in their object, and one learned man, Dr. John Pettingal, said, in the year 1753: "Whether our St. George was the Arian, or whether he was a real person or not, is a matter not settled." But this latter supposition is not tenable, for, as Dr. S. Pegge has observed, "The Crusaders undoubtedly regarded him as a real person, a most glorious and illustrious martyr; they found his name in the calendars; they met with various places denominated from him; they frequented his tomb," etc., etc. At length Mr. Hogg appears to have settled the matter by the documentary evidence he produces in this pamphlet. He displays the fruit of much learned research, supplying the earliest notices of these two Georges which are known to exist. We can only give the conclusion, and recommend this valuable monograph to our readers.

"In the year 1858, I was fortunately enabled, by careful examination of the Greek inscription (No. 40), which Mr. Cyril Graham had, in the previous summer, copied from a very ancient church—originally a heathen temple—at Ezra, in Syria, to determine most satisfactorily that *Saint George* had *died before* the year A.D. 346, in which he is expressly called a 'holy *Martyr*.' Also, it is clear that this date occurred during the lifetime of the *other George*—the *Alexandrian bishop*—who survived for fifteen years longer, viz., to A.D. 362; and who then, having expiated his vices and base conduct by assassination, could *not*, under any consideration, be esteemed a *Martyr*.

"This *confusion of identity* is supposed, and indeed with much probability, to have been *purposely* made by the Arians, in order to raise the credit and repute of their own bishop, George, whom they had elected at Alexandria in the place of Athanasius, and whilst he was in retirement, at the expense of the fame and virtues of George the Syrian martyr. From the authorities detailed in my preceding and present papers, we find on the *one hand*, that *Saint George* was born at *Lydda*, or *Lydda*, in Syria; that his parents, being in good circumstances, and Christians, nurtured him 'in the fear of the Lord,' as in fact we know that 'all who dwelt in Lydda' had 'turned to the Lord' even as early as the year of Christ 38, after St. Peter had come down to them. That his parents took him when young into Cappadocia, from whence he went to Nicomedia, where the Emperor Diocletian resided, and in whose army he served as an officer. By the orders of that Emperor he, with a great many more Christians, suffered cruel torments, during, in all likelihood, the *ninth* persecution. That, according to the legends, shortly before his death, he rescued by his prayers the Empress Alexandra from the depths of hell, and vanquished by his prowess the ferocious Dragon, both being merely fabulous, but excellent *emblems* of the true Christian's victory over hell, and conquest of sin, or the Devil.

"On the *other hand*, we learn that the *second George* was *born* in a fuller's mill, according to some, in *Cappadocia*, or, as others state, in the neighbouring district of *Cilicia*, that after certain disreputable acts he, assuming 'the profession of Arianism,' proceeded to Alexandria, in Egypt, of which city he was chosen *bishop* by the followers of that heretical sect; that, in consequence of his vile conduct and intolerable exactions, the heathen populace there murdered him, with his two friends, the master of the mint, Dracontius, and Count Diodorus.

"Hence the confusion, whether designedly or erroneously, may have arisen from *both Georges* being reported to have been *from* or *in* Cappadocia; from the stories of the Empress *Alexandra*, of the city of *Alexandria*, and from the slaughters of the beast *Dragon*, and of the man *Dracontius*."

The Old and New Testament Dispensations compared. Shewing in what respects they differ ; what things are peculiar to the former ; and what are common to both. By Rev. W. ALFORD, M.A. Second edition, with an Index. London : Hatchard and Co. 1862.

To determine the relations of the old and new dispensations is a highly important problem, and Mr. Alford has applied himself to its solution in an earnest and intelligent spirit. As he states in the title, he traces their differences and agreements, and shews what is peculiar to the Old Testament. He writes in a believing and reverential spirit, and if there is nothing of the daring speculation which some so much approve, there is much that is substantial and instructive. The work does not aim at either minute or extensive philological criticism, but its scholarship is respectable. Here and there we have noticed the adoption of critical conclusions, which are not now generally acquiesced in by interpreters of the orthodox school, but they affect the general arguments very little or not at all. The writer is a patient explorer and investigator of Scripture texts, and indeed it is a leading principle with him to expound the Old Testament by the New, and obscure passages by those which are transparent. His tenets are those of the moderate evangelical school, and he does not propound those extreme notions which find favour with some. For example, and as we think, rightly, he distinguishes between plenary inspiration and verbal ; in other words, he maintains that inspiration may be plenary and yet not verbal. We can safely recommend it as a work which may be read with real profit.

Die Offenbarung Johannis aus dem Zusammenhange der Messianische Reichsgeschichte nach Analogie der Schrift für Freunde der Christlichen Weissagung. ("The Revelation of John, etc.") By J. PH. SABEL. Heidelberg : K. Winter.

THE lovers of mystery and symbol, whose criticism is that of the imagination and not of the intellect, will find a treat in this volume. On taking it up, we asked our usual question in such cases, what is made of the number of the beast? We found the answer at p. 268. The number represents, we are informed, a threefold form of evil, indicated by its component parts 6+60+600. By 6, heathen evil is meant ; by 60, Jewish or pharisaical evil ; and by 600, antichristian evil. The three are combined in the beast. The two witnesses are the law and the prophets, personified by Moses and Elias, whose mission was to the middle ages, in which period we fear they were not much better known than Christ and his apostles, who are supposed to have been silent.

A Key to the Emblems of Solomon's Song, with a translation. By the Rev. A. MOODY STUART. London : James Nisbet and Co. 1861.

A VERY elegant little volume, the appearance of which leaves nothing to be desired. The author has given us a new translation of the Can-

ticles, but it is an extract from the second edition of his work on that book. This version is sometimes paraphrastic, but apparently not intended for severe criticism. It is prettily arranged, but occasionally fanciful. Of the second part of "The Emblems of the Song," we must speak with more reserve and diffidence, because so many of them have no foundation except in conjecture. The author has found a meaning for them, supposing them to be emblems, but since this meaning is to a great degree conjectural, the reader must not fail to exercise his own judgment upon them. For instance, by what right are we told that the "apple-tree" in viii. 5, is "the tree on which Christ was crucified, the only fruitful tree for the human family," etc.? Yet we are told that "the import of the emblems is not vague nor conjectural." Not vague! when the writer says, "although the image is that of birth, the chief reference is to the death and resurrection of Christ," etc. Our opinion is that no man can expound the Canticles on allegorical principles without being both vague and conjectural. Take the seventh chapter, where "feet with shoes" is emblematic of the Church preaching and spreading the Gospel, Eph. vi. 15; "the neck as a tower of ivory," is thus explained, "the tower-like neck is the believer's holy liberty;" "the ivory is the bright holiness of the believer in the eye of inquirers." But we are afraid we should be compelled to animadvert severely, if we continued our allusions, and therefore we close with the expression of our regret, that in our eyes the chief attraction of Mr. Moody Stuart's book is due to the publishers, who have done their part well.

Von Gelübden im Evangelischen Sinn. ("Of Vows in the Evangelical Sense.") By Dr. L. WIESE. Berlin: Wiegandt and Grieben.

A DISCUSSION of the nature and character of vows from a Protestant point of view. The subject is discussed intelligently, and some light is thrown upon a question of practical importance.

MISCELLANIES.

Assyrian Discovery.—In examining the many fragments of the historical tablets of *Ashur-bani-pal*, the son of Esar-Haddon, which crowd the shelves of the British Museum, with a view of arranging, if possible, one complete copy of the annals for publication, I have, within these few days, lighted upon a passage which had previously escaped my observation, but which I have now found repeated in a more or less perfect state on several of these mutilated terra cotta records. The passage is of great interest, as it furnishes the first point of undoubted contact between Greek and Assyrian history, and I hasten, therefore, to announce the discovery at once through the pages of the *Athenæum*.

Ashur-bani-pal states as follows:—"Gyges was king of Lydia, a country on the sea-shore, and so far off that the kings, my fathers, who reigned before me, had never even heard the name of it. In obedience to my royal proclamation—[the proclamation is given at length, and invites all people to do homage and offer tribute to *Ashur-bani-pal*, king of Assyria, on pain of incurring the vengeance of Ashur, king of the gods]—the said Gyges sent his officers to my presence to propitiate me; and they brought with them some Cimmerian slaves whom they had taken in battle when those tribes invaded Lydia, together with a heavy tribute. They brought these things before me at Nineveh, and they kissed my yoke."

This Lydian tribute was brought to Nineveh, it would seem, early in the reign of *Ashur-bani-pal*, perhaps as early as B.C. 660; but the event could hardly have occurred anterior to that date, and we must either, therefore, reduce by some twenty years the ordinarily received chronology, or we must suppose the Gyges of the Inscriptions to be the Ardys of Herodotus. The Cimmerian invasion favours the latter explanation; but, on the other hand, we must remember that a passage of Dionysius (tom. vi., p. 778, Reiske) does actually fix the commencement of the Lydian kingdom as late as B.C. 698, so that Gyges, who reigned thirty-eight years, would have been still living in B.C. 660. It is further ethnologically interesting to find that the Scythians, who invaded Lydia in the seventh century B.C., and whom Herodotus calls Cimmerians, were really the same people as the Sacæ of later history; the title of *Gimirri*, which is used in this passage of *Ashur-bani-pal's* annals (and previously, for the first time, in the annals of Esar-Haddon), being the Assyrian equivalent for the Persian *Saca* in the trilingual inscriptions of Darius Hystaspes.

Whether this name of *Gimirri*, however, has any real connexion with the modern Cymri or Celts is, I think, exceedingly doubtful.

London, March 4.

H. C. RAWLINSON.

P.S.—Since writing the above, I have continued my search among the hitherto unexamined tablets of the British Museum, and have been rewarded by further discoveries. Upon a broken clay tablet belonging to the Biblical Tiglath Pileser, I have found an epitome of the historical

events of this monarch's reign from his first to his seventeenth year. The campaigns described are, 1. In Babylonia; 2. In Media and Armenia; 3. In Asia Minor, and 4. In Syria; and the narrative is throughout far more detailed than on the slabs with which alone we have been previously acquainted. In the Syrian chapter, for instance, after the usual list of kings who brought their tribute to Tiglath Pileser in his eighth year, and among whom, as is already known, are Menahem of Samaria, Hiram of Tyre and Rezin of Damascus, we have a supplementary list of the tributary kings of Southern Syria, which is entirely new, and which, although unfortunately imperfect owing to a fracture in the tablet, still preserves the names of the kings of Arvad, Beth Ammon, Moab, Ascalon, Judæa, Edom, and Gazah. The name of the Jewish king ought, according to the Scriptural narrative, to be Ahaz; but on the tablet we find *Jeho-ahaz* (or, as it is written in Assyrian in the oblique case, *Yahu-khazi*). What are we to suppose from this? Was it really the case that the Assyrians did not know the names of the foreign kings who brought or sent them tribute; mistaking Pekah for his predecessor Menahem, and confounding Ahaz, king of Judah, with Jeho-ahaz, king of Israel, who reigned a century earlier? or has the Hebrew nomenclature come down to us in a corrupted state? There can be no doubt whatever, from the general concurrence of the chronology, as well as from the mention of Rezin of Damascus, that the Tiglath Pileser the second of the Assyrian annals is the same king whose Syrian expedition is described in 2 Kings xiv.; yet it is equally certain that, instead of the Pekah and Ahaz of the Bible, we have the cuneiform names of Menahem and Jeho-ahaz for the contemporary monarchs of Israel and Judah.

The tablet of Tiglath Pileser which I am now describing is, like all the other monuments of this monarch, entirely silent as to its ancestry, thus affording strong negative evidence that he was an usurper, and initiated the second or lower dynasty of Assyria; and it also points to a very close connexion in time between Tiglath Pileser and Sargon, the names of the tributary kings which it enumerates being for the most part the same as those of the monarchs whose conquest is narrated on the marbles of Khorsabad. If the reign of Shalmaneser did really intervene between that of Tiglath Pileser and that of Sargon, it could have been but of a very short duration. Merodach Baladan, indeed, the son of Yakin,—who is stated at Khorsabad to have ascended the throne of Babylon in the same year that Sargon commenced his reign at Nineveh,—was already in power when Tiglath Pileser, at the very commencement of his career, invaded Babylonia; though at that time, it is true, his dominion seems to have been confined to the territory on the sea-coast and at the mouth of the Euphrates. H. C. R.—*Athenæum*.

Assyrian Discovery.—Sir Henry Rawlinson's letter in the *Athenæum* of the eighth instant contains two most valuable discoveries in ancient chronology; and yet it is to be feared that, owing to a slight misapprehension, the full import of the discoveries may not be appreciated, and that the labour and sagacity of the discoverer may in some degree be thrown away. A noble lion was once rescued from the toils of the

hunter by the assistance of a very insignificant coadjutor. Will Sir Henry allow me to lend assistance in freeing him from the meshes of a net in which he is also entangled, by too close an adherence to the received scheme of ancient chronology? He places too little reliance upon the facts which he has discovered, and upon the integrity of the text of the inscriptions he deciphers, and also of the Hebrew Scriptures; and too much reliance upon a baseless system of conventional dates, which still defaces and confuses authentic records of ancient history. Nothing can be more distinct than the contents of the broken clay tablet of Tiglath Pileser just deciphered, when read in conjunction with 2 Kings xv., and nothing more completely destructive of the received mode of reckoning. From the inscriptions, we learn that Tiglath Pileser in his eighth year took tribute from Menahem, king of Samaria, and from Yahu-khazi, king of Judah. From the Book of Kings we learn, v. 17, that Menahem came to the throne of Samaria in the thirty-ninth year of Azariah, king of Judah, and reigned ten years—that is, till the forty-ninth year of Azariah,—and from v. 19, that “Menahem gave Pul a thousand talents of silver to confirm the kingdom in his hand.” So that he was contemporary with Pul and Tiglath Pileser. From all which, put together, we collect, that the eighth year of Tiglath Pileser was concurrent with the ninth or tenth of Menahem, and with the forty-eighth or forty-ninth of Azariah, which king must be identified with Yahu-khazi. Here, however, two difficulties occur. First, how can Yahu-khazi represent Azariah? Secondly, Tiglath Pileser began to reign, we are informed, while Merodach Baladan, the son of Yakin, was reigning over dominions “on the sea-coast and at the mouth of the Euphrates.” The years of this latter king, who is identified with Mardoc Empadus, are fixed with exactness as ending in B.C. 710, by two of the oldest lunar eclipses recorded at Babylon. So that the first year of Tiglath Pileser cannot be placed much earlier than about the year B.C. 746, where Sir Henry places it; and his eighth year falls, therefore, not less than twenty-three years later than the ninth of Menahem and forty-eighth of Azariah. According to Sir Henry’s reckoning, the eighth of Tiglath Pileser is concurrent with the reigns of Ahaz, king of Judah, and Pekah, king of Israel; and he asks, therefore, “was it really the case that the Assyrians did not know the names of the foreign kings who brought them tribute?”—mistaking Pekah for his predecessor Menahem, and confounding Ahaz, king of Judah, with Jeho-ahaz, king of Israel, who reigned a century earlier:—“or has the Hebrew nomenclature come down to us in a corrupt state.”—Neither one nor the other, I humbly submit. For if, with Demetrius, we place the ninth of Menahem and forty-eighth of Azariah in B.C. 736, that date falls within three years of the very date affixed to the eighth of Tiglath Pileser by Sir Henry himself (see *Athenæum*, 11th Jan.), thus removing all difficulty under the second head; and with regard to the identification of Yahu-khazi with Azariah, we shall find on examination that there is none at all. Azariah is a name compounded of the words Azar, a helper, and Jah, Jehovah. Now the name Ahaziah, or Ahaz-jah, 2 Chron. xxii. 1, we know was also properly written Jehoa-ahaz, xxi. 17, placing the Jah, or Jehovah, before instead of after Ahaz; of which in-

version numerous instances are given by Lord Arthur Hervey, in his admirable work entitled *Genealogies of our Lord*, p. 116: and so likewise would Jeho-azar, or Jeho-khazar with a strong guttural aspirate, be properly synonymous with Azar-jah. Yahu-khazi, therefore, of the inscription expresses almost exactly the name of Azariah, king of Judah, as it may have sounded, when transposed, in the ears of the officers of Tiglath Pileser.

Again, Sir Henry Rawlinson has discovered that Gyges, king of Lydia, gave tribute to Ashur-bani-pal, king of Assyria, who was son of Esar Haddon, or Asaradinus of the Canon of Ptolemy, who died in B.C. 668. Gyges, therefore, must have been on the throne as late as the year B.C. 667, the first year of Ashur-bani-pal, or possibly later; 667 accordingly will be found the last year of Gyges in my table of Lydian kings; *Athenæum*, 10th Aug. 1861. "We must therefore," writes Sir Henry, "either reduce by some twenty years the ordinarily received chronology, or we must suppose the Gyges of the Inscriptions to be the Ardys of Herodotus" The reduction of the chronology is, no doubt, the correct course. I have proposed that the Lydian reigns should be lowered fourteen years, by which the date of the first year of Alyattes will coincide with the date of his accession in the Parian Chronicle.

The tendency of these two important discoveries is, therefore, to lower Assyrian chronology to the extent of twenty-three years, and Lydian to the extent of fourteen or twenty years. Sir Gardiner Wilkinson has already shewn from the Apis monuments, that Egyptian chronology must be lowered upwards of twenty years. I myself have pointed out that the date of the final destruction of Nineveh must be lowered more than twenty years, from B.C. 606 to some years after the eclipse of B.C. 585, and that many in ancient times lowered Median chronology to the same extent. It now only remains to rectify the manifest confusion introduced by Herodotus into Persian chronology, by lowering the reign of Cyrus, who conquered Babylon, to the extent of more than the same number of years, thereby producing harmony between sacred and profane writers, both as regards names and events, and also replacing the Book of Daniel, now so rudely condemned as unworthy of credit, in its true position of pre-eminence as the most wonderful and most exact chronicle of events, both past and to come, which has ever been written for the instruction of mankind. I. W. BOSANQUET.—*Athenæum*.

The Rev. T. H. Horne.—It is with much concern that we announce the death of the Rev. Thomas Hartwell Horne, which took place at his residence in Bloomsbury Square, on Monday, January 27th. Mr. Horne was born in London, of obscure parents, on the 20th of October, 1780, and was consequently in the 82nd year of his age at the time of his death. In 1789 he was admitted a scholar of Christ's Hospital, by the presentation, we have heard him say, of Arthur Murphy. In that school, where he was contemporary for two years with Coleridge, he attained the rank of Deputy-Grecian; and, having been diligent in his studies, acquired a fair knowledge of classical literature. Leaving school at the age of fifteen, "the eldest of six orphans, small of stature and not robust, he was unfitted for any employment requiring physical strength." He consequently

became clerk to a barrister, and spent the next eight years of his life in this capacity. This gave him much time for solitary study, and he devoted considerable attention to the laws of England, which he afterwards turned to good account in editing various law-books. Theology, however, was what he loved most, and his first publication was upon that subject, written when he was only eighteen, viz., *A Brief View of the Necessity and Truth of the Christian Religion*. London. 1800. 8vo. Soon afterwards he conceived the plan of his great work, the *Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*. In the preface to this work he informs us that it "originated in his own wants at an early period of life, when he stood in need of a guide to the reading of the Holy Scriptures, which would not only furnish him with a general introduction to them, but would also enable him to solve apparent contradictions, and to study the Bible with that attention which its importance demands." By indomitable perseverance, and unaided by any friendly counsel, procuring with difficulty, from the slender means at his disposal, the books necessary for his task, this work was at length published, in 3 volumes 8vo, London, 1813. There was no such work previously existing in the English language, and it immediately took its place as *the class book* for the study of the Scriptures in both of our Universities, as well as in the Dissenting colleges. The press also universally stamped it with its approbation, and so successful a hold has it ever since had upon the public of this country, that ten large editions of it have been successively published. In the United States, also, it has been frequently reprinted, and its reputation in that country is quite as great as in the British Islands. This work proved his passport to ordination in the Church of England, which he received in 1819, at the hands of Dr. Howley, then Bishop of London. Mr. Horne at this time had no degree from an English University, although he had received that of M.A. from King's College, Aberdeen. In 1829, however, he performed the academical exercises required by the statutes, and proceeded to the degree of B.D. in the University of Cambridge. Subsequently he received that of D.D. from the University of Pennsylvania. After his ordination Mr. Horne became curate of Christ Church, Newgate Street, and was also for some time reader in one of the metropolitan chapels. In 1833 he was presented by Dr. Howley, then Archbishop of Canterbury, to the rectory of St. Edmund the King with St. Nicholas Acon's, in the city of London. Dr. Blomfield had previously presented him to the prebend of Sneating, in the Cathedral of St. Paul. These two preferments, by no means of a lucrative kind, were all the reward that Mr. Horne received in the Church for his great work. It should be mentioned that in 1809 he was appointed sub-librarian in the Surrey Institution, which office he held until the dissolution of the institution for want of funds in 1823. In 1824 he was appointed by the Trustees of the British Museum to prepare a classed catalogue of the library, and drew up for that purpose his *Outlines for the Classification of a Library*, which were printed in 1825. After considerable progress had been made by him in the preparation of this catalogue, it was abandoned for the alphabetical catalogue, of which the world has heard so much. Mr. Horne's services, however, were retained at the

British Museum as one of the assistant librarians, an office which he most ably filled until about a year ago, when increasing infirmities obliged him to retire on a pension. Mr. Horne was a voluminous writer on all sorts of subjects, especially in early life, when he depended upon literature almost solely for his subsistence. He also published several translations. Thus in 1800 he published *A View of the Commerce of Greece*, by Felix Beaujour, translated from the French; in 1801, *An Essay on Privateers, Captures and Recaptures*, by M. de Martens: to which is subjoined a discourse in which the rights and duties of neutral powers are briefly stated; in 1803, *A Compendium of the Statute Laws and Regulations of the Court of Admiralty relative to Ships of War, etc.*; in the same year, *Wallis's Pocket Itinerary*; in 1807, *Hints on the Formation and Management of Sunday Schools*; in 1812, *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*. In 1814 Mr. Horne published a far more valuable work than any of these, namely, *An Introduction to the Study of Bibliography*; to which is prefixed a *Memoir of the Public Libraries of the Ancients*, 2 vols. 8vo. This work shews considerable research; and although of course now quite out of date, would only require careful re-editing to make it still acceptable. In 1819, Mr. Horne gave to the press *Deism Refuted, or Plain Reasons for being a Christian*; in 1820, *The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity briefly Stated and Defended*; in 1827, *A Catalogue of the Library of Queen's College, Cambridge, methodically arranged*, 2 vols. 8vo. This is one of the most valuable classed catalogues with which we are acquainted. In 1832, Mr. Horne published *A Manual for the Afflicted*, which passed through three editions; in 1834, *A Concise History and Analysis of the Athanasian Creed*; in 1835, *A Protestant Memorial*; in 1844, *Popery the Enemy and Falsifier of Scripture, etc.* But here we must stop. The list of Mr. Horne's distinct publications given in Allibone amounts to as many as forty-five; but this, we have reason to believe, is by no means complete. We happen, for instance, to know that *The Complete Grazier*, by a Lincolnshire Grazier, published in 1805, was from the pen of Mr. Horne, who, at the time when he was engaged to compile it, knew about as much of grasses, from practical experience, as a plough-boy does of books. Yet, so well and carefully was it done, that it passed through several editions. Personally, Mr. Horne was much respected. The various stores of information at his command on religious and literary subjects, were liberally dispensed to all comers. From his early and long connexion with booksellers, Mr. Horne was intimately acquainted with the history and secrets of the fraternity. He knew the fathers of the fathers of "the Row," and had a fund of piquant anecdotes to relate concerning them. Mr. Horne was of a cheerful, lively disposition, and much loved by his colleagues at the British Museum, who, upon the occasion of his entering the thirtieth year of his service in that institution, presented him with a handsome testimonial of their regard by the hands of Mr. Panizzi. Mr. Horne had long been suffering from asthma, produced by incessant nightly labours, and repeated attacks of this complaint, together with the ravages of old age, ultimately produced death. His last moments were calm and peaceful, soothed by the presence of his only daughter.—*Critic*.

Discoveries in Rome.—Amongst the recent archæological discoveries at Rome, there is none of greater interest than that of the Primitive Church of St. Clement on the Esquiline; an account of which will be found in the recently-published edition of Mr. Murray's *Handbook of Rome*, p. 142.

Referring for details to that description, it will suffice here to state that the Modern Church of San Clemente had been long considered as one of the most unaltered ecclesiastical edifices of the early Christians, having been adduced by Gally Knight and other ecclesiologists as the best specimen of a primitive place of Christian worship.

Discoveries made of late years through the zeal of a countryman of our own, the Prior of the adjoining convent, now tenanted by the Irish Dominican College, led to the laying open of a considerable portion of an inferior church of a very early date, upon which the modern one, probably of the thirteenth century, rests. In the more ancient building, which has most of the characters of the smaller Roman Basilicas of the Constantinian period (S. Agnese, Santi Quattro Incoronati, etc.), numerous paintings were found on the walls, the most curious only very recently. As this discovery has caused some sensation in the Roman archæological world, I enclose a description of them from the pen of the Rev. Joseph Mullooly, Prior of San Clemente, at whose expense the excavations were continued when suspended by the Pontifical authorities in 1860.

It is to be regretted that the Roman government has ceased to afford to the zealous and reverend explorer all means of carrying on his researches, and that he is dependent on his own slender means, the convent being very poor, and on the contributions of his friends, in doing so: he has therefore issued a letter to be circulated amongst his countrymen at Rome for assistance, which it is to be hoped will be generously responded to by all lovers of ecclesiological history, and to which, perhaps, you would give a place in your columns.—*The Basilica of St. Clement at Rome.* “Among the many interesting archæological discoveries that have been made in the Eternal City during the present century, very few surpass in importance that of the primitive Basilica of St. Clement. The works undertaken for this purpose resulted in the exhumation of what may be termed three distinct strata of constructions that respectively belong to the three great periods of the history of Pagan Rome—the Imperial, the Republican, and that of the Kings. For more than a thousand years no record of this Basilica has been handed down to us: its very existence was lost to history as well as to sight. Some idea, however, of its importance may be formed from the fact of its having been particularly noticed by St. Jerome, and by the sainted Pontiffs Zosimus, Leo the Great, Symmacus, and Gregory the Great. From the time of the last-named Pope, no writer had mentioned it, until the year 1857, when it was re-discovered by the Rev. Joseph Mullooly, Prior of the Irish Dominican College, in the adjoining convent. In the month of June, 1858, the Archæological Commission undertook the excavations, which were prosecuted with vigour until February, 1860. It was not without considerable regret that Father Mullooly saw the Commission discontinue its labours, which he himself again resumed in September, 1861, and succeeded in exhuming one of the most interesting ancient Christian paintings that

Rome possesses. An idea of the primitive grandeur of this Basilica can only be formed by visiting the portions of it already opened out. Five thousand Roman scudi have been expended on these explorations, and a still larger sum will be required to bring them to a satisfactory termination. Such an outlay would certainly have checked further enterprize, were it not that the discoveries already made justify the conviction that the completion of these works will more than compensate the outlay required, by the disinterment of objects possessing a great interest not only for Christians of every denomination, but for all lovers of archæological science."—*Athenæum*.

The Cabeiri.—These Phœnician gods have hitherto very much escaped the notice of scholars, because they have not been looked for in Egypt. Herodotus tells us that the Phœnician settlers in the Delta introduced the worship of them into Memphis; that they were imps; and were the children of the Pigmy Pthah, the god of that city. With this information, we have no difficulty in recognizing them upon the Egyptian monuments. In the British Museum we have several statues of the Pigmy Pthah, to which, however, the name of "Typhon or Baal" has been given by the curator in the inscription painted on the pedestal. He is an ugly broad dwarf with a monstrous head, and he sometimes holds a club overhead as threatening vengeance. On a wooden mummy-case in the upper Egyptian room we may see full particulars of this god of Memphis, and his family. Beside him stands his wife, as unengaging as himself. He holds a sword in each hand. They are both unclothed, and are accompanied by their children, the Cabeiri, who all hold in their hands instruments of torture, such as swords, snakes, lizards, and scorpions. Near to them are the heads of wicked men whom they have been punishing, and the lake of fire into which the bodies have been thrown. They are the gods of vengeance; and their name may be connected with the Coptic word *Kba*, punishment. Typhon, the accusing god, who is in the form of a hippopotamus, though not one of them, is associated with them; and when he was carried into the Greek mythology as a dog with three heads, the guardian of hell, he took with him their name, and was called Cerberus. On a slab of basalt in the Museum, brought from the city of Sais, we have a representation of King Hophra on his knees presenting his offerings to appease these gods of vengeance. One is a serpent. Two others have human forms, except that one has two bulls' heads in the place of his own. They both have swords in their hands to shew their office. The king on his knees before them, like a good sovereign, as the head of the priesthood, is making atonement, not only for his own sins, but for the sins of the people. On the papyri, on the staircase of the Museum, are numerous pictures of these gods. They seem to have had less importance, and perhaps indeed no place, in the older Theban religion. It is in more modern times, and chiefly in Lower Egypt, that we find that the Egyptian gods had become more and more objects of fear, the authors of our misfortunes rather than of our blessings; and the monuments quite confirm the information of Herodotus, that the worship of the Cabeiri was brought into Memphis by the Phœnicians.—*Literary Gazette*.

The Passover at Jerusalem.—We were very anxious to see the Passover kept in Jerusalem, and by the kindness of Mrs. Finn, we received an invitation to the house of one of the most respectable Jews for that evening—the night of our Good Friday. We went there between eight and nine o'clock, and found the whole family, including four generations, assembled in the principal room, which was well lighted with lamps and several wax candles; these they were obliged to ask the Moolim kawasses who came with us to replenish, when they burned out later in the evening, as the Jews cannot kindle a light, or do any kind of work during the feast. We were placed upon the divans at one side of the room, the women of the family, with the servant and children, remaining together at the bottom of the room, only one of the women, the venerable mother of the master of the house, being seated with the men and boys, who were all together in one corner, with a small table before them covered with silk and velvet cloths, richly embroidered with gold, some of which were heirlooms of great antiquity. A little boy, one of the youngest members of the family, then asked, "What mean ye by this service?" (in accordance with Ex. xii. 26;) upon which all the males stood up, rocking themselves without ceasing a moment, and recited very rapidly, in Hebrew, the story of the deliverance of Israel from Egypt. Then a boy repeated a very long legendary tale in Spanish, with a rapidity that was perfectly astonishing. All had books before them, and continued rocking their bodies to and fro, while only one was speaking. This is an illustration of the text, "All my bones shall praise thee." After a long time the men sat down, when a long white and black cloth was placed upon their knees, and the old mother brought in a metal ewer and basin, and poured water upon the hands of each, which were wiped in the cloth, while they continued reading out aloud. Then the master laid a white cloth over one shoulder, and, removing the covering from the table, he took one of the large cakes of Passover bread, till then concealed, and, breaking it in half, tied it into the end of the cloth and slung it over the shoulder of the youngest boy, who kept it for ten minutes, and then passed it on to the next, and so on—all continuing to recite from the books without stopping; after this the mother brought another basin, and the master took up another glass, containing a mixture of bitter herbs and vinegar, and some other ingredients, and, after separating ten portions from it with his fingers, threw them into the basin—these represented the ten plagues of Egypt. There were plates of lettuce and other herbs, and the bones of the roasted lamb, in dishes on the table, besides the unleavened bread, and four cups of wine; three of them at certain parts of the ceremony were passed round, and partaken by each individual, including the women and baby; one cup of wine remained untouched, which was said to be for the prophet Elijah; and we were told that in most families, towards the end of the supper, the door of the room was opened, and all stand up, while the prophet is believed to enter and partake of the wine; among rich Jews, this cup is frequently of gold, with jewels. Some other dishes were laid on another table containing nuts and dried fruits, of which they afterwards partook; except in this the females entered into no part of the ceremony. All were dressed in

their best and gayest clothes, with jewels and flowers in their hair. Before the conclusion they wished each other the usual wish, that at the coming of the next Passover, they might all be in Jerusalem, and the usual prayer was offered, that by that time the Messiah might have come to redeem Israel.—*Egyptian Sepulchres and Syrian Shrines*, by Emily Beaufort.

Archbishop Leighton's Works and Library.—A new edition of Leighton's works is in preparation, and will in course of time be published by Messrs. Bell and Daldy. The editor of the edition, in a recent number of *Notes and Queries*, gives an account of a visit to Dunblane, in Perthshire, where a remnant of the good Archbishop's library is yet preserved in the ownership of the Presbytery of Dunblane. The present librarian, Mr. Stewart, is an aged man, who had been formerly the parish schoolmaster. His salary as librarian is but five pounds a year. He is a faithful and zealous guardian of the books, and is watchful lest they should be in any way lost or damaged. This is especially necessary when we remember that the books are lent out to any person who subscribes five shillings a year. It is very satisfactory to know that the books are now really looked after; and, on the other hand, very sad to hear that until about twenty years ago the library was almost totally neglected, and sustained the serious loss of some 700 volumes within fifty years before that time. As Leighton's library is of a mediæval character, containing a class of books little read in these days, and not likely to be in request in a remote country place like Dunblane, the duties of a librarian there are of a simple and mechanical kind, not requiring a highly-educated and qualified person. The library is a gloomy forlorn looking room. The books are in a very good condition internally, but are sadly in want of dusting, cleaning and lettering on the back; and in some cases, of vamping and binding. Moved by this grievous state of matters, the Editor of Leighton has decided to publish an accurate catalogue of the Archbishop's very choice and valuable library at Dunblane, with a memoir of the donor and his bequest, prefixed to the MS. catalogue drawn up in 1691, and never before printed; and in the same volume the Record of the Episcopal Synod of Dunblane, from 1662 to 1688, the notes and sentences written by Leighton on the fly-leaves of his books, with a suitable Introduction to the whole. The Editor, in the preparation of the edition of Leighton's works, solicits the assistance of all who can give him any clue to lost MSS. and letters; or any information pertaining to Leighton. Communications are to be addressed to the Editor of Leighton, care of Messrs. Bell and Daldy, 186 Fleet-street, E.C.

Dr. Thomas Nicholas.—We understand that the University of Göttingen has unanimously conferred the degree of Doctor of Philosophy on the Rev. Professor Nicholas of Caermarthen College, in acknowledgment of his learning and abilities. The honour has been granted at the suggestion of the celebrated Biblical scholar Professor Ewald; and we heartily congratulate Dr. Nicholas on his receiving this distinguished acknowledgment of his merits from so high a source.

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RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT ROMANS.

BY PROFESSOR C. G. ZUMPT.

If we contemplate with care the religion of the Ancient Romans, we are soon inclined to question the existence of any religion, properly so called, among them. We can speak only of the *mythology* and *gods* of Rome, which it may be added, are those of Greece. Indeed, on pursuing our enquiries farther, we soon come to the conclusion that neither the Romans nor any other nation of antiquity, with the exception of the Jews, and in part of the Indians and Persians, possessed any recognized religious teaching, traceable to sacred sources. What they held consisted in the belief of certain Gods, and the necessity of gaining their favour by means of prayers, sacrifices, and other exhibitions of reverential feeling. We must acknowledge that polytheism had its basis in the consciousness of a divine existence: but this unity had not been strictly conserved as a doctrine, for it very easily glided into a recognition of other gods, or other modes of worship. Every people ascribed to its own divinities what it itself esteemed to be a virtue, and the Greek pantheon is only a combination of the manifold and varied phenomena of Greek culture. Originally, the Roman gods differed from those of the Greeks, but in process of time became identified with the corresponding ones of Hellas. Afterwards Rome received into her expansive bosom a multitude of various kinds of worship, without,

however, losing her own peculiarities. Let us take a brief survey of a period of a thousand years, and endeavour to draw a line between what was original and peculiar, and what adscititious, and trace out the relation of these two different elements to one another. The oldest element of the religion of the Romans was a domestic and rural one, a veneration of bounteous nature. Saturn and Ops, the original deities of Italy, became afterwards considered as symbols of the golden time of innocence. Faunus was the guardian of cattle, but he also threw over the loneliness of the forest a certain awe and dread, and at the same time inspired the souls of men with prophetic gifts. Fauna, his consort, was worshipped at night by married women especially, to the entire exclusion of men. Lar took his place near the hearth; the Penates guarded the family's treasures: the Penates accompanied the family; not so the Lares. The city Lares had their public altars with small chapels, and the people brought their gifts in the shape of food and cooked meats, which were received as charity by the poor. The old Trojan Penates of Æneas had their domicile in Lavinium; and the people had their Penates in a little temple near the forum, where they were represented as two youths sitting down, with food in their hands.^a This worship of nature, the real Italian cultus, was in later times carried on by means of rural and household festivals. Thus, on the fifteenth of February, the Lupercalia (known to us all by Shakspeare's allusion in *Julius Cæsar*) were celebrated to the honour of Faunus. Three clubs were afterwards formed in commemoration of the favour bestowed by the being who protected the flocks from the wolf; goats and a dog were sacrificed. The brethren ran in the attire of shepherds, with the upper part of their body naked, from the sacred fig-tree where Romulus and Remus were once suckled by the she-wolf, along the circus up the via sacra, over the forum, and again to the sanctuary in the street which led from the forum to the circus. Married women, if they met there, and received a light blow on the hand, were blessed with an easy delivery.

On the twenty-third of February the Terminalia were celebrated. The common boundary stone [terminus] was crowned, and an altar erected; the neighbours, with a prayer for good neighbourship, threw corn into the fire; the children added honey-cakes and wine as a drink-offering. The feast was generally an unbloody one, as was also that of the Parilia or Palilia,^b celebrated in the evening and the night of the twenty-first of April. A regular purification of the cattle-stalls then

^a Dionys., i., 67.

^b Dionys., ii., 74. Ovid, *Fast.*, ii., 639, *sqq.*

took place. The sheep had to spring three times over, and the shepherds thrice through fire, for the forgiveness of their transgressions.^c The fields and corn were sanctified before the harvest by a solemn procession. For the city itself a sacrifice was offered up by the *Fratres Arvales* on the eleventh of May, between the fifth and sixth quarter milestone on the way to *Laurentum*, where lay the boundaries of the ancient jurisdiction of the city.^d The *Saturnalia* were celebrated on the nineteenth of December. This was the proper harvest feast of the Italians. It formed the interval between the old and new years. The tables were now turned between master and slave, the former administering to the wants of the latter. The word, "*To saturnalia*," seemed to remind every body of the happy hours of bygone times, little presents were universally bestowed on little lovers, and indeed by every one to those whom they loved. This extended, however, only to the male sex, females used this practise on the first of March, a festival which had reference to the beginning of the old year.^e All this was the sort of religion that flourished innocently, and almost bloodlessly, before the foundation of Rome, harmonizing with the domestic manners of the ancient Italians, though it may be accounted as Greek also [*Pelagic*]. Even Christianity was forbearing towards the harmless character of these rites. They glided insensibly into Christian ceremonies, a Christian signification having to the minds of the pious always been contained in them.

Rome had also her state religion, Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus were worshipped with fear and trembling. Jupiter was among the Romans almost a self-sufficient almighty deity. Mars is the divine idea of that virtue which was raised to its highest culmination of glory by the Romans; he was also the progenitor of Romulus and the father of the Roman people. Quirinus is the idea of the Roman state itself; Romulus of the deity. Mars had his temple not within the town, but outside the walls, before the *Porta Capena*, and on the field afterwards called from him the *Campus Martius*. His power was exerted in warding off danger from the Roman people; as a god of peace, he was worshipped along with Quirinus, who had his temple on the *Quirinal hill*. Connected with these we find in the earliest Rome the service of *Vesta* which was introduced from *Latium*. To *Numa*, the founder of the state on the moral side, is ascribed the regulation of these deities; yet there were no bloody sacrifices. Corn and salt, wine, honey, and sweet

^c Ovid, *Fast.*, iv., 721—862.

^d Strabo, *Geograph.*, v., p. 230.

^e Tibull., *Eleg.*, iii., 1. Sueton., *Vespas.*, 19, etc.

smelling herbs were the offerings that smoked upon their altars. All these divinities had their peculiar consecrated priests who were called *flamens*, and who were of patrician race. According to the ancient regulations of the city, the *flamen* of Jupiter had his daily service to perform, and was not allowed to be one night outside of the town. He was interdicted from much, and had several sovereign privileges. Jupiter above could not see him exposed to the airs of heaven. He could not bathe in the open air: he always wore a woollen frontlet as a sign of a covered head, and while he sacrificed, wore a cap made of the skin of a clean beast. No slave was allowed to cut his hair: his shorn hairs and nails were buried under a fruit-bearing tree. He must be married, and live in a holy manner with a woman never before wedded. His wife was the counterpart of himself, and wore her own peculiar costume. If she, the *flaminica*, died he was bound to lay down his office.^f A *flamen* could not be a general and was seldom *prætor* or *consul*. However all the *flamines* had regal honour, an open house, a seat and voice in the senate by virtue of their office, and even the *Sella Curulis*. There were also two equestrian priest colleges drawn from the patrician ranks. There were the *Salii*, who on the first of March carried in procession the holy shield of the pious king Numa, which fell down from heaven; they beat this shield, and sung an old ballad to the praise of the enthusiastic warrior for his fatherland.^g To belong to the *Salii* was an honour which began to be especially valued in the time of the *Cæsars*. It was an early belief in antiquity that the king of heaven, *ὐρανός* *μέγιστος*, was in the habit of foreshadowing his designs and his will by means of thunder and lightening, and of conveying his messages through the cries and flight of birds. Numa was the originator of the priestly college of *Augurs* to act for the state. Private persons might apply to them, or observe their own auguries. No pious man ever thought of taking a journey, or of celebrating a marriage, or of undertaking any important matter, without looking for a favourable sign from heaven. The king and the highest officers of state, before the time of the republic, had the power of enquiring of the heavens; i.e., they possessed the "*auspicia*" in conjunction with the college of *Augurs*. The *Augur* generally turned his face to the south, and divided the heavens with his crosier into four regions. The most favourable quarter was the north-east, nearest to the eternal seat of the gods (at the north pole) and the rising of the stars. The spirit

^f Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, x., 15. Plut., *Quest. Rom.*, 109. Liv., v., 52.
^g Dionys., ii., 70. Plut., *Num.* xiii.

of the Greeks freed itself sooner from the bonds of this superstition than that of the Romans: in later times, however, this part of religion only served as a means to work upon the feelings of the people, and the Augurs were men of the highest rank in the state. The goddess Vesta, whose sacred fire was always kept burning, was the symbol of true domestic felicity; she was never represented by sculpture or other image; but in the interior recess of the temple was preserved a true token of the favour of the gods, a figure which fell from heaven. No one but the Pontifex Maximus and the eldest vestal ever saw it: so much the more zealously did people enquire what it really was. It was probably nothing more than a meteoric stone, to which the force of imagination gave a definite form. There were four, and in later times six, noble virgins appointed to serve the goddess, and to maintain the sacred fire. They were presided over by a seventh. It was required of them that they should be between the ages of six and ten, without corporeal defects, and have a father and mother living. They had to live thirteen years in pure virginity, after which they could decline the vows of consecration, if they pleased, and marry. If the sacred fire went out, they were subject to be beaten with stripes, and it could only be rekindled by the pure rays of the sun. If the vow of chastity were broken by one of them, the seducer was stoned to death on the forum, and the fallen girl was starved to death in a subterranean chamber—a little bread, water, milk, and oil being allowed her and a burning lamp. She was in fact buried alive. It is a melancholy fact that the rigour of the punishment incited the disposition to offend. Thirteen cases of vows violated occur before the time of the emperor Domitian, who enforced the law upon a vestal virgin accused of having lapsed, but who denied the accusation up to the last moment. This institution of a class of unsullied virgins, which existed up to the times of the Christian emperors, honoured by numerous privileges, one of which was that if she met a condemned malefactor, his sentence was withdrawn or mitigated, was the tenderest phenomenon of Roman heathenism. Their disappearance at length in the fourth century, paved the way for the foundation of nunneries. There was a marked difference, however, between the principles which governed these two classes of pious women. The vestalins prayed and sacrificed for the state; the nuns renounced originally all connection with the outer world, and retired within themselves. To Greek-Etruscan influence we owe the addition of a consort (Juno) and a daughter (Minerva) of Jupiter. The Tarquin kings of Rome built the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, with three cells in juxta-posi-

tion, that of Jupiter being in the middle. Juno took the place of the old Bona Dea, and in her capacity of patroness of wedlock was greatly looked up to by the women of Rome. Her festival was on the first of March and was called Matronalia.

The Minerva of the Romans is not the warlike Pallas of the Greeks, but the intelligent skilful daughter of Jupiter; she presided over all kinds of mechanical industry, and at her feast, which was celebrated on the 20th of March and the four following days, the school children of both sexes were gathered together along with the aged, and thus beheld a reflection of their own youth.

A change took place at the time of the kings of Etruscan descent, through the erection of statues of the gods in the temples, the offering of bloody sacrifices, and of the proclamation of futurity, and of the will of the gods by means of the inwards of animals. The great games in the circus, consisting of chariot races, were celebrated also at this time in honour of the three divinities of the capitol. Then began the admixture of foreign creeds. It must be remarked that the Etruscans were the people from whom the haruspices were always taken. While the Roman generals did not permit themselves to be entirely fettered by observances which they had in their power, they could not altogether disregard them, otherwise (as was the case with Julius Cæsar), it was sure to turn out to their detriment.⁴

There still remains to be noticed an important element of the religion of the Romans—an element at first much contracted, but afterwards exercising a great influence upon individuals. This element is the religious veneration of certain pratico-moral ideas as veritable divine realities; many of these divinities are female, as truth, hope, prudence, clemency, piety, modesty, concord, victory, and others. They had their consecrated altars and chapels, and among them a temple in Rome. Their adherents and worshippers were, however, chiefly a community, the individuals of which had at some important crisis of their lives received aid from these powers. And these powers themselves are the expression of deep feeling in peculiar places and relations. A daughter, for example, long supplied her father (who was sentenced to death) with milk from her own breast; when the secret was at last discovered, her filial piety excited wonder and sympathy,—the sentence was commuted—the place consecrated, and a sanctuary of PIETY founded. Again, the patrician ladies had an old sanctuary of modesty, where they occasionally met together for purposes of common devotion.

⁴ Sueton., *Vit., Cæs.*, c. 81.

Virginia, a woman of patrician family, married Volumnius a plebeian. Such a marriage was at that time considered a stigma on the higher order, though it was legal; she was avoided by her old companions as if she had contracted the plague. A number of plebeian matrons soon met together, and she devoted a part of her house to religious purposes, and founded the sanctuary of plebeian PUDICITIA.¹

M. Marcellus contended at the Po against the Gauls: in a battle of doubtful issue he vowed a temple to honour and bravery, hoping and expecting to gain the battle by the aid of these powers. Two temple cells were, on his proving victorious, built in juxta-position, so that the sanctuary of honour was gained after passing through that of bravery.

Thus Rome contained a number of sanctuaries in recognition of the divine powers that act as guides and ennoblers of human life. Three different temples of CONCORD in Rome prove how often this goddess was invoked in the stormy commotions of the two political parties into which Rome was divided during the time of the republic. The approbation of the pontiffs was required for the erection of these temples, but the priests were themselves citizens. Augustus, when he assumed the dignity of chief priest [*pontifex maximus*], restored many temples of this kind which had fallen down, and indeed in the Ancyran inscription² boasts of having done so. His wish was, evidently, not merely to restore the honour of families that had died out, but, also, following the dictates of his well-regulated mind, to restore the civic virtues. This disposition to honour unseen agencies, had its dark side also; it was found fault with by the more philosophical Romans,³ but still maintained its existence. Prayers were offered to the destructive powers of nature as being included in the divine existence, not as any mark of honour towards them, but from a desire to be protected against them and to appease them. Hence there were three sanctuaries of FEBRIS (fever) in Rome, another to Ill-fortune; a chapel of Orbona or childlessness, where old persons whose only child lay sick, implored the forbearance of the dark divinity: none of these ideal deities had so many temples and altars in Rome as Fortune. Six sanctuaries of Fortune with various names were founded by the old king, Servius Tullius, whose own life was a most remarkable instance of the eccentric freaks of that wayward goddess. The most in request of all was the very ancient temple of Fors Fortuna; of Fortune as Sheer Chance outside the town in

¹ Liv., x., 23.² Sueton., August, 31st.³ Cic., *Leg.*, ii., 11; *De Nat. Deorum*, iii., 25. Plin., 2, 7.

the people's garden, which had once belonged to Julius Cæsar, and was still called Cæsar's garden; the other side of the Tiber, in a neighbourhood where artizans dwelt as they do at this day. On the 24th of June everybody who had received a lucky wind-fall in the course of the year, and free people of the lowest order, and slaves either went on foot, or by river in boats crowned with wreathes and flowers. "It was thought no shame," says Ovid, "to return home drunk on these occasions." Thousands lay round the temple, forgot their wants in their confidence at the lucky accident, and then thought of the good old Servius, the son of a slave, but afterwards king of Rome, and a friend and benefactor of the poor. In this union of natural, political, and moral elements, the peculiarity of the Roman religion consisted at the time of the active existence of this people. The sacerdotal power, however, increased so as to preclude private devotion and the expulsion of foreign deities. The public worship of strange gods—*i.e.*, of gods not recognized by the senate, was forbidden at Rome. Nevertheless, as there was no definite teaching, and as the religious feeling of the Romans was very uncertain, the peculiarities of their religion gradually passed away. As Rome increased by the incorporation of new elements, she received new divinities. Thus the reception of the Latin Diana followed shortly after the admission of the Plebs. Other Greek gods came afterwards; as Mercury, the patron of merchants, and Ceres with her children Liber and Libera. Castor and Pollux were recognized by the Roman knights; Apollo was the angry god of the plague, or the salutary deity; there was Æsculapius from Epidaurus, Venus from Mount Eryx in Sicily, but without her tumultuous rout of followers; lastly, Cybele, the great mother of the gods, as she was honoured at Pessinus in Lesser Asia, after she had long been admitted into Greece. Bel-lona—"war," is a Roman ideal divinity of the worse kind—to be avoided: she had an old temple outside the consecrated town wall, in the circus Flaminius. Connected with her in later times was the worship of the mighty Assyrian goddess of Comana, known by the Roman armies in Cappadocia. Thus strange kinds of worship poured in. It happened especially in seasons of danger and difficulty, when the national courage sank low, and the prophetic books were opened, that the people were disposed to look out for foreign deities as saviours. A wide distinction was, however, always maintained between the old Roman deities and these new importations. Public feast days with plays were only celebrated to the great mother of the gods Cybele.¹ She was

¹ The first plays were acted 191 B.C. Liv., 36, 36.

thus honoured at the Megaleia, in April; and there were masquerading and disguises, and a general holiday. In later times feasts were established in honour of Apollo and Ceres with scenic representations; and literature owes to this Greek worship the existence and perfection of the Roman drama. But Diana, Castor and Pollux, Mercury, Æsculapius and Venus had no public feast days, and the fanatical worship of Bacchus was prohibited by order of law. The Roman Liber, the son of Ceres, is a quiet well-bred youth compared with the stormy Bacchus, and was a god of the culture of the land, who loved honey more than wine. His festival, on the 17th of March, was celebrated by the kitchen maids, who were crowned with ivy on this day, and baked honey cakes in the street.* Secondly, the service of the strange deities remained so far foreign, that their priests, also, were generally foreigners. Ceres in Rome had a Greek priestess; while, for the old worship provision was made in a different place. The fanatical service of Cybele and of Bellona took place in an Asiatic manner, the priests wounding themselves so that the blood flowed from their bodies. But these priests were not Romans, but Gauls of Asia Minor—(Galatians of Phrygia).

At last the Roman religion became impregnated with foreign elements, and could not maintain itself, as it had its origin not in divine teaching, but in an undefined feeling of the dependence of man upon a higher power. Mortal men were deified in later times; and this was the greatest reproach of the time of the Roman emperors. This disgraceful intermixture of human with divine had prevailed some centuries before in Asia Minor, and was of great antiquity in Egypt. At Rome, by especial decree, only deceased emperors were honoured with public worship; it was an Asiatic abomination to hold the living to be gods upon the earth, and never infected Rome. The Egyptian worship of Isis and Serapis, came into great request at Rome some time before the birth of Christ. The senate absolutely forbade it; the consuls several times forcibly suppressed it. Lucius Paullus, in B.C. 50, took an axe to break open the door of the temple, but found no labourers willing to co-operate. At a later period it was in vain that attempts were made to coerce this religion." There were too many orientals in Rome. In the time of the Cæsars there were at Rome two double temples of Isis and Serapis, the one in the Campus Martius, beyond the Pantheon, the other on the Esquiline Hill in one of the most frequented quarters of Rome which took from that circumstance the name of Isis and

* Ovid, *Fast.*, ii., 761.

Serapis. If we ask the question why Isis and Serapis recommended themselves so well to the people, the answer can only be that it was the teaching of immortality which was seen embodied in their ceremonial worship. Isis sought her murdered husband Osiris; and all the faithful did so likewise, and afflicted themselves. She finds his scattered limbs, and the deceased Osiris stands renewed in youth as Serapis, and god of the world below,—a joy and consolation for all his followers. However much, or however little, this teaching was, it gave the initiated more confidence in the night-side of human existence, than the open and cheerful nature-worship of the later Romans.

We cannot now follow out the downfall of heathenism and the change of the Roman religion into a new and higher order of things. Neither the Egyptian service of Isis, nor the Persian Mithras (the mediator between Ormuz and Ahriman, the good principle of light, and the evil one of darkness) triumphed over Roman heathenism: nor could Judaism overcome it. Christianity most undoubtedly it was whose divine teaching achieved the victory. Yet the attempts of heathendom to mitigate and ennoble human life are not unworthy the deepest considerations.*

H. F. W.

THE "TE DEUM."

[The following notes are not intended to interfere with an interesting correspondence now going on in these pages; but rather to aid and to direct it. Most of these notes have been by us for some time, but we have added a little to them, and although mere fragments we give them here, because we cannot take a direct part in the correspondence respecting the "Te Deum."]

AMONG all the hymns of the Latin church there is no one so well known, so honoured, and so extensively used as the "Te Deum." Its composition reminds us of the Psalms in the Old Testament, for like them it is not metrical in its arrangement. The separate versicles are of different lengths and of irregular construction. But it is at the same time pre-eminently Christian

* However, attempts were made. For proof, see Tacitus, *Annal.*, ii., 85. Ed. J. S. L.

• We insert this article, somewhat abridged from the original, as a pendant to one in our last number on "Atheism."—Ed. J. S. L.

in its language and spirit. Its noble and majestic cadence, its boldness and simplicity of expression, and its exultant spirit, distinguish it from all other compositions not of inspired origin. We do not wonder that inspiration has been claimed for it. This claim, however, it is not necessary for us to admit. Although so well known in its Latin form, and found in every edition of the Prayer Book, we present a copy of it in Latin and another in English. We quote the Latin from a Roman breviary of 1650.

"Te Deum laudamus: te Dominum confitemur,
 Te æternum Patrem: omnis terra veneratur.
 Tibi omnes angeli: tibi cœli et universæ potestates,
 Tibi cherubim et seraphim: incessabili voce proclamant,
 Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus; Dominus Deus Sabaoth.
 Pleni sunt cœli et terra: majestatis gloriæ tuæ.
 Te gloriosus apostolorum chorus,
 Te prophetarum laudabilis numerus,
 Te martyrum candidatus laudat exercitus.
 Te per orbem terrarum, sancta confitetur ecclesia,
 Patrem immensæ majestatis,
 Venerandum tuum verum, et unicum Filium,
 Sanctum quoque Paraclitum Spiritum.
 Tu Rex gloriæ Christe.
 Tu Patris sempiternus es Filius.
 Tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem; non horruisti Virginis uterum.
 Tu devicto mortis aculeo: aperuisti credentibus regna cœlorum.
 Tu ad dexteram Dei sedes: in gloria Patris.
 Judex crederis esse venturus.
 Te ergo quæsumus, tuis famulis subveni: quos pretioso sanguine redemisti.
 Æterna fac cum sanctis tuis: in gloria numerari.
 Salvum fac populum tuum Domine: et benedic hereditati tuæ.
 Et rege eos: et extolle illos usque in æternum.
 Per singulos dies, benedicimus te:
 Et laudamus nomen tuum in sæculum: et in sæculum sæculi.
 Dignare Domine, die isto: sine peccato nos custodire,
 Miserere nostri Domine: miserere nostri.
 Fiat misericordia tua Domine super nos: quemadmodum speravimus in te.
 In te Domine speravi: non confundar in æternum."

As thus arranged, the "Te Deum" consists of twenty-nine verses; whereas, if intended for responsive singing, the number should have been equal. The odd number can only be explained by supposing an interpolation, a real fault in the structure, or that the last verse was joined in by all. The last supposition may be correct, as there is a sudden change of persons from the plural to the singular. We simply throw out this as a suggestion. We may add that for *numerari* in verse 21, *munerari* is often read; but we think this is owing to an ancient clerical

error. There are some other various readings of slight importance, and the arrangements in the older copies is not always the same.

We now give the "Te Deum" in its English version as it is to be found in the Book of Common Prayer.

"TE DEUM LAUDAMUS.

"We praise thee, O God; we acknowledge thee to be the Lord.
 All the earth doth worship thee: the Father everlasting.
 To thee all angels cry aloud; the heavens, and all the powers therein.
 To thee cherubin and seraphin: continually do cry,
 Holy, holy, holy; Lord God of Sabaoth;
 Heaven and earth are full of the Majesty: of thy Glory.
 The glorious company of the apostles: praise thee.
 The goodly fellowship of the prophets: praise thee.
 The noble army of martyrs: praise thee.
 The holy Church throughout all the world: doth acknowledge thee;
 The Father: of an infinite Majesty;
 Thine honourable, true: and only Son;
 Also the Holy Ghost: the Comforter.
 Thou art the King of Glory: O Christ.
 Thou art the everlasting Son: of the Father.
 When thou tookest upon thee to deliver man: thou didst not abhor the
 Virgin's womb.
 When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death: thou didst open the
 kingdom of heaven to all believers.
 Thou sittest at the right hand of God: in the glory of the Father.
 We believe that thou shalt come: to be our Judge.
 We therefore pray thee, help thy servants: whom thou hast redeemed
 with thy precious blood.
 Make them to be numbered with thy saints: in glory everlasting.
 O Lord, save thy people: and bless thine heritage.
 Govern them: and lift them up for ever.
 Day by day: we magnify thee;
 And we worship thy name: ever world without end.
 Vouchsafe, O Lord: to keep us this day without sin.
 O Lord, have mercy upon us: have mercy upon us.
 O Lord, let thy mercy lighten upon us: as our trust is in thee.
 O Lord, in thee have I trusted: let me never be confounded."

It will be observed that the translation is not always exact. The rendering of "Te Deum laudamus," by "We praise thee, O God," is incorrect. The verb governs both *Te* and *Deum*, and the nearest approach to this would be, either "Thee God we praise, or, "We praise thee *as* God." Lower down, "Praise thee" is repeated three times, whereas the Latin has *laudat* only once. "The noble army of martyrs" should be "The white-robed army of martyrs." "Thou didst not abhor the Virgin's

womb" is a rendering fairly open to question; the idea is, "didst not shudder at, and therefore shrink from." In the following verse, "Didst open the kingdom of heaven to *all* believers," a word not in the Latin is introduced. Further on, we have "This day" as a translation of *die isto*,—but this can be justified; and in the last verse but one, "our trust is in thee," hardly represents *speravimus in te*. There is, however, nothing in the translation which detracts from its general merit as a fine and faithful exhibition of the original. Until we can mend our own language we shall continue to meet with difficulties in translation, which are not readily overcome.

With regard to the question of interpolation that has been raised, on critical grounds it might be dismissed with the simple remark that no trace of such an interpolation as is referred to can be found in extant copies. The supposed insertion consists of three verses:

"The Father of an infinite Majesty,
Thine honourable, true: and only Son,
Also the Holy Ghost: the Comforter."

It is asserted that the hymn is perfect, *i.e.*, gives a good sense without these: and that their introduction mars the unity of the piece; and also, that by their removal we get rid of the odd versicle. With regard to these points, let us observe that the omission of other verses would not affect the grammatical completeness of the whole, nor be detected by persons previously unacquainted with it. Who, for instance, would consider the conclusion less abrupt if the last versicle were left out, than it is at present? The argument has no weight in cases of this description. That the unity of the piece is restored by removing this portion is fairly open to dispute; for surely the distinct recognition of the divine Trinity in such a hymn is not contrary to unity. It is our firm conviction that the first thirteen lines are addressed to God the Father as such, and that the enumeration with which they close is to be viewed as a confession of faith in some sort. The remaining portion may, with equal probability be regarded as addressed to Christ, God the Son. This is certainly the case to the twentieth verse, after which the terms are somewhat vague, and might be viewed as a general address to the Divine Being. In support of this opinion it might be alleged that much of this latter part is made up of quotations from the Psalms. In any case the notion of unity must not be pressed as though we were criticising a chorus by Sophocles or Æschylus. There are, however, facts which render it highly probable that this hymn is either the composition of more writers than one, or based upon more originals than one.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to defend its true originality: this has been seen by others, and therefore Herzog, in his *Real Encyklopädie*,^p holds that it is a Latin version of an oriental evening hymn in the Greek language, introduced and prepared by Ambrose, and introduced into Africa by Augustin. The Greek original he regards as of very early date, and refers to ancient hymns of a similar character to some extent.

We cannot entertain the opinion that the "Te Deum" has any connexion with the practice of the Bithynian Christians, "carmen Christo quasi Deo dicere" of Pliny, for we must hold that his words refer rather to a custom than to a special composition. There is no trace of any hymn resembling this till we come to the post apostolic age, although it is interesting to know that the earliest Christians delighted in psalmody. Routh gives us proofs of this in his *Reliquiæ Sacræ*. Thus Caius, who lived about A.D. 200, says that "psalms and odes written by the faithful from the beginning celebrate Christ the Word of God, calling him divine." Hippolytus also says, "I prepared your mouth to utter glorification and praise, and psalms and spiritual hymns." The works of Clement of Alexandria contain a hymn of praise to Christ, but it has no resemblance to the "Te Deum." The council of Antioch, in 269, brought as one of its accusations against Paul of Samosata, that "having abolished the psalms sung to our Lord Jesus Christ as modern, and the compositions of men of recent date, he brought women into the church on the great day of the Passover to sing psalms, though it made one shudder to hear them." The council of Laodicea condemned the singing of psalms written by private persons in public worship, which implies that there were psalms or hymns publicly sanctioned. Long before this, in the east, Harmonius the son of Bardesanes wrote hymns of an heretical tendency: in this he imitated Bardesanes his father. Valentinus,^q Marcus the Manichæan, Arius and other heretics did the same. Ephræm Syrus wrote orthodox hymns to counteract those of Bardesanes; and Philostorgius says that Arius wrote hymns for sailors, travellers and persons grinding at the mill.

One of the most ancient Christian hymns, and which is supposed to go back to the second or third century, is as follows:—

EVENING HYMN.

"Joyful light of the holy glory of the Father immortal, heavenly, holy, blessed; Jesus Christ! Coming to the setting of the sun, seeing the evening light, we praise the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit of

^p Vol. i., 277, *Ambrosianischer Lobgesang*.

^q Tertull., *De Carne Christi*, 20,

God. Thou art worthy at all times to be praised by holy voices, Son of God, who givest life: wherefore the world glorifies thee."

Rowth, from whose text we translate this, quotes various early authorities to prove the primitive use of the doxology to the Holy Trinity, as in the "Te Deum."

In the ordinary Greek text of the Apostolical Constitutions there are three thanksgivings or hymns which deserve to be noticed. The first of these is the well-known morning hymn of the Greeks, which occurs with some variations in the Communion service, where it appears in the following form:—

"Glory be to God on high, and in earth peace, good will towards men. We praise thee, we bless thee, we worship thee, we glorify thee, we give thanks to thee for thy great glory, O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty.

"O Lord, the only-begotten Son Jesu Christ; O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayer. Thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father, have mercy upon us.

"For thou only art holy; thou only art the Lord; thou only, O Christ, with the Holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father. Amen."

The copy of this in the Constitutions is without the concluding doxology to the Trinity, and is also without some of the other clauses, but that it is the same there can be no doubt. Nor is it much more doubtful that it supplied some of the materials for the "Te Deum." We shall have to return to this, but in the meantime we give the evening hymn from the Constitutions, with the exception of the *Nunc dimittis* by which it is followed:—

"Young men, praise ye the Lord, praise the name of the Lord. We praise thee, we hymn thee, we bless thee for thy great glory. O Lord the King, the Father of Christ the spotless Lamb, who taketh away the sin of the world, praise becometh thee, the hymn becometh thee, glory becometh thee the God and Father, through the Son, in the most Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen."

In the next place we will give the morning hymn from the Constitutions, in order to place the whole before the eyes of the reader:—

"Glory to God in the highest, and upon earth peace, among men good will. We praise thee, we hymn thee, we bless thee, we glorify thee, we worship thee, through the great High Priest, thee who art God the one unbegotten, the only inaccessible, for thy great glory, O Lord the

heavenly King, God the Father Almighty; Lord God the Father of Christ the spotless Lamb, who taketh away the sin of the world, receive our prayer; thou who sittest upon the cherubim; for thou alone art holy; thou alone art the Lord Jesus Christ of the God of every born creature, our King; through whom be glory to thee, honour and worship."

The Greek morning hymn in the Codex Alexandrinus belongs to these, and, indeed, with slight verbal variations, the former part is so like the one already given from the Communion service that it need not be repeated. The doxology is followed by a series of miscellaneous ejaculations exactly as in the "*Te Deum*." The doxology itself ends with "*Amen*," and the hymn then proceeds:—

"Every day will I bless thee, and I will praise thy name for ever, and world without end. Vouchsafe, O Lord, that we may be kept this day also without sin. Blessed art thou O Lord the God of our fathers, and thy name is to be praised and glorified for ever. Amen.

"Blessed art thou O Lord, teach me thy judgments; blessed art thou O Lord, teach me thy judgments; blessed art thou O Lord, teach me thy judgments. O Lord thou art a refuge unto us from generation to generation. I said, Lord have mercy upon me, heal my soul for I have sinned against thee. O Lord, to thee have I fled for refuge; teach me to do thy will, for thou art my God, for with thee is the fountain of life; in thy light shall we see light. Extend thy mercy to them that know thee."

The gradual development of these hymns from the simplest elements to the more elaborate construction is apparent. Any one who will compare them with one another will see what we mean. Those who will compare the last of them with the "*Te Deum*" will not fail to trace the same order of thought and structure, and some of the very same expressions. Where, except here, did the writer of the "*Te Deum*" find the expression, "vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us this day without sin?" Why, except because he had this hymn before his eyes, did he insert the doxology to the Trinity where it now stands? And it stands there because it was originally the conclusion of a shorter hymn. The copy of the Greek hymn is found in a MS. written long before the "*Te Deum*" is heard of.

SACRED TREES.

In the second chapter of the book of Genesis, the wise legislator of the Jews, having, in sacred characters, given a cosmographical sketch of the fundamental truths touching the creation of the world and of the human race, as preliminary to the history of a particular people, and to an especial dispensation, states that in a garden planted by the Lord for man's reception, grew every tree that was pleasant to the sight, and good for food, and that in the midst of this garden grew two other trees, specified as "*the tree of life*," and the "*tree of the knowledge of good and evil*."

The sacred records take no further notice of the latter tree after man's reported expulsion from this garden; but they mention the former tree as still furnishing the support of immortality in the paradise of righteous souls.

Thus in the Apocalypse ii. 7, St. John, writing of what the Spirit of the Lord said unto him in his vision, has these words, "To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God." And in another place (xxii. 2), speaking of the paradise and of the river of the water of life proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb, he says, "on either side of the river was there the tree of life, which bare twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month, and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations;" and again, a little further on (xxii. 14), the same Spirit of the Lord declares, "Blessed are they who do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life."

The fact of a certain tree of life being introduced at the commencement of the sacred records by one who had been carefully educated in all the learning of the Egyptians, would, *a priori*, lead one to suppose that the Egyptians themselves possessed a knowledge of such a tree, possibly as a part of the primitive credence of mankind, symbolically expressed, and that traces of it might be found on their monuments, and probably also on those of other nations; while the signification given to it at the close of the second canon, by one who, more than any other of our Lord's disciples, treasured up his figurative philosophical and psychological phrases, would tend to confirm this conjecture, by shewing the enlarged application of the meaning.

On the sacred monuments of the ancient Egyptians we do find a tree of life having a relation to the life in paradise, and furnishing therein the required support of immortality. The monuments of the ancient Assyrians also shew a sacred tree,

symbolical of the divine influence of the life-giving Deity. So also do those of the ancient Persians; and it was preserved by them, almost as represented on the Assyrian monuments, until the invasion of the Arabs.

The Hebrews had a sacred tree which figured in their temple architecture along with the cherubim, it was the same sort of tree as that which had previously been in use among the Egyptians, and was subsequently, in a conventional form, adopted by the Assyrians and Persians, and eventually by the Christians, who introduced it in the mosaics of their early churches associated with their most sacred rites. This tree, which occurs also as a religious symbol on Etruscan remains, and was abbreviated by the Greeks into a familiar ornament of their temple architecture, was the date palm, *phœnix dactylifera*.

But although the earliest known form of the tree of life on Egyptian monuments is the date palm, at a subsequent period the sycomore tree, the *ficus sycomorus*, was represented instead, and eventually even this disappeared, at least in some instances, and a female personification came in its place; but the meaning was the same, the form only was altered.

Besides the monumental evidence thus furnished of a sacred tree, a tree of life, there is an historical and traditional evidence of the same thing, found in the early literature of various nations, in their customs, and popular usages.

For although in the migrations of the human race, the sacred tree underwent, in accordance with new localities, changes; yet the meaning of it, and the religious notions associated with it, retained their primitive character; so much so, that even in recent times, and in Christian countries, it has been difficult entirely to eradicate from the popular mind the devotional feeling associated with it.

Thus the sacred tree became the oak, the ash, the fig tree, the plane tree, the pine; and in the veneration paid to trees, both in Europe and in Asia, under the supposition that those of beautiful growth were more especially the favourites of deity, and the haunts of blessed spirits, or even of God himself, which notion the Bible in some places countenances, any tree pre-eminently distinguished by its majesty and grace became the object of religious reverence.

There might be an innate appreciation of the beautiful and the grand in this impression, conjoined with the conception of a more sublime truth, and the first principles of a natural theology; but, in most instances, it would appear rather to have been the result of an ancient and primitive symbolical worship, at one time universally prevalent.

The most generally received symbol of life is a tree, as also the most appropriate; and as we recognize two different forms of life, a spiritual life, the life of the soul, and a physical life, the life of the body, so these may be represented either by two trees, as sometimes found, or in reference to universal life, by one tree alone.

On the zodiac of Dendera, preserved in the national library at Paris, are two symbolical trees placed opposite to each other, phonetically they stand for the west and the east, but symbolically they appear to signify much more. The west was regarded as the land of truth and of civilized religion; it was Egypt in contradistinction to India and China, where a worship of the vital force, as manifested in nature, had taken the place of a more spiritual doctrine. In the first of these symbols we have the palm tree, the early sacred tree of Egypt, surmounted by the ostrich feather, the symbol of truth; in the second we have a tree putting forth a pair of leaves, and surmounted by the conventional Siva symbols, indicating the generative force of nature manifested in the life of animals and plants.^a

THE SACRED ASH.

As a symbolical tree of universal life, the ash *yggdrasill*, the mundane tree of the Scandinavian mythology, claims the pre-eminence. It is described in the *Eddas*, as the greatest and best of trees. Its triple root reaches to the mythic regions of the frost-giants and the *Æsir*, and penetrates to the nebulous Niflheim. Its majestic stem overtops the heavens, and its branches fill the world. It is sprinkled with the purest water, whence is the dew that falls in the dales, and its life-giving energy, is diffused throughout all nature.

At its foot is the undar fountain, where sit the three noons, or fates, time past, time present, and time to come; these give runic characters and laws to men, and fix their destinies. Here is the most holy of all places where the gods assemble daily in council, with All-Father at their head.

These three noons have a certain analogy to the three mythic Persian destinies seated by the fountain of perennial life; and the tree itself is evidently a symbol of that inscrutable power which is the life of all things; thus representing under an arborescent form the most ancient theory of nature, analogous to that personified in the Indian *Parvati*, the goddess of life and reproduction, in the Egyptian *Isis*, and in the figure so

^a These symbols, as here represented, are a crescent-shaped cavity resting on a rectangular base, and from which rises an elongated cone.

frequently met with in the museums of Italy, called "Diana of the Ephesians," a variety of the Indian *Maya*.

In the Chinese sacred books "the *Taou* (the divine reason, or wisdom) preserves the heavens and supports the earth: he is so high as not to be reached, so deep as not to be followed, so immense as to contain the whole universe, and yet he penetrates into the minutest things."^b The sacred ash of the Scandinavians, is a symbol of the Chinese *Taou*.

THE SACRED OAK.

Among the Teutonic race, the oak was the sacred tree, as also among the Kelts, the primitive inhabitants of Palestine, the Hebrew patriarchs, and the early Greeks.

The Keltic magi, or Druids, the priests of the religion of the oak (*deru*), regarded this tree as symbolical, or even representative, of the Almighty Father. Under it was the *sanctum*; here they performed their most solemn rites, and no sacrifice could be offered up, until the leaves of this tree, as a sort of propitiation, had been strewed upon the altar.

In their veneration for the oak, the Hebrew patriarchs so much resembled the Druids, that the religion of the oak among the latter has been ascribed to a more ancient practice of it among the former.^c

We read in Genesis (xii. 6, 7) that when Abraham entered the land of Canaan, God appeared to him *under an oak*, the oak of Moreh, to promise the possession of the country to his posterity; and also that the Lord appeared to Abraham *in the oaks*, or at the oak of Mamre, as it is in the Hebrew, but not in our translation (Gen. xviii. 1). It was under an oak, the oak

^b According to the Indian myths, the *Trimourti* is sometimes figured as a tree with three branches, each of which is radiant with a central sun. To shew how the idea of a tree pervaded the metaphysical conceptions of the Hindoos is shewn in the following passage from M. Guiniaut's work, *Religions de l'Antiquité*, vol. i., p. 147, "Quand se furent formés les quatorze mondes avec l'axe qui les traverse, et au-dessous le mont Calaya, alors parut sur le sommet de ce dernier le triangle, *Yoni*, et dans l'*Yoni* le *Lingam*, ou *Siva Lingam*. Ce *Lingam* (arbre de vie) avait trois écorces: la première et la plus extérieure était *Brahmâ*, celle du milieu *Vichnou*, la troisième et la plus tendre *Siva*; et, quand le trois dieux se furent détachés, il ne resta plus dans le triangle que la tige nue; désormais sous le garde de *Siva*."

See a dissertation on the antiquity of China in "*A Complete View of the Chinese Empire*." London, 1798.

^c See Dickenson's dissertation, *De Origine Druidum*, contained in his learned little volume printed at Oxford in 1655, where we read, "Porro igitur quæras unde quæna istæc religio nata est? Nimirum è quercubus Mamræ: sub quibus olim viri sanctissimi (penes quos, tum rei divinæ faciendæ, tum justitiæ administrandæ cura fuit) religiosissimè degebant: quarum umbra simul Abrahamæ domicilium, Deoque templum præbuit," p. 190. Dr. Stukeley, who wrote about a century after, adopted this opinion.

by Sichem, that Jacob buried, as in a consecrated place, the images and earrings of his household, forfeited to God (Gen. xxxv. 4). That this was a holy place is shewn by Joshua here setting up a stone of memorial under the oak which was in the sanctuary of the Lord, thus the Hebrew and the Vulgate "quæ erat in sanctuario Domini"^d (Joshua xxiv. 26). It was also under an oak that the angel, or as some understand, and the Vulgate more correctly renders it, God himself conversed in a visible form with Gideon (Judges vi. 11—21).

It would appear therefore, that the oak in Palestine was regarded as the emblem of a divine covenant, and indicated the religious appropriation of any stone monument erected beneath it—and that it was also symbolical of the divine presence, possibly from association.

It is worthy of remark that the same Hebrew word (אֵל) which signifies *oak* means an *oath* also, and that the root of this word is (א) mighty, or strong, the origin of the name of the Deity in many ancient languages.^e

Among the Greeks, the oak of Dodona was the seat of the oldest Hellenic oracle, whose priests sent forth their declarations on its leaves. The oak thus distinguished, on the shores of the Mediterranean, was the *Quercus Ilex*, in northern regions, and colder climates, the *Quercus Robur*.

The monarch of trees in our northern flora, as indicative of living strength and power, was an appropriate symbol of the living God, but in process of time, the Druids converted this symbol into an incipient idol.

The boughs were cut off, and two of the larger ones being fixed at right angles into the stem, the form of a cross was produced, or a figure having a rude semblance to a man; on the top of this was inscribed THAU (Θεός), and on the arms the Keltic Trinity, HESUS, BELENUS, and THARAMIS, a triad corresponding apparently with the Scandinavian Trinity, ODIN,

^d "Scripsit quoque omnia verba hæc in volumine legis Domini: et tulit lapidem, posuitque eum subter quercum quæ erat in sanctuario Domini."

^e Consult on the subject Bates's *Critica Hebræa*, Gousset's *Hebrew Lexicon*, Parkhurst, etc., אֵל; אֵל, Al or Ail, for the , (jod) is here servile, and may be dropped or not, is God; and the root word of God in its various forms, significant of power and might. The word whether written אֵל or אֵל, or אֵלִים or אֵלִים, is applied to persons and creatures which have power or virtue in them, or are robust and strong. Jacob Gousset observes "אֵל Dei nomen est, et solet sumi non ut simplex ejus designatio, sed quasi respiceret aliquid speciale attributum, nempe fortitudinem vel robur, et ideo vertitur Deus fortis, scilicet אֵל deduci a rad: אֵל." אֵל, according to Parkhurst, "expresses the omnipresence of God, i.e., the universal extension;" but he will not presume to say "of his substance," but of his knowledge and power," according to the awful questions in Jer. xxiii. 23, 24, "Do not I fill heaven and earth? saith Jehovah." Compare 1 Kings viii. 27; Psalm cxxxix. 7—12.

BALDER, and THOR. Hesus or Esus was the mighty one; Belenus (Bel or Baal) the Lord, corresponding to Apollo—and Tharamis was the power of the moving heavens, or he who directs the atmospheric phenomena, rain, wind, thunder, etc., the same as Thor, the thunderer, and the Jove of the Greeks. The conquests of the Keltic race were pre-historic; but the name *Hesus*, as a god of war and leader of a conquering race is sufficiently characteristic, if the derivation of Middleton be correct, that it was from *Eas* or *Es*, a torrent or cataract, to which the Romans added the termination *us*, thus making *Esus*, or *Hesus*, the irresistible. Such also was Odin, the god of battles, to the conquering race of Scandinavia; and such must needs be the Deity worshipped by nations whom the spirit of conquest urges to the acquisition of territory, for if they put their trust in any God at all, it is in one who is with them, and helps them to overthrow their enemies.—Jehovah is occasionally thus mentioned in the sacred books of the Jews, and thus the God of the Assyrians is figured on the bas-reliefs from Nimroud. Belenus, like Balder, is a beneficent deity delighting in sunshine, and in doing good; but the three are to be considered only as different forms, or diversities of acting, of the One, who in the sunbeam is *Balder*, rejoicing the heart; in the thunder is *Thor*, whose *word* is “like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces” (Jer. xxiii. 29); and who, when he overthroweth his enemies, is *Odin*, or Mars.

In Germany, as in England, the oak was long regarded as a sacred tree; solemn assemblies were held beneath it, and decrees were often dated “*sub quercubus*,” or “*sub annosa quercu*”^f Shakespeare mentions the oak as sacred to Jove.^g

“And rifted Jove’s stout oak
With his own bolt.”

In later times, or perhaps even then, they were synonymous with “gospel trees.” Herrick, in his *Hesperides*, has an allusion to this.—

“Dearest bring me under that holy-oke, or gospel tree,
Where (though thou see’st not) thou may’st think on me,
When thou yearly go’st processioning.”

Holy-oak was still a household word in our language during the last century.

THE MISTLETOE.

But however sacred the oak may have been among the Keltic nations, the mistletoe that grew upon the oak would seem to

^f See Keysley’s *Antiquitates Septentrionales et Celtice*.

^g Temp. v. i.

have been still more so. The Persians and Massagetæ, no less than the Druids, are said by Borlase, to have regarded the mistletoe, the "all-heal" of our pagan ancestors, as something divine. Virgil describes it as the golden branch.

"Aureus et foliis et lento vimine ramus
Junoni infernæ dictus sacer. . ."

growing on the tree of deep shade, Jupiter's sacred oak, and alone affording a safe passport to the infernal regions. Charon, when he saw it, became silent, for it betokened an authority higher than his own, and with inward admiration he regarded this "*venerabile donum*," as though it had foreshadowed the expectancy of all nations, "*longo post tempore visum*."

The Druids gathered the sacred mistletoe of the oak at yule tide, this annual ceremony was a very high festival, and was accompanied with sacrifices and a sacred banquet.

The circumstance of the mistletoe being found growing on the oak, was that which gave it value, shewing that God had accepted it. When cut with the golden sickle, it was received with extreme reverence on a white cloth, extraordinary life-giving powers were ascribed to it, and great importance was attached to receiving a portion of it—that all this had a meaning, there can be no doubt—Dr. Stukeley^a says that it was laid on their altars, as an emblem of the salutiferous advent of Messiah, and adds that the custom of the Druids was still in his time preserved in the north, "and was lately at York: on the eve of Christmas-day they carry mistletoe to the high altar of the cathedral, and proclaim a public and universal liberty, pardon and freedom to all sorts of inferior and even wicked people at the gates of the city towards the four quarters of heaven." Mistletoe still retains a popular place in our Christmas festivities, though its sacred meaning has been forgotten.

The learned Warburton was of opinion that Virgil in the story of the descent of Æneas to the infernal regions, intended to convey to the reader a description of the Eleusinian mysteries, derived from those of Isis, in which was carried a golden branch. Severus states that many doctrines in the Greek mysteries were delivered in the profound learning of the Egyptians. Virgil describes Æneas as being instructed in the Orphic theology of an omnipresent universal mind, which is the life of all things.ⁱ

"Principio cœlum ac terras, camposque liquentes,
Lucentemque globum Lunæ, Titaniaque Astra,
Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus

^a *Medallic History of Marcus Aurelius Valerius Carausius.*

ⁱ *Æn.* l. vi. 724—7.

Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.
 Inde hominum pecudumque genus, vitæque volantum,
 Et quæ marmoreo fert monstra sub æquore pontus.

This primitive theology found no less in sacred than in profane writers, dressed up in the fantastic imagery of the north, became the pictorial Scandinavian myth, known as the ash *yggdrasill*, or the tree of universal life.

The rites which Virgil relates to have been performed by Æneas in honour of Proserpine, and to procure her favour, are considered by many, to have been similar to those practised by the Druids. And we have the authority of Strabo for the fact, that there was an island near Britain, supposed to be Anglesea, where the same rites were performed to Ceres and Proserpine, as were used in Samothrace, so celebrated for the sanctity of its asylum, and the mysterious worship of the Cabiri.

CHRISTMAS TREE.

The Christmas-tree, or Christ-baum of our German neighbours, has by some been regarded as the modern diminutive of the Scandinavian *yggdrasill*, but the birth-place of the Christmas-tree, is Egypt, and its origin is long anterior to the Christian era. It was a popular notion that the palm-tree put forth a shoot every month, and a spray of this tree, with twelve shoots on it, was used in Egypt, at the time of the winter solstice, as a symbol of the year completed. Egyptian associations are still mingled with the custom of the Christmas-tree; there are as many pyramids as trees used in Germany, in the celebration of Christmas, by those whose means do not admit of purchasing trees and their concomitant tapers.¹

In the vision of St. John, the tree beheld growing by the side of running water, and which bears twelve manner of fruits, yielding her fruit every month, and whose leaves were for the healing of the nations, was evidently meant for the date palm, the leaves of which when blanched were used for writing on.

Trees have always been favourite images with prophets and poets—in the sacred writings they are put for nations and persons—thus the prophet Ezekiel (xxxi. 3, 8, 9) speaking of the Assyrians and their king, says, "The Assyrian was a cedar in Lebanon with fair branches, the cedars in the garden of God could not hide him, the fir-trees were not like his boughs, and the chesnut-trees were not like his branches; nor any tree in the garden of God was like unto him in his beauty. I have

¹ See a letter from Berlin in *The Times*, Dec. 25th, 1855.

made him fair by the multitude of his branches; so that all the trees of Eden that were in the garden of God envied him."

We here have the authority of a prophet of Israel, that by the garden of God, or Eden, is meant the populous and fertile country of the dominant oriental nations, who were the trees in that garden, and their families and populations, the branches and leaves.

Isaiah (lxi. 3) speaks of "Trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord that he might be glorified." And St. Jerome, in his third homily on the Canticles, says "Omnes igitur homines, arbores dicuntur, sive bonæ, sive malæ.

Under the form of a tree, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, is figured to himself in his dream (Dan. iv, 10—12); and it was also the favourite figure used by our Lord when addressing himself to men in reference to their works.

Christ also represents himself as a tree "I am the vine, ye are the branches"—and it is to a tree—the cross of Christ—that the Christian looks up for his salvation—the cross being identified with him who suffered on it.

OF SACRED GROVES.

Most nations, if not all, would appear, at some time or other, to have had a sacred tree, and from the worship of sacred trees, to have proceeded to the adoration of idols formed from their wood. This was the opinion of Winkleman and Caylus, it was also held by Pausanias, and is alluded to in the Bible (Isaiah xl. 29.)

The first temple mentioned in Bible history is a grove which Abraham planted when he settled for a time at Beersheba, and there called on the name of the Lord (Gen. xxi. 33).

The learned and ingenious Doctor Stukeley, in the first of his discourses on the vegetable kingdom, delivered in St. Leonard's church on Whit-sunday, 1760, speaks of this temple as "that famous oak grove of Beersheba, planted by the illustrious prophet and first Druid ABRAHAM: and from whom our celebrated British Druids came, were of the same patriarchal reformed religion, and brought the use of sacred groves to Britain."^k

The use, however, of groves for religious purposes, and of stones of covenant connected with trees, did not originate with

^k See *Palæographia Sacra*. Dr. Stukeley in his *Hesiol*, sive *Origines Britannicæ*, having ascertained, as he tells us, that the British were of oriental extraction, and that the druids, their priests, were of the first and patriarchal religion, adds, "in the course of my studies I made large researches into the particulars of that first religion which I found to be the same as Christianity."

Abraham, who in planting a grove and there calling on the name of the Lord, only followed the established usage of countries which either had not, with the Egyptians, arrived at the era of architecture, or whose religious notions did not permit them to worship the Deity in temples made with hands.

Among the Kelts, as also among the Germans and the Scandinavians, groves consecrated by the reverence of ages, and by the continuance of primitive usages, were the only public places of worship resorted to. So universally, in fact, were groves and woods dedicated to religious purposes, that among the Greek and Latin writers the words *ἄλσος* and *lucus* (a grove) imply consecration.

From the reported apparitions of divine beings beneath trees, and the belief in their actual presence which prevailed, it was held that angels and men might familiarly converse together, came, in all probability, the custom of consulting oracles beneath trees, as also the worship still associated with them in the east: and to this source may be traced the superstitious notion touching the spirits that inhabit trees, and the sprightly fairies who sometimes dance beneath.

Pliny remarks¹ that even in his time the rustics observing ancient usages, dedicated to the deity any tree of pre-eminent beauty or excellence. In Herodotus² we read that Xerxes with his army proceeding to Sardis, met on his way with a plane-tree, which, on account of its beauty, he presented with an offering of golden ornaments, and left a guard of honour to protect them. On one of the bas-reliefs from Koyunjik, in the British Museum, we may see the king of Assyria in his chariot devoutly saluting a tall palm-tree that stands by the way side.

SACRED BUSHES IN PERSIA.

Travellers in Persia inform us, that throughout the country the natives address themselves to sacred trees (*dracte fasels*), and that even the Mohammedans, who would shudder at any imputation of idolatry, believe that in their addresses and offerings to them, they only invoke the true God, the great Creator. In Sir William Ouseley's *Travels in the East*,³ we find it stated that "many an aged bush has been exalted into a *dirakhti fâzel*⁴ from the fancied appearance of fire glowing in the midst of it, and then suddenly vanishing."

Very old plane-trees are especially venerated, a circumstance which can excite no wonder, for the plane-tree (*platanus orientalis*)

¹ *Nat. Hist.*, l. xii.

² l. vii. 31.

³ Vol. i., Appendix ix.

⁴ This name, according to Chardin, implies "the excellent tree."

is one of the noblest of oriental trees, the admiration alike of poets and philosophers.^p

Maimonides, in his tract on idolatry, alludes to the adoration of trees by the Israelites (Jer. ii. 20) ; and it was from out of a burning bush that Moses heard the voice of the Lord, and received the injunction to put off his shoes, for that the place was holy ground.

In that magnificent Psalm (xxix), in which the rushing wind, the roaring waters, the lightning and the tempest, are by a bold, yet true figure of speech, called the voice of the Lord, we read, in our authorized version, following the vulgate (v. 9), "The voice of the Lord maketh the hinds to calve, and discovereth the forests." According to Lowth and others, the Hebrew word rendered "hinds" should have been rendered *oaks*, and the passage more correctly translated would be "The voice of the Lord maketh the oaks to tremble, and layeth bare the forests"—from the second part of this verse "and in his temple doth every one speak of his glory," we perceive the intimate association, in the mind of the writer, between the voice of the Lord, the rushing wind among the oaks, and his glory in the temple, the one being as sacred as the other.

Mr. Bruce mentions in his travels, that in Abyssinia, the wazy-tree is avowedly worshipped as God, and Mr. Salt has confirmed this statement. In Arabia, Africa, India, China, and Japan, certain trees are reported to be still worshipped, and deity is believed to be seated on the summit of the trunk, or sufficiently near, that the attendant spirits below can readily transmit to him the prayers offered up by the faithful. This notion admits of a satisfactory explanation—these trees of grateful shade having been the resort of pious men for prayer and meditation, obtained thereby a certain sanctity : God who is ever present to hear prayer, was thus intimately associated with them, as he is by many Christians with the interior of churches ; and ministering spirits, ideal personifications present only to pious minds, became, by imagination, transformed into objective realities. In an engraving given by Mr. Fergusson, in his *Picturesque illustrations of Ancient Architecture in Hindoostan* of the gateway at Sanchee, on one of the panels of the gate, is represented the worship of a tree, it is placed on an altar, before it devotees are prostrating themselves in prayer, while angels with crowns of glory are floating in the air above ; it is just such a scene as a fevered imagination might picture to itself before the high altar of a Roman Basilica ; and such as Chris-

^p See Mr. Urquhart's *Spirit of the East*.

tian painters, who love the poetry of their art, are wont to represent; we have only to substitute the cross for the tree, and the resemblance would be complete.

We may call to mind the remark of our Lord to Nicodemus, "when thou wast under the fig-tree I saw thee," and the conviction which in consequence Nicodemus felt that Christ was God. The impression on the mind of the youthful Jacob when he awoke from his dream and exclaimed, "Surely the Lord is in this place, and I knew it not," is one which would naturally occur to many who, slumbering beneath the grateful shade of umbrageous trees, had seen in their dreams a glimpse of the visionary world, and the locality, at least to them, would henceforth become sacred.

Sir William Ouseley relates from a manuscript chronicle, composed by Tabri in the ninth century, that at Najrán in Yemen, outside the city, stood a date-tree, to which on a certain day in each year, all the people went to hold a solemn festival, and having assembled about it, covered it with garments of rich embroidery, and brought to it all their idols, and laid them under it, and having gone in procession round about it, and offered up prayers and paid reverence to it, returned again to the city. The same author, in a note, has the following passage—"An ingenious writer having mentioned some Indian and Japanese symbols of the divinity, adds '*arboris truncum in cuius summitate sedet supremus Creator Deus. Aliud quiddam esset observatione dignum: sed ego truncum arboris meditor, etc.*' At sive Japonenses, sive Indos, sive Tibetanos adeas, ubique tibi occurret *virentis arboris* religio, ob symbola forsan creationis, et conservationis rerum recepta, atque retenta."¹ The figure of Nutpe, or the goddess of the divine life, which the Egyptians represented in their sepulchral monuments as seated among the branches of the tree of life in the paradise of Osiris, was purely symbolical; it was not the deity, but was figurative of the divine sustenance of the immortal soul.

SACRED TREES IN INDIA AND JAPAN, AND THE ANCIENT HINDOO FAITH.

The worship of the bo-tree, or peepul, the *ficus religiosa*, enters largely into the mysteries of the Buddha faith, and did from an early period, as we find it represented in the caves at Cuttah. Under this tree *Vishnu* was born, the second person in the Brahminical Trinity, which was considered to be the most ancient on record, until the discovery of still earlier triads on

¹ Georg., *Alphab. Tibetan.* p. 142.

the monuments of Egypt. It consists of *Brahma* the creator, *Vishnu* the preserver or saviour, and *Siva* the transformer, which are the three interchangeable attributes of the great first intellectual cause Brahm. These personifications form the *Trimourti*, which is expressed liturgically by the very sacred name AUM or OM, and adored under the symbol of the waterlily.

All that we know of the ancient faith of India, anterior to the advent of Buddha, the ninth incarnation of Vishnu, is to be found in the Vedas, probably compiled about twelve or thirteen centuries before Christ, or a little earlier; and in what may be gathered from the institutes of Menu, which are some five or six centuries later: in these there is a form of salutation addressed to the gods of great trees.

Mr. Colebrooke, in his essay on the Vedas, states that "the real doctrine of the whole Indian Scripture, is the unity of the deity in whom the universe is comprehended." A profound and solemn conception which has been the philosophical faith of man from the earliest known period of his written history. It was the doctrine of the Egyptian mysteries, and of the Orphic theology; was held by prophets and philosophers, by poets sacred and profane, and was embodied by the northern imagination under the figure of the mundane tree.

The Aboriginal people of India are the *Tamul* tribes; the Sanscrit speaking people were strangers to that land, they were the conquering race and came across the Indus many centuries before the Christian era; bringing with them in their Vedantic lore, the traditions and the religion of that great central source of nations from which the Persians, and probably the Medes, migrated to the south, and the European races to the west. Dr. Albert Weber, in his *Academische Vorlesungen über indische Literaturgeschichte*, remarks that the commencement of the Vedic civilization certainly reaches back to a time when the Indo Aryans still lived as one people with the Persic Aryans—probably this may have been in Bactria about 1500 B.C. The decyphering of the great arrow-headed inscription at Behistun shewed that it was an old form of Persian, closely allied to the Vedic sanscrit of India on the one hand, and to the Zend on the other.

The religion of India, like that of other countries, has had its revolutions. The religion of Brahma was of a more metaphysical character than the worship of nature-gods which preceded it, or than that which followed it, when *Siva* brought in the adoration

* Mr. Fergusson considers the Kali yug, 3101 B.C., and which appears to be a fixed historical date, to represent, whether correctly or not, the first irruption of the Sanscrit races into Hindostan. ●

of the vital force under the symbol of the Lingam, and the belief in the eternity of matter. Next came *Vishnu*, who put down the orgies by which the former had been disgraced, and restored in great part the purity of the Brahminical cultus. *Buddha*, or the word of divine reason made flesh, succeeded him.'

The father of the founder of Buddhism, *Suddhâdana*, was the last of a long line of solar princes reduced to the sovereignty of a petty principality.' His son *Sakya Muni* was the sage, and the reformer of the Brahminical system.

He simplified the theological teaching, and broke down the partition wall between the priests and the people. He did not recognize the institution of castes; according to him, all without exception were invited to receive the Word, and its benefits were conferred without distinction of persons. When the Buddhists were subsequently driven out of India by the Brahmins, some took refuge in Ceylon, others spread themselves over the Chinese empire, Birmah, and Japan. Buddhism has its metaphysical as well as its moral teaching, and is more philosophical than religious.

Buddhist metaphysics recognize an *active intelligent* principle equivalent to the Logos or divine wisdom, of which the sage, *Buddha*, was the impersonation, and a *plastic* producing principle called *Dharma*, the result of whose union is the multitudinous phenomena of the external world known as *Sangha*.

The first or intelligent principle may be regarded as prior and superior to the second, or co-existing with it from all eternity; hence there are two theories in the schools. But as the object of all holiness and metaphysical speculation in the Indian theology, whether Buddhist or Brahminical, is the return of the soul to God, who gave it, and reabsorption into the divine essence, whereby individuality is annihilated, in other words, the obtaining *NIRVANA*, there is little or no practical difference between these theories.

Among the titles given to *Buddha*, are those of omniscient, immaculate, saviour, comforter, and deity of felicitous advent.

The moral code of the Buddhists seems quite unexceptional. Their decalogue is less special than that of Moses. The command to speak the truth, is not omitted, but is as positive as the command not to kill, nor to steal, nor to commit adultery. It also commands to abstain from hasty language, and from idle

' The advent of *Buddha* has been differently stated, some authorities, with Sir William Jones, give 1027 B.C. as the year of his birth; others, 1022; and 947 B.C., or 942, or even 536 B.C., as the year of his death.

' He was king of Magadha in South Behar and Mâyâ.

and superfluous words, a precept insisted upon only in the gospel of our Lord, and in the moral code of the ancient Egyptians. Along with the latter, and the Kelts, the Buddhists recognized the transfiguration of the soul.*

In Ceylon, where the doctrine of Buddha is believed to be the purest, he is known as *Godama*.

The form of Buddhism which still exists in India, is called *Jaina*, and is a mixture of Buddhism and Brahminism. But the mass of the people are devout adherents either of *Siva* or *Vishnu*. In the philosophical doctrine of two principles, an intellectual and a material, and the impregnation of the latter by the former, we have again the primitive theology or cosmography of the Bible, in which the "spirit of God" is described as brooding over the waters of chaos, making them pregnant by his influence.—With this, the cosmo-theology of Orpheus, and that of the Druids, also agree.—Among the ancient Egyptians, the creating power of deity received a distinctive impersonation, and became Pthah; the "spirit of God" that moved on the face of the waters was named Nû or Nûm.

The Buddhists have also their sacred trees, which are said to be numerous in China and Japan. In Ceylon, there is the *bogaha* or god's tree, a title synonymous with the *shejeret allah*, or god's tree of the Arabs, and probably with the *diu-dar*, or demon tree of the Persians, which resembles the Indian fir. Captain Wilford, in an article in the tenth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, says that the tree of life and knowledge, or the *jambu* tree, in the Buddhist maps of the world, is always represented in the shape of a Manichean cross placed on a calvary. It is called "the divine tree," the tree of the gods, and of whatever is good and desirable, and it grows in the terrestrial paradise. "When the tree is represented as a trunk without branches, as in Japan, it is then said to be the seat of the supreme *one*. When two arms are added, as in our cross, the *trimurti* is said to be seated there. When with five branches, the five *sugats*, or grand forms of Buddha are said to reside upon them."

The parallelism with the practice of the British Druids is here very remarkable, as is also the resemblance to Christian symbolism of the cross.

In reference to the Indian fir, as a sacred tree, it may be remarked, that, on the basement of the grand colonnade of a

* The great Buddhist Chronicle, the *Mahawanso*, is written in Pali, a language which, like the Zend, has ceased to be spoken, and is now the language only of the liturgy and the sacred books. The *Mahawanso* is considered by some to be the most valuable historical document we possess in reference to ancient India.

* p. 124,

palace at Persepolis, is represented in relief, a solemn procession where fir-trees of a somewhat conventional form are introduced, bearing cones such as are seen in the hands of the officiating priest, or personified divine attribute, on the Assyrian monuments.*

It has been thought, and with much probability, that the older religion of India was a personified conception of the living forces of the physical world, which when raised to a more metaphysical character, became conjoined to a peculiar social system, that of castes, in which its higher doctrines and privileges were withheld from the ignorant and the vulgar. Buddha broke down this system of exclusion, and proclaimed the highest spiritual truths to all, and not to his own nation only, but to more distant ones also, and his followers exhibit, as it has been truly said, the first grand example of missionary energy and self-sacrifice for spiritual truth.

The development of the theological idea, considered as a process of unveiling the deep things of nature, and the conception of nature's God, naturally follows a certain order: first come nature gods, energies, powers, vital forces, which receive form at the hands of poets, and are popularly regarded as personifications—gods in human form—until philosophers, perceiving a certain unity of action and harmonious combination among them, refer them to one source—hence there is a philosophical unity in the popular plurality—and what the multitude regard as many, the better informed recognize as *one*.

Subsequently, when the meditative faculty is turned upon itself, and mind becomes the subject of its own speculations, a more intellectual idea of a supreme ruler is formed, and God is regarded as existing in a more intimate connexion with our own intelligence than with the external world. The supremacy of mind being acknowledged, the deity comes to be considered as the universal mind, the self-existing reason and infinite intelligence, from which our name is derived; and as, with man, the thought precedes its external material development, so in regarding the universe around us, as proceeding from an ever active universal intelligence, which its order demonstrates to our own derived reason, we conclude, in its production, that mind preceded matter, and that the former alone was eternal, though both co-existed in all time.

Beyond this it does not appear that our conceptions can carry us. Between eternity and time there is the same sort of difference as between the infinite and the finite. That is, they

* See M. Flandin's work *Voyage en Perse*, plate marked Palace, No. 2.

are not merely incommensurable, and different only in degree, but are essentially as different from each other in kind as is the imperishable from perishable, the Creator from the thing created.

The history of religion shews many of the same characters among all nations. The human family in its course through progressive forms of civilization exhibits similar features, and its institutions require to be adapted to every stage of its career. We find as the development and cultivation of the religious idea proceeds, that persons are educated with an especial regard to the acquirements needed in its teachers and ministers. With the establishment of a ritual and public functions, we find an order of persons to whom particular privileges are accorded, and whom the natural reverence due to the sacred office soon raises above every other class. The power and influence thus obtained, in the changes to which all sublunary things are subject, come eventually to be abused; pride, ambition, and arrogance take the place of humility, devotion, and piety; the religious element needs renovation, and a reformation or revolution follows in the natural course of things. The change which Buddha effected in India was of this kind, and has been regarded as analogous to our European Protestant Reformation. He abolished caste, all men were equal in the eyes of the Divinity, and were invited freely to participate in his goodness and mercy. With opposing interests comes also a struggle for supremacy. Then there is persecution and the sword, and one party either overcomes and suppresses the other, or if they be nearly balanced, a compromise is effected between them, and a religion grows up exhibiting certain characters of both. But whatever be the new religion introduced, it will, under the influences of climate and custom, receive a modification for the older one, and among the people a popular leaven will for a long time remain. The superstitious regard which in Christian countries has been shewn to certain trees may thus be explained.

The above remarks may be regarded as one theory of the rise, progress, and history of religion; but it by no means follows that there may not have been from the creation of man a religious principle implanted in his nature, a principle of personal relation to the Deity, and as much an essential characteristic of man, as reason and its expression.

This would seem to be more probable, and is borne out by the religious history of nations, which points distinctly to it. Moses, however, makes no direct or positive mention of such in reference to primitive man, the only religious injunction noticed by him is the sacred regard required to be shewn to a certain

tree, which is introduced as the symbol of temptation, the tree of the forbidden fruit, of which man is commanded not to eat on pain of death. But the hieroglyphical history here contained would shew, that "in the beginning" there existed a conscious personal relationship between man and his maker, in virtue of which, through a loving uniformity to the Divine will, he was permitted to partake freely of the tree of life, the symbolic support of the soul in time and eternity.

However we may receive the record of Moses, whether in the spirit of a little child listening to what is not understood, and delighting in the marvellous; or whether in the spirit of the man, who, beneath the hieroglyphics of the sacred scribe, discerns the deep truths therein contained, certain it is, and most satisfactory for us to know, that he, who was learned in all the wisdom of the most learned of nations, should have left us a testimony which the progress of modern science tends to confirm.

In this ancient record of fundamental truths we read, among other things, of a sacred tree, a tree of life, and this religious symbol of a primeval doctrine we find carried out by the human race in all their migrations and settlements; it is sometimes a symbol, sometimes an idol, but there it is, in Europe, in Asia, and in Africa, an ever-recurring testimony of the truthfulness of the original idea, and a perpetual confirmation of the everlasting Word.

OF THE NACKAS.

From time immemorial there have been preserved in Asia, on this side the Indus, sacred books, which, like the Vedas, are written in a language no longer spoken, and in characters no longer used. Like the Vedas also, these sacred books have ever been objects of veneration among the peoples who possess them, and who regard them as the foundation of religion, and as the most ancient testament, or witness to them of the Divine will.

The name of these books is the *Nackas*; and Zoroaster is supposed to have been the author of the revelations they contain. The language in which they are written is the Zend, and while the Vedas are received with submissive authority beyond the Indus, these are acknowledged with equal reverence on this side of it.

In the latter, observes M. Reynaud,* the divinity *Haôma* is identical with the divinity *Soma* of the former, and this is shewn, not only by the rules for the transmutation of the Zend into Sanscrit, but also by the characteristics of this divinity being

* *Ency. Nouvelle.*

the same in both, and the same with the *Hom* of the Parsees. The material symbol of this deity is the juice of a sacred plant growing on the mountains, and having the same name *Hom*. This germ of eucharistic conception belongs to the primitive epochs of Brahminism and of Mazdeism, and is the common point of their union and separation. M. Reynaud is of opinion that the name *Hom* among the Arian nations preceded the name *Ormuzd*, just as, among the Hebrews, the name *All-mighty* preceded the name of the *Subsisting*, now called *ADONAI*, to which the revelation of Moses refers. "Ego Dominus qui apparui Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob, in Deo omnipotente; et nomen meum *ADONAI* non indicavi eis" (Exod. vi. 3).

The *Hom* of the Persians is spoken of in the *Zendavesta* as the word of life, and has its echo on the earth; as the author of salvation, and at the same time the announcer of it; as the tree of life, and source of the living water of life.*

The plant *Hom* when consecrated is regarded as the mystical body of God; and, when partaken of as a sacrament, is received as the veritable food of eternal life.

The British Druids have been regarded by Borlase and others as identical in their office with the Persian Magi; Strabo considered them to be of the same order, and remarks of the latter, that in the celebrations of their sacred rites they carried in the hand a bunch of little plants—this was the bunch of *hom*, called *barsom*, which was perpetually used in their ceremonies. The figures on the bas-relief at Persepolis carry such in their hands, it has an open flower something like that of the lotus, and is apparently the same as that which enters so largely into the ornamentation of the Assyrian palaces.

The *Hom*, as already remarked, when consecrated to God, was regarded as God himself, and was supposed to give life, being the person of God eaten by man. The mistletoe of the Druids may have received an analogous importance, and have been looked upon in the same light.

There is a passage in Isaiah (vi. 13) which our translators have thus rendered:—But yet in it *shall be* a tenth, and *it* shall return, and shall be eaten; as a teil tree, and as an oak whose substance is in them, when they cast *their leaves*; so the holy seed *shall* be the substance thereof."

This, like some other passages in our authorized translation is very obscure, in the Vulgate it is less so.†

* See M. Guignant, *Religions de l'Antiquité*, M. Reynaud, etc.

† "Et adhuc in ea decimatio, et convertetur, et erit in ostensionem sicut terebinthus, et sicut quercus, quæ expandit ramos suos: semen sanctum erit id, quod steterit in eâ."

On this text Dr. Stukely remarks:—"In my opinion Isaiah alludes to the mistletoe in that obscure and corrupt passage which commentators avoid, and it means to make the plant symbolical of the *Messiah*, and of Christianity to be inoculated, (as it may be said) on Judaism,—thus let it be read if we would make sense of it. '*As an oak whose plant is alive* upon it, when its leaves are cast, so the holy seed shall be as the plant thereof.'"

Perhaps Dr. Stukely should have added, "And it shall be eaten." Between the *All-heal* and the *Hom* there would appear to be a certain analogy, and they would seem to have ascribed to them certain properties in common; while the mystical sense attached to them seems identical.

The worship of trees was condemned in France by the councils of Auxerre, Nantes, and Tours; and in England it was forbidden by the laws of Canute.

As late as the latter part of the eighteenth century it existed in Livonia; and traces of it may still be found in the British Isles. Colonel Keating, in his travels in Europe and Africa, states that near Mogadore he saw the sacred *arayer* strung with offerings "of rags, potsherds, and like trash," and adds, "a traveller will see precisely the like in the west of Ireland." The English may-pole decked with coloured rags and tinsel, the merry morrice dancers, and the mysterious Jack in the green, are the all but worn-out remains of the adoration of gods in trees once prevalent in England.

Sacred trees were in some countries sprinkled with wine, this was an ancient practice, equivalent to making libations to them as gods. Madame de Genlis alludes to this custom as still practised in her time in France at the annual ceremony of the plantation of the may-pole.

Thus the superstitious regard which in Christian countries has been shewn to certain trees, while it admits of explanation, points also to a primitive practice, in harmony with the figurative language of early literature, and with the symbolical character of Holy Writ.

The tree of temptation still stands in the garden of the Lord, and frail mortality is allured by its deceitful fruits; but the "tree of life" is growing there also, and happy are they who take hold upon its branches.

H. C. BARLOW, M.D.

MONASTICISM IN THE WEST—BENEDICT OF NURSIA.**PART SECOND.**

THE story of Scholastica forms a beautiful episode in the rugged and unloveable life of Benedict. It has often been remarked that women, particularly women of refined mind and deep character, will often attach themselves to men to whom they are spiritually indebted, with a depth of affection and tenderness equalled only by its purity. Even the life of the Saviour himself affords such instances in Mary Magdalene and Mary of Bethany. To cite human instances, Macrine is the guiding star of Basil, the names of Monica and Nonna are inseparable from Augustine and Gregory of Nazianzus; in Matilda of Tuscany Gregory VII. found sympathy and support; with St. Francis d'Assisi St. Clara, and with St. Francis de Sales Jeanne de Chantal are connected. The name of Scholastica is equally bound up with Benedict of Nursia.

There is something striking in the attachment of the brother and sister, the human affection struggling against the uncongenial spirit of monasticism. Scholastica was the twin sister of Benedict. They loved each other, as twins sometimes do love, with a deep tenderness and a devoted sympathy. Scholastica had devoted herself to God, that is to celibacy, from her infancy. What her brother accomplished for men, that did she do for her own sex. Equally devout, equally powerful in attracting female recluses, and equally adapted to govern them, in becoming a nun she became the patroness and model of the innumerable converts who were to acknowledge, adopt, and follow the canons of her brother. When Benedict retired to Monte Cassino, she rejoined him there. She founded a monastery for nuns at a little distance in the depths of a valley of the Abruzzi. But the brother and sister were of different sexes, and, therefore, notwithstanding their sympathy of disposition and their full affection for each other, they met but once a year, and then only for a few hours. At such times Scholastica left her cloister and sought her brother, who, on his part, went to meet her.

It was the last time the brother and sister were to meet, for death had already laid his hand upon Scholastica. They had passed the entire day together in holy conversation, mingled with prayer and praises. As evening drew on they sat down together to their frugal meal. And now occurred a struggle of fraternal love with the austerity of the monastic rule. The dying Scholastica, yielding for once to the sweet weakness of her

sex, entreated her brother to rest for the night in her convent. "I pray thee do not leave me to-night, but let us speak of the joys of heaven till the morning." But Benedict, in obedience to his own laws, had never passed a night out of his own monastery. "What sayest thou, my sister?" he replied, "on no account can I remain a night out of the monastery." Scholastica bent her head between her hands in an agony of tears and prayer. Suddenly the sky, which had hitherto been perfectly serene, became overcast, the lightnings flashed, the thunderings roared around, and the rain descended in torrents. It was impossible for Benedict, or the brethren who had accompanied him, to take a step beyond the roof that sheltered them. "The Lord have mercy upon thee, my sister, what hast thou done?" But Scholastica replied joyfully, "I besought thee, and thou rejectedst my prayer; I besought the Lord, and he granted my petition. Go now, if thou canst, and send me away, to return to thy monastery." Benedict resigned himself to remain, and they spent the rest of the night in spiritual conversation. Gregory adds very touchingly, "It is not to be wondered that God heard the desire of the sister rather than that of the brother, for the sister loved most, and those who love most have most power with God."

In the morning they parted to see each other no more in this life. Three days afterwards Scholastica was dead. Standing at the window of his cell Benedict had a vision, and saw his sister enter heaven under the form of a dove. He immediately burst forth in songs and triumphal praises to God. Causing the body to be removed to Monte Cassino, he placed it in the tomb which he had already prepared for himself, that those, whose souls had always been united in God, might not have their bodies separated in death.

The time of his own departure was at hand. He survived the sister, the love of whom the austerity of a monkish life had not been able to quench, only forty days. Six days before his death he ordered his grave to be opened; and caused himself to be borne into the chapel. There, supported by the arms of his mourning disciples, he received the holy communion; then placing himself at the foot of the altar by the side of the open grave, he died, standing, ejaculating a last prayer, and with his arms extended towards heaven.

The death of Benedict was prophetically announced to his disciples. It was revealed to a monk of Monte Cassinus in his cell. It was also miraculously made known to his favourite pupil, St. Maur, who was far distant at the time, having been sent by Benedict into Gaul. Maur was in the convent of

Auxerre when he suddenly became rapt in spirit. In a vision he saw a multitude of stars form themselves into a shining pathway which extended from Monte Cassino up to heaven towards the east, and he heard a voice which said that by this pathway Benedict, the well-beloved of God, had ascended to heaven. St. Maur bowed his head and prayed, "May God give us grace to follow our beloved master along this heavenward road to glory."

We must now turn our attention to the rule of Benedict. Before his time there had never been a rule written expressly for the Western monasteries; but the monks of Europe were guided by rules, like that of Basil, imported from the East, or by the traditions of the hermits of the Thebaid, which were to be found in the life of Anthony which Athanasius had written in Rome, and which had been translated into Latin. The experience of his own life, and all that he had seen and suffered as anchorite, cenobite, and abbot, had convinced him of the insufficiency of these traditionary laws, and of the necessity of substituting, if possible, one permanent and uniform rule in the place of the arbitrary models furnished by the lives of Egyptian saints.

In the preamble to his rule he has given us an exposition of the spirit and aim of his reform :—

"Listen, oh ! my son, to the precepts of the master, and incline to him the ear of thine heart. Do not fear to receive the counsel of a good father, and to fulfil it wholly, that thy laborious obedience may lead thee back to Him, from whom disobedience and weakness have alienated thee. To thee, whoever thou art, who renouncest thine own will to fight under the true King, the Lord Jesus Christ, and takest in hand the valiant and glorious weapons of obedience, are my words at this moment addressed.

"And, in the first place, in all the good thou undertakest, ask of him, in earnest prayer, that he would bring it to a good end; that having condescended to reckon us among his children, he may never be grieved by our evil actions. Obey him always, by the help of his grace, in such a way that the irritated Father may not one day disinherit his children, and that also the terrible Master, enraged by our perverse deeds, may not give up his guilty servants to unending punishment, because they would not follow him into glory.

"Then let us rise up in answer to that exhortation of Scripture which says to us, 'It is time for us to awake out of sleep.' And with eyes open to the light of God, and with attentive ears, let us listen to the daily cry of the divine voice, 'Come, my son, hearken unto me; I will teach you the fear of the Lord. Work while it is day; the night cometh when no man can work.'

"Now the Lord, who still seeks his servant in the midst of his people, says to him :—"What man is he that desireth life, and loveth many days

that he may see good?' When if, at that word, thou shall answer, 'It is I,' the Lord will say to thee, 'If thou wouldest have life, keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile. Depart from evil and do good; seek peace and ensue it.' . . . What can be more sweet, O, beloved brethren, than the voice of the Lord thus urging us? By this means, the Lord, in his paternal love, shews us the way of life. Let us then gird our loins with faith and good works; and with our feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel, let us follow upon his footsteps, that we may be worthy of seeing him who has called us to his kingdom. If we would find a place in the tabernacle of that kingdom, we must seek it by good works, without which none can enter there.

"For let us enquire at the Lord with the prophet. . . . Let us listen to the answer. . . . He who shall rest in the holy mountain of God is he who, being tempted by the devil, casts him and his counsel far from his heart, sets him at defiance, and, seizing the first off-shoots of sin, like new-born children, breaks them to pieces at the feet of Christ. It shall be those who, faithful in the fear of the Lord, shall not exalt themselves because of their services, but who, remembering that they can do nothing of themselves, and that all the good that is in them is wrought by God, glorify the Lord and his works. . . .

"Having thus, my brethren, asked of the Lord who shall dwell in his tabernacle. . . . let us prepare our hearts and bodies to fight under a holy obedience to his precepts; and if it is not always possible for nature to obey, let us ask the Lord that he would deign to give us the succour of his grace. Would we avoid the pains of hell, and attain eternal life while there is still time, while we are still in this mortal body, and while the light of this life is bestowed upon us for this purpose; let us run and strive so as to reap an eternal reward.

"We must, then, form a school of divine servitude, in which, we trust, nothing too heavy or rigorous will be established. But if, in conformity with right and justice, we should exercise a little severity for the amendment of vices, or the preservation of virtue, beware of fleeing under the impulse of terror from the way of salvation, which cannot but have a hard beginning. When a man has walked some time in obedience and faith, his heart will expand, and he will run with the unspeakable sweetness of love in the way of God's commandments. May He grant, that, never straying from the instruction of the master, and persevering in his doctrine in the monastery until death, we may share by patience in the sufferings of Christ, and be worthy to share together his kingdom."—*Prologus Regule.*

Three virtues sum up the rule of the Benedictine discipline. Silence, humility, obedience. As far as possible each monk is to seek solitude and seclusion in his cell; silence is to reign through the cloister; severe penance is pronounced against the brother who wastes the precious hours in talking. The monk was to be humble; he was to be for ever cultivating a spirit of humility, he was not only to be lowly in his deportment towards the superiors who had the rule over him, but he was to be meek

to his equals and inferiors. He was to let his humility be seen in the postures of his body ; his head should be constantly bowed down ; his eyes were to be directed towards the ground ; he was to accuse himself of all the sins he had committed every hour of the day ; he was to remember that he would soon have to stand before the dreadful throne of God, who will exalt the humble and abase the proud. Above all, the monk was to be obedient. The work of obedience, *obedientiæ labor*, is in the eyes of Benedict the most important and meritorious of all. By a supreme and perfect sacrifice of the will, the follower of the Benedictine rule is to abdicate utterly his own power and choice of action. He is to obey his superiors absolutely, without murmur or reservation, even in those things which are impossible and above his strength, trusting in the succour of God. The abbot was the representative of God, and was to be obeyed as God. Monks, skilled in the practise of any art or trade, could only exercise it by the permission of the abbot. By the same command he was to leave any work that was congenial to him to labour at what he disliked. If the illuminator of the manuscript or mass-book was ordered to go and work in the carpenter's shop, or to draw water for the kitchen, or to dig in the fields, he was to obey unhesitatingly. "Our life," said Benedict, "is like the ladder which Jacob saw in his dream ; in order to reach heaven, it must be planted by the Lord in a humble heart : we can only mount it by the distinct steps of humility and obedience."

The abbot is to practise lowliness equally with the monks. His charge is that of the father of a family, and of the good pastor, and his life is to be the mirror of his lessons. Charged with the important mission of governing souls, he owes to God the severest reckoning, and he is enjoined, at almost every page of the rule, never to lose sight of his terrible responsibility. His own fallibility should be ever present to his mind, and he should remember to act gently towards others. Benedict's directions to the abbot for the good government of his monks are very judicious. He is to temper the severity necessary for discipline with the spirit of love. He is to let mercy prevail over rigid justice that he may himself find mercy in the day of Christ. While he hates their faults he is to love the brotherhood. In such cases as he is obliged to punish, he is to do so with prudence, calmly, and without passion, and is to beware of going to excess. He is to imitate the example of Christ, who, while he rebuked strongly the impenitent and hardened, dealt tenderly with those who repented. He is not to be jealous or suspicious. He is to proceed in all things with foresight and reflection. With that discretion which is the mother of all

virtues, he should so order all things as to give full encouragement to the enterprize of the strong without discouraging the weak.

The necessity of labour had been strongly insisted on by former founders of monasteries. Anthony, Athanasius, and especially Basil, had declared manual work to be incumbent on those who devoted themselves to the life of perfection. In the East the natural indolence of disposition had invariably triumphed over the rule; in the West numbers of monks were roaming through the country in idleness. Against this evil Benedict found a remedy. He not only insisted on the necessity of labour; he insured its accomplishment by minutely fixing the specific work to be done in each hour of the day. The occupation he prescribed for his followers was threefold: the worship of God, reading, and manual labour.

Seven times was the day to see the Benedictine monks engaged in prayer and thanksgiving. The example of the Psalmist who said, "Seven times a day do I praise thee," was the rule which they were to follow. They were to awake at midnight for divine service; again seeking their couches for a brief repose, at break of day they were to rise for matins. When not engaged in direct devotional exercises they were to be meditating on divine things, in order that the soul, raising itself above its desires and passions, might establish itself fully upon God.

The mind was not to lie fallow, nor was the intellect to be neglected. Two hours of each day were to be spent in reading, or in a like instructive occupation; and severe penalties were pronounced against any monk who ventured to fritter away this portion of the day in light or unworthy pursuits.

The remaining seven hours of the day were to be devoted to manual labour. The tempter was to be driven away by hard work; he was never to find them unoccupied lest he should take advantage of their idleness to sow his tares. So paramount was the obligation of labour, that fasting, and almost prayer, was to give way before it. If a monk found that fasting incapacitated him from his daily toil, the rule commanded him to eat like the soldier of Christ that he was. At some special times, as when they were gathering in the harvest, they need not return home to perform their hours in the oratory of the chapel; they were to kneel down in the fields, and perform there their religious services.

But labour was not to pander to avarice. Their labour was to be a work of love, not a cloak for covetousness. For the greater glory of God they were to sell their productions at a less

cost than the ordinary workman; and the little sum thus realized was not to be spent upon the individual who had made the article, but, after the absolute wants of the monastery had been supplied, the remainder was, in a spirit of humility and love, to be distributed among the poor.

It followed, as a corollary from the vow of obedience and submission, that no monk could retain any right over his private property. All went to the formation of a collective property. Everything in the monastery was to be common; fortune, labour, interests, and duties. The idea of individual property was considered a vice which it was most essential to root out from among the community. Extraordinary care was taken to prevent either the novice or his relations from reserving any property for his use by means of trusteeships or other legal evasions. In becoming a monk it was necessary that a man should solemnly, and for ever, renounce all his possessions, either to the monastery, or to the poor, or to his own family. He was to possess absolutely nothing; the very pen with which he wrote, and the tablets which he used, were not to be his own property; they were to belong to the monastery, and to be received from the abbot only for present use.

The rules regulating their food and clothing were as rigorous and exact as those which determined their labour. The wine was to be drunk by measure, the bread was to be eaten by weight. To such an extent was this mechanical spirit carried that when St. Maur was sent into Gaul, there to establish the Benedictine discipline, Benedict has care to give him, together with his rule, the weights for the daily portion of bread, and the *hernine* measure (the quantity is doubtful, probably something more than a half a pint) for the wine, which the future monks were to use. They were to eat, in silence, and listening to the reading of some pious book, of two cooked dishes, and one uncooked, and were allowed, at the discretion of the abbot, apples or other fruits for dessert. The flesh of quadrupeds was rigorously proscribed at all times: fowls might be eaten occasionally; but their usual food was broth made from vegetables, bread, and a small quantity of wine. Benedict would gladly have interdicted the use of wine, but he was careful to ensure the observation of his rule by avoiding all extreme rigour. Lent was rigorously enforced, not only by abstinence from food, but from sleep and from speech. From Easter to Pentecost there were no fasts; from Pentecost to the beginning of September fasts were observed on two days of the week; and from September to Easter there was a perpetual fast, broken by an evening meal of fish or eggs. It was strictly forbidden to par-

take of food outside the monastery walls; all wandering to any distance was prohibited; and if the monk were unavoidably compelled to be absent from the convent during the whole day, he was to fast, rather than to eat abroad. Transgressors were sequestered from the chapel, the table, and the common meetings; and, in extreme cases, incorrigible offenders were to be expelled from the community.

The clothing of the monks consisted only of a tunic, with a *cowl* for the choir, and a *scapulary* for work. The cut or fashion of the dress was not determined with strictness. They were to follow the customs of the countries in which they dwelt, adopting the ordinary dress of the peasants or shepherds. All were to sleep in one common dormitory; they were to sleep but little, and that little in their clothes and shoes.

We must do Benedict the justice to add, that all these minute, and in many instances ridiculous observances, were not regarded by him otherwise than as means to an end. The monk of the Benedictine order was not to suppose that the life of Christian perfection consisted in any outward forms. Forms were to be observed strictly and rigorously, but with the sole design of raising the immortal spirit towards God. The high end towards which the monk was ever to be directing his gaze was love. Benedict himself sums up his rules beautifully:—"When the monk," he says, "has passed through all these stages of humility, he will soon attain to that love of God, which, being perfect, casteth out fear, and through which he will begin to practise naturally and from custom, without anxiety or pains, all those rules which he before observed not without fear. He will no longer act from any fear of hell, but from love to Christ, from the energy of right habits, and joy in that which is good."

The crown of Benedict's legislative wisdom was the novitiate. Almost all the ancient monks had adopted a sort of novitiate, and various vows more or less formal. But no regular form had ever been universally sanctioned or required. Profession had often been regarded as acknowledged by the sole fact of taking the monastic habit. No legal or material constraint held the monk to his profession; he was free to depart at any moment, and in some convents the secular dress of the brethren was carefully preserved, in order that it might be restored to any who desired to leave the monastery and again enter into secular life. It happened sometimes that the ex-monk even entered into the marriage-state.

This state of things Benedict put an end to. In every case there was to be a year of novitiate, followed either by a renun-

ciation of the attempted monastic life, or by a vow of stability, or perpetual residence, binding the new monk for ever under pain of eternal damnation. When men came out of the world to seek peace and seclusion in the monastery, Benedict, far from encouraging them, ordained that they were to be kept three or four days waiting at the convent gate, in order to try their perseverance. If this treatment did not drive them away they were allowed to enter, they were placed in the chamber provided for guests, and from thence at the expiration of some days entered upon the noviciate. The novice was put under the care of an old monk, skilful in the art of gaining souls, who was to study his character, and to place before him the difficulties, discouragements, humiliations, and discomforts, which he would have to undergo if he embraced monastic life. This treatment was continued for two months. If at the expiration of that time he promised to persevere, the entire rule was read to him, and the reading concluded with these words: "Behold, the law under which thus wouldest fight: if thou canst observe it, enter; if thou canst not observe it, depart in peace." This trial was renewed three times during the year. When the year had expired, if the novice persevered, he was told that ere long he would no longer possess the power of departing from the monastery, or of laying aside the habit he had adopted after so much consideration. From that day, it was intimated to him, he would lose for ever the power of disposing of his own body. He was then introduced into the chapel. There, before God and the saints, and in the presence of the whole brotherhood, he took the vow of stability. He promised reformation of manner, absolute obedience to his superiors, and a perpetual observance of the vow of celibacy and residence, under the pain of eternal damnation. A declaration of this, written, if he were able to write, with his own hand, was placed upon the altar. He then humbly threw himself at the feet of each brother in succession, begging him to pray that the grace of perseverance might be granted him. From that day he was considered a member of the community.

Such was the foundation on which the famous Benedictine order rested. Two things especially pervade it,—the concentration of the mind upon self; and the misapprehension of the true spirit of Christ's religion. By it man was separated from his fellows—from their love, from their sympathy, from mutual offices of kindness. Even in its ideal, it was the man isolated from his kind, who was to rise to a lonely perfection. The self-consciousness it introduced and fostered was extremely prejudicial. The constant introspection of the mind upon itself,

the continual examination of the life, and the perpetual analysis of the thoughts in which the monk was everlastingly engaged, could but increase, by keeping them in sight, the sins which it was designed to uproot. Many monks were subject to morbid spiritual conflicts; all monks, of whom the record remains to us, were tormented by sensual temptations. Both proceeded from the same source, and both would have been equally universal, if it were not that in many temperaments the mental powers, overridden by the animal propensities, remain undeveloped. By continually watching to see if passion were rising in the soul, the mind created the sensual images which distressed her; and in more spiritual natures, the constant searching for imaginary or possible sins developed them. That Anthony should have had his imagination excited by passionate conceptions, or that Benedict should have supposed that he was a special object of the arch-fiend's malice, and should have been personally and visibly visited by him, is strictly in accordance with the lessons which psychology teaches. Solitude, silence, and celibacy, so far from being helps to a high realization of the Christian life, are positive hinderances to holiness; they are the fruitful parents of temptation and sin.

And grievously did the monks, with their self-imposed penances and tortures, err in the right conception of the holy religion of Jesus Christ, in the free, and (as far as it could be in him who was the man of sorrows), joyous life which he lived upon earth, condemned in advance the whole system of the dark and cheerless monastic life. The counsels of perfection which it adopted were as much opposed to Christianity as its joylessness. "Be ye perfect even as your Father in heaven is perfect," is the one standard for all;—for the married as well as for the single, for the rich as well as the poor, for him who tries to get as much enjoyment as possible from the good things which God has given him, as well as for him who churlishly refuses to accept the blessings which flow from God's love. The idea of human merit must necessarily enter into the austerities and fastings of the monks, as we know historically that it did in fact,—a doctrine incompatible with a correct knowledge of the atonement, or the doctrines of grace. Accordingly, the church of Rome, where monasticism had its stronghold, is, and always has been, if the anachronism may pass, Arminian. This tendency to exalt human works, and, consequently, to depress the efficacy of Christ's sacrifice, is very discernible in the writings of the Greek fathers, in the countries which were the birthplace and home of monasticism, and where its excesses were carried to the greatest lengths.

Shortly before his death Benedict was favoured with a vision, in which the future, which awaited the order he founded, was unveiled before him. St. Gregory relates, that the holy man, having awoke one morning before the hours of matins, was gazing upon heaven from the window of his cell in rapt contemplation and devotion. Suddenly the dawning darkness was dispelled by a light far brighter than that of the sun; and amid that dazzling ocean of light, the entire world appeared to him crowded into a single ray of the sun. The account of this wonderful vision was inscribed upon the tower of Monte Cassino which Benedict inhabited:—"Universum mundum divini solis radio detectum S. Benedictus inspexit semel et despexit." Tradition interpreted the sight as a miraculous prophetic announcement of the glorious destiny which the order was to fulfil; as a sign of the divine approbation, and as a divine promise, that, like the rays of the sun, it should embrace the universe and fill it with light.

It only remains for us to trace out the fulfilment of this vision in the rapid diffusion of the Benedictine order in Italy, Spain, Gaul, and England.

Among the favourite pupils of Benedict was a young man named Placidus. He was the son of a Roman senator of good family. The father was lord of the manor of Subiaco, and possessed other extensive territorial domains. Moved by his affection for his son, he overwhelmed Benedict with donations. Among other estates he had presented him with one in Sicily, but the profits of it were lost through the unfaithfulness of the steward. Placidus, who had already been miraculously saved from drowning, was sent to look after it. He chose to remain there, and towards the year 534 founded a Benedictine monastery at Messina, and collected thirty monks. His labours, however, were soon brought to a close. Some Moorish pirates, still pagans, landed on the island, burnt the monastery, and slaying Placidus, his sister Flavia, and two other of the monks, dispersed the rest. The order was eventually established triumphantly in Sicily; it was the fruit of a long series of struggles and victories; and though at last the harvest was abundant, it was a harvest watered by the blood of martyr-monks.

On the mainland the success was greater. Almost all the older monasteries in Italy adopted the rule of Monte Cassino. It spread through Latium in the environs of Lake Fucino, where the abbot Equitius, shod with nailed shoes, and making hay with his monks, returned after the hot labour of the day to the convent, bearing the scythe on his shoulder like a common labourer. It was carried to the summit of Mount Soracte

where the prior Nonnosus made gardens and olive-orchards for his brethren on the rocky sides of the mountains, celebrated by Virgil and Horace. It was received into twenty-two religious houses in Rome. From Calabria to the Alps Benedictine monasteries arose on the brows of the rugged hills, and in the quiet valleys. Few of the great towns of Italy were without their convent of the order. In the barren islets of the Mediterranean and Adriatic, where exiles used to groan out a miserable existence under the tyranny of the emperors, the praises of God are sung by colonies of devoted monks. And the monastery of yesterday was sending out its offshoot to-day. In the language of the monkish chronicler, they swarmed like bees from the parent hive. Wherever was the abode of men, there was the abode of these recluses who had laid aside the ordinary occupations and pursuits of men; and wherever the anchorite sought solitude and retirement in the lonely wilderness, there men assembled, that they might share the dwelling, and partake of the holiness of the saintly anchorite.

But the Benedictine order reached its climax when a Benedictine monk sat, for the first time, on the chair of St. Peter. In 590, Gregory, surnamed the Great, and raised among the order of the saints, left the convent of St. Andrea in Rome to ascend the pontifical throne. As a monk he longed to be a model monk, and vied with his brethren in practising with the utmost rigour all the austerities sanctioned by the rule he had adopted. As pope he never forgot the vow he had taken, or the monastic life to which he had dedicated himself. All his influence, direct or indirect, was employed to spread and increase the Benedictine convents. He sanctioned the rule of Benedict by the supreme authority of the apostolical see, approving and confirming it in a council holden in Rome. At a later council he gave the monks a constitution destined to establish and guarantee their freedom. He interdicted bishops, as well as secular persons, from diminishing the property, revenues, or titles of monasteries. He ordained that, at the death of an abbot, his successor should be chosen by the free and unanimous consent of the community, and should be drawn from its own members. The bishops are forbidden to make inventories of monastic goods after the death of the abbot, and are not permitted to celebrate public masses in the chapel of the monastery, or to preach there, without first obtaining leave from the abbot. Gregory even went so far as to exempt several of the larger communities of Italy and Gaul altogether from the jurisdiction of the bishops in order, as he said, that they might be more fortified in the spiritual life, and be more occupied with prayer and

the work of God. He further drew a distinction, since lost sight of, between the monastic and clerical life, not forbidding monks to receive holy orders, but compelling them, in case they did so, to leave their monastery never to return to it. He considered each of these vocations as so great in itself, that no man can acquit himself worthily in both, and, with unconscious wisdom, declared that, far from being able to be exercised together, monastic life was incompatible with, and injurious to, the clerical.

Another means was employed by Gregory to strengthen and consolidate the monkish system. He surrounded himself with his former brethren, and, as far as it lay in his power, threw all the influence and power of the Roman see into the hands of men who had taken the monastic vow. Some he promoted to the episcopate; others, among whom were Maximin and Marinian, he made archbishops; others, again, he employed as legates, and made his representatives with princes whose alliance he sought in the interest of the church. Thus Probus, who succeeded him as abbot of St. Andrea, was sent to establish peace between the King of the Lombards and the Exarch of Ravenna; Cyriac, from the same abbey, was sent successively as legate to Sardinia, as envoy to Queen Brunehault, and ambassador to Recarede, King of Spain. It can easily be imagined what influence such persons must have possessed and used in confirming and planting their order.

The mountains which stretched from the Pyrenees towards the Ebro, in Biscay and Navarre, were peopled with hermits. Among these St. Emilian was the most celebrated. Originally he was a shepherd, feeding his flocks among the wild gorges and sierras of La Rioja, in Aragon, and charming away his solitude by the songs which he sang to the music of his guitar. But in the course of time a higher love was made known to him, and his soul was opened to perceive the beauties of celestial harmonies. He became a hermit, and lived as one for forty years. But the usual results follow in his case, though more slowly than in most instances. The fame of his austerities spread; his miracles startled heretics and pagans; admiring disciples gathered round him; the hermitage became a monastery; and the anchorite an abbot. He died more than a hundred years old; but, before his death, he adopted the Benedictine discipline, and did much by his reception to make it popular in Spain. The Benedictine rule was introduced into the regions which are now Galicia, and the northern part of Portugal by St. Martin of Dumes. He was born in Hungary; became abbot of Dumes, a monastery near to the city of Braga; and at length mounted

the metropolitan throne of that city. Besides introducing the Benedictine canons, he led back the greater part of the Sueve nation from the errors of Arianism by his writings, virtues, and influence.

The name, however, of Leander, is especially famous in the Benedictine annals of Spain, and it is to his influence that the order owed its permanent establishment in the Peninsula. Leander was the son of a duke, and his sister married Leuvigild, the king of the Visigoths. He embraced monastic life early, and settled as a monk at Seville, at that time the capital of the Visigoth kings. In 579, he became metropolitan bishop of Seville. He formed a school, over which he himself presided, which was designed at once to extend the orthodox faith, and to advance learning and the arts. Among his pupils were the sons of the king, Hermenegild, and Recarede, his own nephews. He succeeded in winning over the elder to the Nicene faith, and the example of the heir apparent was followed by many others. Hermenegild was confirmed in his belief by his wife Ingonde, a French princess of the race of Clovis, daughter of Brunehault, who resisted all the violence which her mother-in-law employed to make her embrace Arianism. A general persecution arose against the orthodox. Hermenegild stood forward as the protector of the Nicæans against his father Leuvigild, and a civil war ensued. Hermenegild was besieged in Seville; he was taken prisoner after an obstinate resistance; death or communion from the hands of an Arian bishop was the terms proposed to him. He chose the former, and was slain in prison. Leander was banished to Constantinople. While in the Greek city, he made the acquaintance of Gregory. A close friendship sprang up between the two, which continued throughout their lives. Upon his death-bed Leuvigild was seized with remorse; he ordered the recall of Leander from banishment, and gave him as guide and adviser to Recarede, his son and successor. The new king, who, like Hermenegild, had been the pupil of Leander, hastened to embrace the catholic faith, and undertook the conversion of his people. Leander, appointed papal legate by Gregory, assists in the work, and at the same time that he wins the people to orthodoxy, teaches them the monastic rule of St. Benedict. All his family assisted him in the pious undertaking. His brother Fulgentius, a bishop like himself, shared his combats and was joined with him in his triumphs; his sister, Florentine, was the superior of forty convents, and presided over a thousand nuns; and his younger brother Isidore was his successor in the see of Seville and became the oracle of Spain.

The Benedictine order had been introduced into Gaul before

the death of Benedict. A young patrician, named Maurus, one of the best beloved of all Benedict's pupils, was charged with the conduct of founding a monastery in Gaul after the model of that at Subiaco. He was only in deacons orders and very young; but, young as he was, his sanctity had been put beyond dispute by a miracle which he had wrought. One day, Placidus, as he drew water at the lake of Nero, was overbalanced by the weight of the pitcher and fell in. Benedict ordered Maurus to run quickly and pull the child out. At the word of his master Maurus went away without hesitation, and, confident in the order which he had received, walked upon the water as if it had been dry land, and drew out Placidus. A dispute immediately arose between the master and the disciple. Each was anxious that the other should have the credit of the miracle; Benedict maintaining that it was wrought through the obedience of St. Maur; Maurus declaring that it was the consequence of the command of his teacher. It was decided that the obedience had grace to accomplish the command, and that the command had grace to give efficacy to the obedience. St. Maur departed on his mission accompanied by four companions; Benedict bestowed upon him a copy of the rule written with his own hand, and the weights for the bread, and the measure for the wine, which should be allotted to each monk every day. Leaving Monte Cassino, Maurus crossed Italy and the Alps, and then went into the Jura to visit the colonies of Condat, and to make known the rule of his master there. Arrived upon the banks of the Loire, he stopped in Anjou, which was then governed by a viscount named Florus, under the authority of Theodebert, grandson of Clovis, and King of Austrasia. Florus offered him an estate that he might establish his monastery there, and gave him one of his sons to be a monk, announcing at the same time his own intention of devoting himself to God. In this estate, bathed by the waters of the Loire, he built the monastery of Glanfeuil, which afterward took the name of the founder. At the head of his French colony Maurus spent forty years; he saw as many as a hundred and forty monks officiate there; and, having dropped into the soil of Gaul a germ which was to produce fruit a thousand fold, he died, after having lived apart for two years in an isolated cell, that by silence, meditation and prayer, he might be more fitted to appear in the presence of God.

But the Benedictine rule did not remain without a rival in the monasteries of Gaul; St. Columba in the seventh century founded a monastery at Luxeuil. The rule of the Irish monk spread rapidly. It took possession of the Burgundies and Aus-

trasia, and gaining Armorica, where the British Celts naturally adopted with cordiality the work of the Irish Celt, it extended over Neustria, beyond the Loire, and as far as Aquitania. It seemed that everything ought to have secured the lasting preponderance of the rule and institution of St. Columba in the countries governed by the Franks. A popularity so great and resting on good foundations, the favour of the Merovingian kings, the sympathy of the Burgundian and Austrasian nobles, the virtues and miracles of the many saints who were enrolled under its banner, all should have established the ascendancy of a monastic law, originated upon the soil of Gaul, over the rule introduced from Italy. This, however, was not the case. The rule of Columbanus gradually sunk into forgetfulness, while the rule of Benedict was introduced and triumphed everywhere. The most astonishing circumstance is, that no single man above the ordinary mark, or no single celebrated saint can be named, who has contributed to the victory of the Benedictines by his weight and influence. Columba's own godson, Donatus, began to combine the Benedictine precepts with those of his master. The two monasteries which he had founded and wherein he dwelt, Luxeuil, and Bobbio, accepted the Italian law, and extended it through their colonies. The celebrated Eligius, when he formed his foundation at Limousin in exact imitation of Luxeuil, specified in his charter that the monks were to follow at the same time the rules of both the blessed fathers, St. Benedict, and St. Columba. The same stipulation is constantly found in deciding what order was to be adopted in the colonies of Luxeuil. Among the Gallo-Frank population, it was Columbanus who raised the monks, but it was Benedict who disciplined and ruled them. Columbanus sowed, but it was Benedict who reaped. The Benedictine rule was gradually placed side by side with that of Columbanus; it was then substituted for his, until, at length, it ended by displacing it altogether, and causing it to sink into oblivion.

In 670, a council was held in Autun, in the heart of Burgundy, where Columbanus had especially flourished. It was presided over by St. Leger, who had himself lived at Luxeuil. In this council, holden no more than fifty years after the death of the great Irish monk, six canons were given forth relating exclusively to monastic discipline. But the rule enjoined is that of Benedict; Columbanus is not even mentioned. "If the Benedictine canons," says the council, "are legitimately and fully observed by the abbots and monasteries, the number of monks will always increase by the grace of God, and the whole world will be saved from the contagion of sin by their incessant

praying." The supremacy of the Benedictine rule was owing, in part, to its being accepted and promulgated by the authority of the Roman see; it owed its triumph, perhaps, still more to the greater moderation and prudence, and more liberal spirit of government shewn by the Italian legislature.

At the time of the accession of Gregory to the papal throne, England, conquered by the Saxons, had relapsed into heathendom. Christianity hid itself among the Welsh mountains, or in the rugged parts of Cornwall. The religion of Christ, and the rule of Benedict, were to be introduced into the island together, and both were to be received with equal favour, by the rude, untaught islanders. Augustine, to whom the English mission was entrusted, was prior of the monastery of St. Andrea in Rome, which had been founded by Gregory on the Benedictine model. Ethelbert, king of Kent, was not wholly unacquainted with Christianity, as his wife Bertha, the only daughter of Caribert, the French king, was a Christian, and had brought a French bishop with her to the court of Dorobernium (Canterbury). Partly won over by his queen, and partly yielding to the preaching of Augustine, the king embraced Christianity. He granted permission to erect a cathedral within the walls of Canterbury, and gave a piece of land for the building of a Benedictine monastery without the city. After the death of Augustine under Eadbald, the successor of Ethelbert, bad times came for the Christians and Benedictines. But the depression was only temporary. Eadbald was converted from his paganism by Laurentius; Mellitus, bishop of London, and Justus, bishop of Rochester, were recalled; Justus was reinstated in his see, although the Londoners, clinging to their idolatry, refused to receive again Mellitus. And the Benedictine monkery flourished by the side of Christianity. Instead of permitting the monks to retire in self-banishment to the wild heath or the mountain creek, the fairest spots in the land were chosen for their settlements. In every rich valley, and by the side of every deep and fruitful stream, rose the Benedictine abbey. The labours of the monks have done much to add to the beauty of these scenes, by planting and cultivating many a sunny garden, and raising trees on the brows of many a rugged hill; but, in general, the most convenient and most fertile spots in England will be found to have been the site of some monastery following the rule of the Italian Benedict of Nursia.

H. N. B.

THE EPISTLE OF ST. JUDE.

THE following translation of St. Jude has been written for a particular purpose. The text followed is that of Codex A, which if not the best, is one of the most ancient we possess, and exhibits some noticeable peculiarities. The version is not by any means offered as a model, but it has been made inasmuch as it saves the trouble of pointing out every exception which we might take to the authorized one. We do not undertake to discuss or decide the questions which have been raised respecting the authorship and date of this epistle. What we say of them is incidental, but it may be well to observe, that while we see no strong objection to the general opinion that it is the work of Jude the apostle, we feel convinced it was among the latest written of the canonical books.

With regard to the particular purpose of this short paper, it is to shew the actual structure of the epistle, and the line of argument pursued in it. In the fourth verse, as commonly rendered, we are led to suppose that those of whom St. Jude writes, were predestinated to their sin and its punishments; and in the sixth verse, that the angels who sinned, committed lasciviousness like Sodom and Gomorrah, and are to be identified with the "sons of God" in Gen. vi. 1—4. The former is certainly a very improbable sense, and the latter, a positive perversion of the text, which declares that the angels were like Sodom and Gomorrah, not in their sin, but in their punishment. We have studied brevity, but hope we have avoided obscurity.

EPISTLE OF JUDE.

Jude a servant of Jesus Christ and brother of James, to those who are called, beloved in God the Father and kept in Jesus Christ; mercy and peace and love be multiplied unto you.

Beloved, using all promptitude to write to you about our common salvation, I held it needful to write to you exhorting you to contend for the faith once delivered to the saints. For certain men crept in by stealth, who of old were marked out for this condemnation, ungodly, who have changed the grace of our God into licentiousness, and deny the only Master and our Lord Jesus Christ. Now I wish to remind you, who once knew all, that Jesus, having saved the people from *the* land of Egypt, afterwards destroyed them that believed not. And the angels who kept not their own dignity, but abandoned their proper abode, he hath kept under darkness in eternal bonds unto *the* judgment of *the* great day.

As Sodom and Gomorrah and the cities about them, who committed fornication in the same manner as these, and went away after other flesh, present an example, undergoing the penalty of eternal fire; so truly also these dreamers defile the flesh, and despise dominion, and defame dignities.

Now Michael the archangel, when disputing with the devil, he argued about the body of Moses, ventured not to utter a sentence of reviling, but said, the Lord rebuke thee. But these revile whatever they know not; but whatever they understand naturally as irrational animals, in these things they are corrupt. Woe unto them, for they went in the way of Cain, and in the error of Balaam they became disolute for a reward, and in the gainsaying of Korah they perished.

These are they who, revelling together, feeding themselves without fear, are rocks in their deceits; waterless clouds carried about by winds, faded trees, fruitless, twice dead, uprooted; wild waves of the sea foaming out their own shame; wandering stars for which is reserved the gloom of darkness for ever.

To these also prophesied Enoch the seventh from Adam, saying, Behold the Lord came among his holy myriads to do judgment against all, and to convict all the ungodly, of all the deeds of their ungodliness which they wickedly did, and of all the hard things which they spake against him, ungodly sinners.

These are murmurers, complainers, walking according to their own lusts; and their mouth speaketh haughty things, admiring persons for the sake of gain.

But ye beloved, remember the words forespoken by the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ. For they said to you, that in the end of time, mockers shall come walking according to the lusts of their own ungodly selves.^a These are they who cause separations, *and are* animal, not having the spirit.

But ye beloved, building up yourselves on your most holy faith, praying in the Holy Spirit, keep yourselves in God's love, expecting the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, unto eternal life. And rebuke some who are separated, and some save, snatching them out of the fire, and some pity in fear, hating even the garment spotted by the flesh.

Now to him that can keep us faultless, and set us before his glory blameless in joy, to the only God our Saviour, through Jesus Christ our Lord, *be* glory, majesty, strength, and authority before all the world, and now, and unto all ages. Amen.

^a 2 Peter iii. 3.

NOTES.

"Jude a servant of Jesus Christ."—Some prefer to render δούλος "a slave," but there are so many cases in which that rendering is forced and unnatural, that it can hardly be justified. Besides, the Greeks have a peculiar word for "slave" in its modern sense, viz., ἀνδράποδον, a word used in the LXX. In the English Version "slaves" occurs but once, and then it is a translation of σώματα "bodies," "because their master's commandments reach only to their bodies."

"Brother of James."—It is commonly supposed that this means the James called our Lord's brother. To this, however, objections have been raised on various grounds. The epistle is one of those not at first universally received in the church, as is attested by various ancient authorities, whereas had it been written by an apostle it would have been admitted by all. Again, the writer in the seventeenth verse alludes to the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, as if he were not one, and as if he had not equal authority, and also as if they wrote some time before him. In the eighteenth verse he quotes somewhat loosely, from 2 Peter iii. 2, 3, and in such a way that he leads us to believe he had no personal acquaintance with the writer. Not only does he here quote one of the *Antilegomena*, but in verses nine and fourteen, he appeals to the Apocryphal writings. While, however, these and other objections are started, it is fair to say that the epistle has always been received by great authorities as the genuine production of Jude the brother of James the apostle. The general question of genuineness is too wide to be discussed in a short note, but it may be well to remark, first, that we believe it capable of a satisfactory solution, and secondly that its inspired authority cannot be decided by the decision of its authorship. We are not aware that it has ever been objected to on the ground of its teachings, the apostolic character of which, all admit.

"To those who are called, beloved in God the Father, and kept in Jesus Christ."—That the clause should be thus construed, and not as in the English Version, seems undoubted. The received text has "sanctified" where we have "beloved;" our reading is by far the best supported. The epistle is addressed to those who are the called, those who have heard and accepted the invitation of the gospel; and of them the writer says they have been loved in God the Father, and kept in Jesus Christ; i.e., God has manifested his love to them, they have found love in him; and Christ has thrown his protection around them, and in him they have found preservation from sin, apostacy and death.

"Using all promptitude."—This would be rendered yet more literally perhaps, "making all speed." Perhaps they who are addressed had applied for advice under special circumstances; or else seeing their peril from false teachers, the apostle made haste to warn them of danger.

"I held it needful to write to you."—There seems to be no necessity for translating the past tense here "I have held;" because it refers to the time when he resolved to write.

"The faith once delivered to the saints."—The word once here can scarcely mean "formerly," "once upon a time," but "once for all." The meaning will then be that the doctrine is fixed and unchangeable, not to be added to, nor to be diminished.

"For certain men crept in by stealth."—Not "have crept in," although this would be true, but rather "were crept in" already when the writer determined to send this epistle. To describe these men, to shew their guilt, and to warn against them is the main, and almost only intention of the epistle. It was because of these men that they were exhorted to contend for the pure faith. These men were of old "marked out," literally forewritten, for this condemnation, because they changed the grace of God into licentiousness and denied Christ by so doing. The meaning of this somewhat obscure verse, seems to be, that these men incur the guilt and doom of all who have sinned like them, by presuming upon God's favour and practically denying him. Such characters had formerly, and of old, been described, condemned, and punished. These men, as they are called, and indeed all who resemble their precursors in sin, will be like them in punishment. Several cases are adduced in illustration.

"Jesus having saved the people from the land of Egypt, afterwards destroyed them that believed not."—This is the reading of Codex A. which has "Jesus," where the received text has "the Lord." The reference cannot be to Joshua, but must be to Christ, who in this epistle is recognized as God. The Jews who believed, that is, denied their Lord, were destroyed. The inference is that these deniers will also be destroyed, notwithstanding all that has been done for their salvation.

"The angels who kept not their own dignity."—These are the fallen angels, who are represented as imprisoned for their apostacy, waiting for the final condemnation of the last judgment. Not the remotest intimation is afforded of the nature of their sin, beyond this that they abandoned their proper abode. If they escaped not, neither will these escape who sin by perverting the grace of God and renouncing their Lord.

"Sodom and Gormorrah" are next adduced as examples of

condign punishment for their licentiousness. Jude here enlarges and adds that they sinned "in the same manner as these," i. e., the godless men who had crept in unawares. The interpretation which makes the clause just quoted, ("in the same manner as these") refer to the angels, is entirely without foundation, and due to a false exegesis of Genesis vi. 1—4, where the "sons of God" are absurdly supposed to be angels. Angels are spirits, and have not flesh and bones, how then could they commit licentious acts like Sodom and Gomorrah? It was different with "these" as Jude constantly calls them, who changed the grace of God into licentiousness. They were men, and sinned as men, although they would suffer punishment like the angels.

"Michael the archangel."—The dispute of Michael and the devil over the body of Moses is unrecorded in Scripture. It is very likely, as Origen says, that this story existed in a work called the *Assumption of Moses*, and that Jude took it from that. The work was no doubt a Jewish legend or tradition. Whether the story is true or not is really of no great importance. We are not required to believe every book inspired which is quoted in the Bible; or we should have to admit that many inspired books are lost. If an inspired author quotes an uninspired one, it may be because he meets with what supplies the lesson or illustration which suits his purpose. On this principle many lost books are quoted in the Old Testament, and St. Paul quotes Greek authors in the New. The object of Jude in citing the narrative was to teach (by what is true in spirit at least) the guilt of the arrogant impertinence of "these" who set themselves up against the authority of all others.

He now adds the cases of Cain, Balaam, and Korah, as like them in one respect or another, in sin and in punishment. Having compared them with various eminent transgressors he goes on to compare them with sundry inanimate objects.

"Rocks in their deceits."—The translation of *σπιλάδες* by "spots" is incorrect and ought to be amended. For deceits, *ἀπάταις*, the usual reading is *ἀγάπαις*, "Agapæ," or love-feasts. But the sense of "deceits" is not to be at once rejected. By their deceitful practices and statements "these" men were like hidden rocks beneath the surface of the sea, upon which the mariner struck to his ruin. The reading, "love-feasts," almost requires us to give a special meaning to the word *σπιλάδες*, as it would be difficult to understand what could be meant by "rocks in love-feasts." This reading also requires that we should read not "their" but "your." On the whole, so far as internal evidence goes we prefer the reading of Codex A. and C. External evidence is, we admit, very strong against it. There are

difficulties in either case, because it is immediately added, "revelling together, feeding themselves without fear." If they are rocks, it may be asked, how can this be true? The explanation is to be sought for in the text, and we therefore construe the sentence thus:—"These are they who, revelling together and feeding themselves without fear, are rocks in their deceits, waterless-clouds, etc. We are convinced this is the true construction, because the *εἰσιν οἱ* belong grammatically to *συνευχόμενοι*. The only point about which we have the least doubt, is whether the "without fear" belongs to "revelling together," or to "feeding themselves;" Tischendorf gives it to the former, but it is highly probable that it really refers to both, and that we might say, "revelling together and feeding themselves without fear." "These," who do this, are "rocks in their deceits," because they tempt and seduce the unwary, who may expect much from them, but will get nothing, save ruin, disappointment, and shame. Everything seems inviting, but treacherous rocks lie underneath the smooth surface causing the unwary to make "shipwreck of faith." The clouds bear no genial rain, the trees are withered and fruitless, doubly dead, and without root; and it will be soon seen that these revellers are wild waves to be dissipated by their own recklessness; wandering stars plunging into eternal night.

"To these also prophesied Enoch."—The English Version says, "prophesied of these," but it is hard to see how *τούτοις* can have the sense of *περὶ τούτων*. The choice seems to lie between "foretold these," and "prophesied to these."^b The common rendering is an imitation of the Vulgate, but the Syriac has, "prophesied also to these." Another rendering is possible if we suppose the *τούτοις* to be equivalent to *ἐπὶ τούτοις*, "moreover," or, "in addition to these things, Enoch the seventh from Adam prophesied, saying," etc. We are not sure that this is not the true explanation. The words which follow are found in the Apocryphal book of Enoch, but whether its author borrowed them hence, or whether Jude took them from it, we cannot determine. They come under the same category as the reference to Michael.

"Behold the Lord came."—Why *ἦλθεν* is put in the past tense is not clear; if this prophecy were a prediction, we should expect the future, or at least the present, and not the historic

^b For *προφητεύω* with the dative, see Jer. xiv. 16; *ὁ λαός, οἷς αὐτοὶ προφητεύουσιν αὐτοῖς*, κ.τ.λ. "The people unto whom they prophecy;" see too Jer. xx. 6; xxix. 31; xxxvii. 19. More commonly we find this verb with *ἐπὶ* and the accusative; "to prophecy against;" or with *περὶ* and the genitive; "to prophecy concerning." Aristotle uses this verb with the dative, "prophesying to men." (Arist., *De Mundo*.) See also Matt. xxvi. 68: "Prophecy unto us."

tense, which can only be translated "came," or "is come." Perhaps we are not to look for great exactness of language in prophetic utterances, but it is manifest that here the whole quotation is a history and not a prediction in the *form* of it, for all the principal verbs are in the aorist. We understand the whole passage as intended to shew that the words ascribed to Enoch are applicable to such as the Apostle is exposing; not that they were designed to apply to them alone.

In verse 16 the writer gives us another summary description of "these" whom he has never lost sight of, repeating and amplifying what he has already said.

"Remember the words forespoken by the apostles."—Here we have a distinct allusion to 2 Peter iii. 3, which is, as we said, loosely quoted. The great difficulty is to account for the omission of the "us" which Peter is careful to use. The next difficulty is to explain how "the end of time" can be applied to the period when this epistle was most probably written. That Jude had 2 Peter before him is indisputable: there are too many coincidences between these epistles to suffer a doubt upon the subject. That Jude's epistle was written considerably later than 2 Peter, we must also hold to be proved by the reference to the apostles speaking before, and to the facts which they said would occur at the end of time. How long had elapsed we cannot guess, but probably some years, as those who receive Jude's epistle are supposed to be already familiar with the apostolic writings. As for the expression "the end of time," or, as in the English Version, "the last time," it may merely mean at some period subsequent to that in which the speaker speaks; 1 John ii. 18 seems to imply more, but really sustains this view because he is alluding to the time signified by preceding speakers or writers. In any case Jude considers the prediction of St. Peter fulfilled in the party against whom he writes, and of whom he says, "These are they who cause separations, who are animal, not having the spirit:" they are schismatical and the cause of schism; they are earthly and sensual; and uninfluenced by the spirit. It is uncertain whether ἀποδιόζοντες means simply that they separate themselves, or cause separations, but perhaps both are implied. That such conduct must cut them and their followers off from the church is evident. The ψυχικοί are those who yield to their carnal and animal propensities and instincts, their merely natural tendencies. What follows may be the explanation of their behaviour, or an additional feature of their character: they are the cause of divisions, and sensual because they have not the spirit; or they are carnal and schismatical and have not the spirit. Both are true.

In the twentieth verse, the writer begins a twofold exhortation to those he addresses. This exhortation reaches to the end of the twenty-third verse. First, he exhorts them by edifying themselves on their most holy faith, and by praying in the Holy Spirit to keep themselves in the love of God, expecting the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ (which is) unto eternal life. Effort, prayer, and hope, are to be their safeguards. He then tells them how to behave and feel towards others. They are not to be all dealt with alike. Those who separate themselves are to be rebuked. This is according to the text of Codex A. where others have the nominative *διακρινόμενοι*, and then the sense is that they are to rebuke some, and to separate themselves from them. Others are to be saved as if by snatching them from the fire, and others are to be pitied, but with the fear of those who dread to be defiled. The received text gives a different rendering and different readings: "Others save with fear pulling them out of the fire; hating even the garments spotted by the flesh." The reading we follow is the one preferred by Tischendorf on good authority.

The last two verses contain a doxology which, although it exhibits varieties of reading in different texts, presents no great difficulty. It may be doubted whether "be" should be inserted after "Lord," because the glory, etc., refer to past, present, and future: He had glory before all the world, or all time, has now, and shall have unto all ages. In verse 24, Codex A. has *ἡμᾶς* after "keep," where the received text has "you," and where the Authorized Version repeats this after the following verb.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, AND HIS DEFENCE OF THE FAITH.

CLEMENT, like Justin, starts from the profound conviction that there is, notwithstanding the fall, an essential relation between man and God. Not that he admits a profane assimilation between the creature and the Creator. He maintains at its full height the barrier which separates the created being from the absolute being, and he takes precautions against all pantheistical misunderstanding. According to him there would be impiety in imagining that things happen with God as with us, and that he is subject to the fluctuations of our changing nature. It is impossible to measure the distance between us and him, for it is infinite. It would be folly to pretend that we are of the same

substance: we are neither an emanation, nor a portion of his being; he has called us to life by an effort of his will, and it is of his mercy that we have our superior nature. The divine in us is not therefore a necessary efflux from the divine essence, it is communicated by an act of free creation; it is a gift of infinite love, but it is none the less an inalienable privilege of man, for being thus communicated by special grace. In reality this gift constitutes the proper character of a moral creature.

The great organ of the divine is the Word, which has manifested God, not only in revelation, but previously in creation. The moral life of man is a ray from the uncreated light. Clement gives to these thoughts a form which is poetical and original, although overcharged with erudite allusions at the commencement of his discourse to the Greeks. He compares the action of the Word upon the human passions subjected by him, to that of Orpheus upon the wild beasts, which were softened by the harmonious accents of his voice. Come from a superior world, the Son of God has made earth hear a new song which has charmed by appeasing all who have heard it. Yet the Gospel revelation was not the first hymn of the Word. "In establishing the fair law of the universe and in making all its elements accordant, he has drawn from them a melodious symphony, and has made of the entire world one vast harmony." It is an immortal song, it is a concert of beings, where all harmoniously accords: the end responds to the middle, and the middle to the beginning. This music of the universe is not regulated by the Orphic rhythm, but by the rhythm which God established, the same which David sought to copy. Creation and revelation correspond to the glory of their author. But in this concert of creation, the lyre preferred by the Word, and which he loves to play upon, is not the inanimate and insensible world, but man, in whom concord results from the union of soul and body. Harmonized by the Holy Spirit, his being sings psalms to God; he is beyond contradiction the most noble instrument touched by the Word, for he is the harp of the temple of the universe. Clement admits that this harp has been partly broken, that it has lost some of its finest strings, or at least, that they are untuned. He is as explicit as possible upon the fall. Man can, in many respects, be compared to the lowest animals: ignorance and insensibility have too often made him like a stone, and yet the Divine Orpheus has only had to make his voice heard to accomplish really the miracles falsely ascribed to the fabulous hero of the Greek legend. Man was blind, was deaf, or rather, was like one dead and buried; but he no sooner heard this heavenly song than he moved in his tomb and arose.

The cursed spell was broken. The song of the resurrection was doubtless of incomparable beauty. Truth, radiant with brightness, descended from heaven upon the holy mountain, amid the choir of the prophets. It caused to be heard a harmony of sweetness unknown to earth and truly divine: it was pervaded with gentleness and persuasion for the cure of souls. Yet the Word would not have acted upon man's heart if it had been wholly dead, if some spark of life had not lurked beneath the ashes of its tomb. The sweetest voice would be lost in the void if it could awaken no echo in the fallen soul. Clement, who shews us in man a divine harp, originally made to praise its Creator, thereby admits that there is an indestructible harmony between his true nature and God. The human soul and divine revelation are two lyres destined to accord; both vibrate under the hand of the Word, who would regulate the first by the second, and the aim of Christian apology is precisely to obtain this accordance by shewing first of all its possibility.

We elsewhere find the same ideas freed from these showy images, and formulated with more precision. "It is the Word," we read in the *Pædagogus*, "who hath established the order of the world and heaven, who hath regulated the revolutions of the sun and other stars in the interest of man, upon whom he hath centred all his care. Considering him as his chief work, he has given him wisdom and prudence to govern his soul, and has imprinted upon his body beauty and symmetry. He hath, as it were, inspired him with discretion to direct his actions." Thus, reason and conscience are an emanation from the Word, or rather, a communication of his nature to man. The higher life, the life of the Spirit, proceeds from the divine breath which animates him. How can we deny the very special bond which unites us to God, when we see the Creator limit himself to calling other beings into existence, while he has fashioned with his hands him whom he will make in his own image, and to whom he communicates an essence which belongs to none but him? He created the world for man, because there was in him something which made him love him, and this something was an emanation from himself. Human nature is in itself the object of his predilection.

Clement pursues to their last consequences these great views of human nature, but without falling into exaggeration. If it is true that man is distinguished from other beings because he is divine, and because the Word has communicated to him of his own essence, it is evident that the true human blends with the divine; the more man develops in himself the higher life which he has received from the eternal Word, the more will he be

really man, that is to say the privileged creature of the Almighty. Moreover, to violate the moral law, is for him, not only to offend the Word who hath graven it in him and who lives in him, but also to degrade his own nature; he abandons his humanity by breaking the tie which binds him to God, and falls into brutality. "He who sins against divine reason, or the Word," says Clement, "is no longer a rational being; he is an animal without reason, the slave of his desires." It results from all these developments, that instead of opposition between true nature and revelation, there is a primordial and essential agreement between them. Henceforth Clement will be able without difficulty to establish that the most divine religion is also the most human.

The apologist is not content with laying down as a principle the accord between man and the Word. He seeks to prove that man, in his actual condition, is made for the Word as he is historically manifested in Christianity, and it is here that commences his apology properly so-called, for the new religion. In effect, if it is proved that revelation satisfies the heart and mind, the claims it makes upon our confidence ought to appear sufficient, and we have only to accept it. All certainty rests definitely upon a relation of the soul or mind with the order of truth which we ought to appropriate. While this relation has not been established, there may be a blind submission, a forced adhesion; there is no conviction, for proof has not been supplied. Now what is not proved, is to the mind as if it did not exist. Such are the general laws of certainty. Clement accepts them entirely; he demands no privilege, no immunity, because he knows well that all he might suppose he had gained would be definitively lost. He undertakes to prove that the certainty of the Christian is genuine certainty, obtained by means which are legitimate, and conformed to the inalienable laws which rule the world of mind. He does not reach this easily, for he must struggle, like every defender of Christianity, against radical prejudices. In fact the representatives of a purely human philosophy pity the disciples of Christ. They establish a radical opposition between reason and faith, as if the first was always enlightened, and the second always blind. To hear them, reason is shut up in their schools; we should seek it in vain out of their systems, and the faith of Christians is purely irrational. Such estimates definitively rest on vain prejudices. It is this that Clement goes to shew in treating the great question of the relations between reason and faith, with a depth and power of argument not yet surpassed. The very boldness of his apologetic method has often prevented it from being understood.

At the outset he dismisses the idea that Christianity sacrifices reason to faith; they are, according to him, two modes of knowledge which mutually complete each other, and which are lawful and indispensable, each in its own sphere. The understanding is a gift of God of which we ought to make a normal use. Reason, left to itself, does not communicate the substance of truth, the first principles which constitute the essential object of religion. By a method, more elevated and rapid than all it teaches us, we rise to these principles; but reason is none the less necessary to teach us to ascend from consequences to premises, or to re-descend from premises to final conclusions; it alone unravels before our eyes all the tangled chain of reasoning. It too makes us distinguish the analogies and differences of things even to their finest shades, which prevents us from letting language fluctuate in indeterminate terms, so dangerous and so prolific in errors, even when the sacred text is concerned. Logic, the legislator in the world of ideas, lends the most valuable aid to the Christian. After all, speech is an act, and it is important that this act be conformable to good and reason. Logic, thus understood, is like the ethics of language, but its part is more elevated yet; under the word it discerns the thought, and teaches us to ascend from the particular to the general, to group and to distinguish ideas. This noble science is like a rampart which stops the sophist, and prevents him from treading the truth under his feet. It is also very necessary that he who would uphold the cause of God, should be versed in philosophic studies. All human sciences can bring him tribute; he must borrow from each of them arms to defend his cause, and consider them as auxiliary forces which he can enrol under his banner. This breadth of mind would not fail to disquiet timorous Christians, who would have dug an abyss between Christianity and ancient culture. Clement, in developing these great thoughts, heard the murmur of the obscurantist party, ever so ready to condemn what it could not comprehend. We perceive by the vivacity of his utterance that he has been irritated by the clamour of the proud ignorants, always disposed to ban a science to which they cannot rise, and which offends them by its incommunicable superiority. "There are men," says Clement ironically, "so admirably endowed that they have nothing to do with philosophy, logic, or the study of nature, but think we should be content with a mere simple faith." Thus to despise science is to undertake to gather the fruit of the vine, without taking the trouble to cultivate it. Human science does not plant the heavenly vine; to it we do not owe the stem from which we draw the sap and life; yet it

contributes to its fertility by assiduous culture. If the soul seizes essential truth in an instant by consciousness (*par le sentiment*), it does not follow that an elaboration of the thought is useless; just as education calls up in our heart sparks of justice which God has placed there, just so doth science develop all the treasures of faith. To the objection that ignorance can itself comprehend the Gospel, Clement nobly answers, that the Christian ought not to live only in poverty but in wealth. No one, after all, does without logic, and those who call themselves emphatically the orthodox, philosophize without knowing it, as often as they speak reasonably. In vain do they try to proscribe the culture of the mind and its researches by invoking the simplicity of faith. Clement replies that God has spoken to man in many very different ways, and that it is not so simple and so easy as one supposes, to exhaust the riches of a revelation, infinite as its author. The obscurantists fear philosophy as children fear hobgoblins. They fear, they say, lest it should lead them astray, and take away their faith. In this case they lose not much. "If their faith, I say not their knowledge, is such that it is at the mercy of a trick of speech, let them lose it, for their idle fear shews clearly that they do not possess the truth. This is invincible; error alone is dissipated. Whoever owns that he wavers in his faith, owns that he has not the touchstone of the money-changer, nor the criterion of truth." How shall he sit at that table where human ideas, like pieces of money of all sorts, are offered to us, if he cannot tell the true from the false? The righteous, says David, shall abide for ever. Nothing moves him, he possesses the incorruptible heritage, and is so much the more sheltered from the deceits of language as he has less disclaimed logic, and has better learned confidently to unravel sophistry. Thus falls the pretended opposition between reason and faith, but it is on condition that reason shall continue in its domain, and not undertake to discover first principles. Reason does not produce truth, as a tree produces fruit, it is called neither to invent nor to discover it, but to receive it; it would labour in a void if it received not from a superior power the materials for its useful elaborations. This superior power is faith. Let none say that Christianity in taking this for its starting point, escapes from the conditions of a rational doctrine, and requires a blind assent. No, it abides faithful to the universal laws of knowledge. All science begins by an act of faith, *i. e.*, by the immediate intuition of the first principles upon which it rests; it is not by the slow and winding way of logic that we reach primordial truths; they impose themselves upon the mind, and impart themselves to it.

Indisputable axioms are not the result of discussion, for this might undo what it had done. Evidence in everything then proceeds at first from faith; for what is faith, if not precisely the rapid intuition which permits us to seize and suddenly to perceive the truth?

Those who represent the human science most opposed to Christianity, are indeed obliged to recognize the legitimacy of such a method. Epicurus called faith an anticipation of the mind, *i.e.*, a spontaneous flashing of thought towards what is evident, or a vivid perception of evidence. According to him, all demonstration is impossible without this anticipation of the true which precedes logical elaboration. Aristotle had said in the same sense that the criterion of truth is faith; and the divine Plato declared, in his book of *Laws*, that he is happy who is from the beginning a partaker of truth. This immediate participation is, in his view, a truly royal method.

We must not suppose that faith should make us only penetrate the spiritual world. Whoever neglects it will no more comprehend nature than grace. He who will only believe sensible experience or logical demonstration, with his finger placed in some sort upon what can be touched and felt, sees nothing in the world but the grossest elements; he confounds matter and essence, the creation and the Creator. The first principle hides itself from him under the multiplicity of phenomena, and it will be so till by faith, that is, by immediate intuition, he rises to the simple, universal principle, which is not attached to matter, and which is not matter itself. It must be admitted then that first causes are beyond demonstration; faith alone permits us to perceive them in all domains; opening up its way amid sensations, and rising far above opinions, it hastens towards absolute truth and rests in light. Consciousness (*le sentiment*) or intuition is the vestibule of science.

If these principles are true, even for the science of the visible, how much more so for the science of the divine and the invisible! There it is especially that consciousness shall play a chief part, and that faith will appear as the primary condition of all knowledge. Human wisdom, however high its flight, cannot attain to God. The mystery of His being is profound and impenetrable. It is figured by the cloud in which his voice thundered upon Mount Sinai. Moses also cried, "Shew thyself to me!" Now God, who is so above us by his uncreated essence, is not far from our heart by his love. "His divine power is always near us to reveal himself to us, to bless us, and to teach us." He communicates himself to man precisely by faith; that faith treated as barbarian by the Greeks is an immediate possession of

the truth, anterior to all demonstration ; it is the certainty of piety, "the substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen." It does not rest upon material proofs, because it is the communication to the soul of that which is immaterial and divine. "Thus the mind traversing all worlds and spheres of the created, mounts to the lofty region where the King of worlds resides ; it no more runs the risk of having its thoughts carried away by every wind like dead leaves, or tossed on stormy waves ; it has reached the immutable by an immutable path."

Let us avoid thinking that the intuitions of faith is wholly passive, and that it suffices to wait for divine illumination, without displaying any energy of will. No doubt the part of grace is considerable in the renewal of man ; it is God who has made both the light we ought to see, and the external eye which perceives it. It is He who, knowing our incapacity to apprehend the true being, has sent us a heavenly master to reveal to us his ineffable mysteries. Our weakness is such, that, even under his direction, we only see imperfectly. We have also the greatest need of divine grace, whereof the liberality is happily infinite. Yet it remains none the less certain that God demands our concurrence and our efforts. He grants eternal salvation to those who labour with him to develope in themselves knowledge and holiness. We ought to be like the athlete who said to Jupiter, "If I am properly prepared for the combat, give me the victory." Faith, the first triumph of the Christian, is only obtained at this price, for the pure in heart alone shall see God.

Clement, therefore, ascribes an important part to the will in the formation of religious certainty ; the part which he assigns to moral determinations in directing our beliefs, is one of the most remarkable features of his apology. Like only being perceived by like, man will only arrive at the immediate intuition of God when he truly approaches him, and repudiates evil. "Just as when the earth is sterile sowing is useless, so the best teaching bears no fruit without the assent of him who receives it. Dry straw, ready to burn, burns at the first spark. The magnet attracts iron because of the affinity there is between them." It follows that religious truth will only attract us when it acts upon us as a sacred magnet. Men must have ears to hear, and eyes to see. "It is with a new eye, a new ear, and a new heart, that the new things revealed by Christ will be seen and heard." The natural heart can apprehend none of them ; they are unto it as the extinct ashes which the dark cloud, wherein God hid himself, cast forth, according to the image of the prophet : but these very oracles are clear and luminous to

the believer. "The path of the unbeliever is crooked," says the Scripture, to indicate that the way of pride cannot lead to knowledge.

Faith, like unbelief, has a moral cause. The soul sees only when it will see; it only hears when it will hear. At the basis of faith there is an act of the will which develops the affinity with God. This act is possible, not only because divine grace is largely given us, but also because, according to Clement's doctrine, a germ of the Word is hidden at the bottom of the human being. We disagree or harmonize with religious truth in proportion as we have cultivated it (the germ); the larger or lesser development of the divine element in us depends upon our moral determinations. This freedom is found in all the degrees of faith, which commences by being an aspiration towards the light, a desire for higher truth. This desire supposes a first act of the will. "The beginning of wisdom is to wish to be associated with what is useful. A firm resolution is then of great weight in the acquisition of the truth. It is in this sense that voluntary faith is the basis of our salvation." Volition precedes all, for the rational faculties do nothing but serve the will. Thou canst do that thou wilt (tu peux ce que tu veux). Faith and obedience depend upon us. Ask and ye shall receive. At bottom, the act of faith is an act of obedience, and it manifests itself at first by serious enquiry. One must revive in the depths of his soul the living spark which he has received, and guard himself from a vain curiosity which would cause the mind to saunter about truth, as men saunter about a city to admire its buildings. No one asks first of the sun its brilliant light, one wants from it, first, warmth and life. So should it be with us and the sun of the soul.

Clement assigns a moral cause to all kinds of unbelief. He says to the pagans, "You refuse to free yourselves from passions which are the soul's diseases, and from sin which is its eternal death." No man then arrives at the truth till he has purified his soul, and taken his place among the violent who seize upon the kingdom, not by philosophic reasonings, but by repudiating evil, and persevering in the holy conflict for good. Thus is developed the conformity of the soul with God; it attains unto love which is the summit of Christian virtue, and, thanks to this resemblance, it lays hold upon Him who is pre-eminently love. "God is love: he gives himself to those who love him. One must be united to him by divine love." It is with the temple of truth, as with that of Æsculapius at Epidaurus, over the entrance to which were these words, "He must be pure who crosses the threshold of the sanctuary." All degrees of know-

ledge are attained in the same manner. "Love in man is allied to love in God, and in this love, perfect unity is established between him who knows and Him who is known." Having arrived at this point, we have seen spiritual things by the Spirit. We are fastened by faith to truth as by the chain of a sacred syren, from which we cannot release our soul. By faith we arrive at intelligence and gnosis. Christian theology is separated from elementary belief as a magnificent tree proceeds from an acorn planted in the soil; for the belief of the humble, so far from restraining the flight of thought, urges it to the radiant heights whence this world and the other are contemplated in their magnificent *ensemble*. We shall see if we trace out the ideas of Clement upon theology so called, that the lowliness of his starting point has not embarrassed the bold development of his idea. Very far from establishing an abrupt opposition between reason and faith, he sees in both alike different proceeds of the same intellectual and moral energy, as the following passage proves. "Understanding," says he, "changes its name according to its different applications. When it ascends to first causes, it is called intelligence; it becomes science when it fortifies intelligence by logic; and it becomes faith, when, concentrated upon religion, it reaches the primordial Word, without seeing him face to face, and while it continues within the conditions of the human mind."

Such are the bases of this grand apology. We must now descend from the heights of religious philosophy, to consider how Clement, in starting from general principles demonstrates the truth of historical Christianity. Hitherto he has, in fact, established the legitimacy of faith in general as proceeding from knowledge, and as a means of arriving at certainty; he has established triumphantly, that moral intuition by itself attains to primary truths, and raises us from the low region of phenomena and effects to the lofty realm of causes, and first of all to the universal principle of all existence, which is God. But he is not content with this preliminary discussion, and strives to prove the truth of the Christian faith properly so called, by shewing that the truth perceived by moral intuition is in every point in agreement with the Gospel. It remains that we know how he has performed this task.

We are assured beforehand that he will not see in miracles the first title of revelation to our confidence; in fact, such argumentation would be the overthrow of his apologetic system. A conviction which was nothing but the result of the proof of a certain number of prodigies, would be reached, not by faith but by sight. We must then no longer speak of an evidence per-

taining to a superior order, and we should have nothing to do with moral intuition. It would no longer be with the new eye and the new heart that we should perceive religious truth; it would be with our senses and understanding, that is to say, with the inferior organs of our knowledge. We should tumble from the domain of the invisible into that of the visible, and could no more define faith with Clement, as the perception of the Spirit by the spirit. We cannot too often repeat it; credence founded only on miracles, is no longer religious, and has no more moral value than that which is founded in pure reasoning: it might even be said that it is of an inferior order, for if perception by the understanding is not intuition by the soul, it is less far removed from it than the bodily eyesight to which the prodigy is addressed. Neither mode of certainty goes beyond the sphere of the visible, and the apostle Paul does not hesitate to put them in the same rank in the words: "The Jews require a sign, and the Greeks seek after wisdom." For the rest, we are not reduced upon this point to logical deductions drawn with more or less accuracy from the general principles of Clement's apologetics: he has formulated his idea with the most rigorous precision. "Blessed," says he, referring to the words of Christ to Thomas, "blessed are they who have not seen, and yet have believed. We are those children of Israel, who have submitted not because of the miracles, but because they have heard the voice of God." We should be tempted to blame Clement for being occupied too exclusively with the consciousness of internal evidence. The general principles of his system of defence, ought to have led him to allow more to other proofs of Christianity, without in anything abandoning his method. In fact we have seen him recognizing the legitimacy of logic, when its work is restrained to arranging and connecting the truths obtained by a higher method. Why does he not equally admit the competence of sensible observation to decide the great facts upon which revelation rests? This revelation is a manifestation of divine love under a historic form. Faith alone perceives by a sacred analogy the inward substance, the divine essence which is hidden under the envelope of facts; but facts have their importance, and as they are produced in time and space, that is, in the visible world, it is for sensible observation to verify them, and to recognize their miraculous character. A complete defence would reply to all that is lawful in the demand of the Jew who asks for miracles, and in that of the Greek who demands a logical connexion in the ideas while the great moral method undergoes no alteration at all. Facts belong to historical proof, arrangement of ideas belongs to logic, but divine charity which

is the soul of all this, is only understood by the heart. Thus like is always perceived by like, and this prolific principle is capable of most varied applications. We blame Clement for neglecting historical proof drawn from the evidence of miracles. This defect, which is serious, but can be supplied, has not prevented him, in our opinion, from laying down in a victorious manner the true and immortal principles of apologetics.

The demonstration of Christianity in the name, even of the fundamental principles which he has laid down, is very summary, and requires no great display of logic. When he has once established that religious truth is perceived by faith, that is to say, by the immediate intuition of the soul, of what use are long reasonings? It would be to lack logic to use too many, for Clement would then violate his own principle, and forsake his own method. His task then is not so much to demonstrate the truth as to shew it; to propose it to the soul and conscience, by appealing to the divine element which is in man, and by acting upon his will. Light will spring in some sort from the contact of the divine in man, and the divine exterior to him and above him; evidence will result from the approximation of the inward truth, which is in a fragmentary state, with the complete truth which the Gospel presents to him. Religious certainty is definitively only the assent of the Word to the Word: it is the Word who recognizes himself in Jesus Christ, only in his fullness and glory. The apologist will have performed his task, therefore, when he has brought out into perfect light the figure of the Redeemer, and has proved Him to be the desire of nations, the object of universal aspirations. If it follows from his simple and decisive plea that the human soul, in its good instincts, is made for Him, and finds in Him alone the satisfaction of its purest and most elevated desires, the proof will be invincible. It will appear such at least to the heart which is upright and well disposed, and which, far from loving darkness because its deeds are evil, and because it wishes to hide them in profound obscurity, loves the light. Thus wisdom is justified by her children, and only those attain to truth who are of the truth, or rather, have suffered grace to revive within them this divine relationship. We admit there is a vicious circle here, because the proof is only convincing to men who are in some measure convinced beforehand; but this vicious circle is the whole of Christianity. It is not we who shall blame Clement for coming into this with St. Paul and St. John, and with Christ himself.

It results from these considerations that the principal task of the apologist consists in confronting man with the truth: his plea will simply be a powerful affirmation, the confirmation of

which he will demand from the spontaneous and universal testimony of the human conscience. Once the bases of his apology firmly laid, Clement has but two things to do; first he will explain revelation, or rather, will evoke before his contemporaries the living person of Christ; then he will establish by the history of the old world, that it is indeed in Him that men must find the realization of the religious ideal sought after in vain for so many ages.*

WHAT IS SUPERSTITION?

It has sorely puzzled the learned to explain how the word "superstition" came to have its present meaning. The derivation of it from *superstare* seems evident enough, but the difficulty is to connect it with any of the meanings of that word and its derivatives. The verb is not in common use, but it signifies to stand over, as in Virgil's

"Quem congressus agit campo, lapsumque *superstans*
Immolat, ingentique umbrâ tegit,"

except we suppose that it denotes to stoop over or to be incumbent. Superstition will then be that which stands over one or is incumbent upon him (literally of course so far as the mind is concerned). Taken actively, superstition will be the act of standing over, etc. The verb *superstito* has the meaning of to render safe and sound, and also to abound. As an adjective, *superstes* commonly means a survivor, one who outlives another, and stands after he has fallen in death; but it anciently meant a witness, as is shewn by Plautus and Festus. None of these words would appear at first sight to furnish us with a clue to the origin of the sense assigned to superstition. Yet we might appeal to all of them for a probable explanation. Superstition stands over the soul and fills it with imaginary fears, rests upon it like a nightmare,—

"Lapsumque *superstans*
Immolat."

* The preceding article is a fragment from the fourth volume of the *Histoire des Trois Premiers Siècles de l'Eglise Chrétienne*, by Dr. E. de Pressensé, the merits of which we have already recognized. The reader will do well to study it in connexion with a paper, in our last, on Mr. Mansel's work as a defence of Christianity. At a time when "the battle of the evidences has to be fought over again," we have thought it would be well to hear different speakers upon so important a subject.

It overrides a man's intellect and moral nature, and persuades him to believe and to practice all the follies it suggests. So far the spiritual tyranny of superstition is described. But the superstitious connect with their superstition the notion of safety, and they will do anything to persuade superior beings "ut sospitent superstitentque."^b We think that superstition owes its name to one or other of the two facts now named; either because it is a disgraceful incubus upon the soul, or because its victims took absurd measures to secure their personal safety.

The word superstition occurs in the New Testament, and is in daily use among Christians. It may not be an altogether uninteresting inquiry to ask what some of the Latin writers have said upon the word, and then to ask what is the true meaning of those passages in the New Testament which we have in view. Of all the Latin authors, Cicero appears to use the word most frequently, and there is one place especially which is quoted upon this subject. The passage in question has been copied and discussed by Lactantius, and as what he says is curious, we offer a version of the whole. He is speaking of religion;

"Held by this bond of piety we are bound (*religati*) unto God, and hence religion itself received its name; not as Cicero has explained it from *relegendo*. In his second book, *De Natura Deorum*, he says thus, 'For not the philosophers alone, but also our ancestors separated superstition from religion. For they who prayed every day, and offered sacrifices that their children might survive them (*superstites essent*) are called superstitious. But they who regard and as it were re-peruse all things which pertain to the worship of the gods, are called religious from *religendo*, as elegant from *eligendo*, diligent from *deligendo*, and intelligent from *intelligendo*, for in all these there is the force of *legendi*, the same as in religious. Thus it has come to pass in superstitious and religious, that the one is a name of blame, and the other of praise.' How inapt this interpretation is may be known from the thing itself. For if in worshipping the same gods there is both religion and superstition, there is little or no difference. For what reason would he bring to me why a man should be thought religious who prays but once for the safety of his children, and superstitious who does it ten times? For if it is excellent to do it once, how much more so to do it oftener? and if at the first hour, then all day. If one offering appeases, surely many offerings do so still more; for multiplied homage is rather accepted than offensive. For those servants do not seem odious to us who are assiduous and frequent in their homage, but rather dear. Why then should he be in fault and

^b Sir J. Emerson Tennent, in *Notes and Queries* (third series, i., 243), has endeavoured to connect superstition with the notion of survival, because he thinks it was applied to the relics of a rude and obsolete worship. His opinion we regard as utterly untenable, and we can only say we are surprised to find such a man propounding a theory so inconsistent with divine revelation.

receive a reprehensible name who either loves his children more, or honours the gods enough, and he be praised who does it less? The same argument holds the other way. For if to pray and sacrifice all day is wrong, then also to do so once. If it is wrong often to desire surviving children, he is also superstitious who desires it seldom. Or why should a term of reproach be derived from that than which nothing more honourable or just can be desired? For that he says they are called religious, from *relegendo*, who consider diligently those things which pertain to the worship of the gods, why then do they who do this often in the day lose the name of religious, when much more diligently by their very assiduity they re-peruse these things whereby the gods are worshipped? What then is the fact? Forsooth religion is the worship of the true, and superstition that of the false. It matters every way *what* you worship, not *how* you worship or *what* you pray for; but because the worshippers of the gods think themselves religious when they are superstitious, they cannot distinguish religion from superstition, nor express the meaning of the names. We have said that the name of religion is derived from the bond of piety, that God hath bound man to himself and constrained him by piety; for it is necessary that we serve him as a Lord and obey him as a Father. Therefore Lucretius has explained that name better when he says he unties the knots of religion (*religionum se nodos exsolvere*). Now they are called superstitious, not who desire their children may survive them, for we all desire that; but either those who worship the surviving memory (*superstitem memoriam*) of the defunct; or who, surviving their parents, worship their images at home as *dii penates*. For they who assumed new rites for them, to worship in the place of gods, the dead whom they believe taken from among men into heaven, these they called superstitious; but those who worshipped public and ancient gods, they called religious. Whence Virgil,—

‘Vana superstitio, veterumque ignara deorum.’

But since we find that the old gods were consecrated in the same manner after death, therefore they are superstitious who worship many and false gods. But we are religious who supplicate the one and true God.”

Nonius Marcellus observes upon the forecited passage of Cicero, that “The superstitions have their peculiarity from this, that they set aside (*supersedeant*), that is, neglect other things for the worship of the gods.” Although Lactantius rejects the explanation of Cicero, yet Zwingle approves of it in his observations on true and false religion. “He understands religion to be the whole system of Christian piety, including faith, life, laws, rites, and sacraments. But by the addition of true and false, he distinguishes between religion and superstition.” Lactantius teaches that the difference between religion and superstition is not so much in form as in matter. He would not say that moderation in these things is religion, and excess superstition, just as neglect might be called impiety or ungodliness. Probably the nearest approach to superstition, according to the

view of Lactantius, is the "will worship," *ἐθελοθρησκεία*, reprehended by St. Paul in Col. ii. 23. This word is explained to mean such religious observances as have not been appointed by God in his Word, but have been devised by man himself without any divine warrant or sanction. Had Lactantius found Christians worshipping saints and angels, their images and relics, he would undoubtedly have called them superstitious: *Novos sibi ritus assumunt*. In regard to the extract from Virgil,^b Servius explains the word superstition differently from Lactantius, and Cicero as well. Superstition, he says, is a superfluous and foolish fear, either so called from old women, who, outliving (*superstites*) many, are silly through age and foolish; or, according to Lucretius, superstition is a vain and superfluous fear of superior (*superstantium*) things, that is, of heavenly and divine things, which stand above us (*super nos stant*). Virgil, however, seems, in the only other place where he uses the word, to apply it in the general sense of religion.

"Adjuro Stygii caput implacabile fontis,
Una superstitione superis quæ reddita divis."

Æneid, xii. 817.

And yet "the only superstition rendered to the gods above," which is swearing by Styx, has something terrible about it, and may not be unassociated with the idea of fear. Cicero himself connects superstition with fear: "They not only abolish superstition in which there is a vain fear of the gods, but also religion which consists in the pious worship of the gods." The same author suggests that an unfounded belief in auspices, divine things, and religion, would be "anile superstition," where he seems to make everything depend upon the *grounds* of faith. Imposture in religion, therefore, is superstition.^d Towards the close of the second book on divination (cap. 72) he speaks of superstition being diffused among the nations, and oppressing the minds of almost all men. He thinks he should do well for the race if he helped to abolish it utterly. "Nor," says he, "by abolishing superstition, do we abolish religion, as I earnestly wish to be understood." And again, "Wherefore, as religion is to be propagated which is connected with a knowledge of nature, so are the roots of superstition to be all extirpated." Even Cicero recognizes the agitation and fear which is so commonly connected with the idea of superstition. Thus, he says, "There is death which like the rock above Tantalus, always overhangs us; and superstition, whoever is imbued with which

^b *Æneid*, viii., 187.

^c *De Div.*, i., 4.

^d *De Natura Deorum*, book i., cap. 42.

^e *De Fin. Bon. et Mal.*, i., 18.

cannot be quiet." The passage discussed by Lactantius really conveys this notion of unreasonable fear and apprehension. According to the same authority, although superstition is akin to religion, yet superstition is the mark of a weak and effeminate mind; and hence men should be religious in moderation, and ought not to be too superstitious.^f In one thing, at least, Cicero is consistent; he never has a good word to say in favour of superstition and the superstitious. He does sometimes commend religion, although he is very anxious that men should not be too religious, that is to say superstitious, according to his definition.

The classic writers generally seem to have branded with the name of superstition, every form of religion which they did not like. Hence Tacitus, in the well-known passage,^g where he relates the persecution of the Christians by Nero, says of Christianity, "*repressaque in præsens exitiabilis superstitio, rursum erumpebat non modo per Judæam, originem ejus mali,*" etc. Quintilian also speaks of the "*primus Judaicæ superstitionis auctor,*" a passage which some have supposed to refer to Christianity. Elsewhere he says of himself, "*neque enim me cujusquam sectæ, velut quadam superstitione imbutus, addixi,*" as though he considered superstition to be an unreasoning acceptance of another's teaching. In another place, he speaks of Socrates, as accused of corrupting youth, and introducing new superstitions. The use of the word to describe idle and absurd notions and practices connected with religion, and such ridiculous beliefs in auguries and omens as are common even now, is frequent in classic writers as well in poetry as in prose. It would take too long to go over these, but there are one or two which deserve our attention.

A. Gellius devotes a chapter to the word *religiosus*, and quotes Nigidius Figulus as saying that the termination *osus* denotes "*copiam quandam immodicam rei;*" and hence "*religiosus* is appellabatur qui nimia et superstitiosa religione sese alligaverat." He does not, however, agree with his author, so that superstitions will not necessarily mean any excess. In connexion with the remarks of Gellius upon religion, we may refer to Macrobius,^h where, however, the word superstition does not occur. Seneca says,ⁱ "*superstitio error insanus est; amandos timet, quos colit, violat. Quid enim interest, utrum deos neget, an infames?*" Superstition is an insane error, because it fears the gods who should be loved, and insults those whom it worships. Here again, we meet with that notion of dread as

^f *De Invent.*, 2; *De Div.*, 2: Pro Domo sua ad Pontif.

^g *Ann.*, xv. 44.

^h Book iv. 9.

ⁱ *Epist.* 123.

well as of unappointed service, which is so allied to the idea of superstition. In another place he states that in the time of Tiberius Cæsar the religions of foreigners were discussed, and among other proofs of superstition abstinence from certain kinds of animal food was adduced. This would apply to the Jews and Egyptians who were expelled from Rome under Tiberius, and thousands of them sent away to Sardinia. The passage in Tacitus recording this event is so remarkable as illustrating the boasted religious liberty and toleration of the Romans, that we quote the author's own words: "Actum et de sacris Ægyptiis Judaicisque pellendis factumque patrum consultum, ut quatuor millia libertini generis ea superstitione infecta, quis idonea ætas, in insulam Sardiniam veherentur, coercendis illic latrociniiis et, si ob gravitatem cæli interissent, vile damnum; cæteri cederent Italia, nisi certam ante diem profanos ritus exuissent." Surely the "tristis superstitio" of the enlightened Romans, was no better than that of their victims.

At a later period, Ammianus Marcellinus furnishes us with his idea of a superstitious man in his account of the character of Julian the apostate. "His tongue was too fluent and very rarely silent," says he, "given to too much consulting of presages, so that in this respect he seemed to equal the emperor Hadrian; he was a superstitious rather than a legitimate observer of sacred rites, and sacrificed innumerable sheep without grudging, so that it was thought that oxen would have run short if he had returned from the Parthians, like that Marcus Cæsar, about whom we have a saying: 'The white oxen to Marcus Cæsar, if you conquer, we perish.'" Julian was superstitious, not because he offered sacrifices, but because he did so to excess. This partly sustains the view of Cicero, and is opposed to the conclusions of Lactantius.

We have already expressed the opinion that the word superstition corresponds pretty well with the Greek "will worship." What we may ask is its relation to *δεισιδαιμονία*? In Acts xvii. 22, our version reads, "Men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious." The Greek is *δεισιδαιμονεστέρους*. The Latin Vulgate is, "Viri Athenienses, per omnia quasi superstitiosiores vos video." Beza has "omnino conspicio vos quasi religiosiores." The Peschito Syriac gives a literal rendering according to the etymology of the word; "I see that in all these things ye exceed in the fear of demons;" "nimios esse in cultu demonum" is a fair Latin version, because the word "fear" very frequently denotes religious respect. Thus, "the

fear of God," means religion or the worship of God ; "the fear of idols," is idolatry ; and "those who fear idols" are idolaters. The Arabic version in Walton's Polyglott agrees with the Syriac. but the Ethiopic is rendered "conspicio vos insanire in omnibus." It must be observed however, that the Latin translator of this passage has taken *ויר* *insiliit*, *prævaluit*, in the sense of *מא* *insanivit*, *furore correptus est*, a change which sometimes occurs. Erasmus has superstitious, the Dutch version "God serving," *i.e.*, religious, and all the other translations we have consulted follow either one or the other of these ideas, "superstitious," or "religious." A new French version by M. Rilliet reads, "Je sais que vous êtes à tous égards on ne peut plus religieux."

Passing over the commentators we may ask of other authorities, what is usually intended by the Greek *δεισιδαιμονία*. It is manifestly derived from *δέω*, I fear, *δαιμων*, a divinity, a good or evil spirit. The verb to fear, is used in its widest sense, and denotes either dread, apprehension, or reverence. The word *δαιμων* is supposed to come from a verb *δαίω* to divide or distribute, because superior spirits were supposed to superintend the disposal of human affairs. Hence both this word and its derivatives come to convey both a good and a bad sense. Anything assignable to a supernatural cause or origin found in these words its appropriate designation. Etymology, therefore, will not help us to fix the meaning as either only good or only bad. *Δεισιδαιμονία* may mean the worship inspired by the fear of a malignant spirit ; but since it may also mean the reverence paid to a good spirit, no definition is complete which does not comprise both. It might be explained by the word religion, but it undoubtedly often, and perhaps mostly signifies superstition. Its translation must be determined by the context. We do not, therefore, object to its being rendered "superstition" in Acts xxv. 19, although even there, it might be fairly represented by the word "religion."

Hesychius explains *δεισιδαίμων*, "He who worships idols, an idolater ; he who is pious, reverent to the gods." The same author says *δεισιδαιμονία*, is taken by the Greeks in a good sense, as the fear of God. Suidas says it is reverence towards the divine, and also fear and uncertainty in regard to the faith. *Δεισιδαίμων*, he says, means one who fears, and adds that in Acts xvii. 22, it stands for *θεοσεβείς*, godly. He fully confirms the view that the words have the twofold sense or application we contend for, by the examples he gives. A Greek glossary to the New Testament, published by J. Albert in 1735 from ancient MSS., merely explains *δεισιδαιμονία* by *εὐλαβεία* or piety. Xenophon, Theophrastus, Plutarch, Polybius, etc., all use the

words in this diversity of signification; and the same is the case with Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Lucian, and all others in whom we have met with it. Either the sense is determined by the context, or the translator is left to follow his own judgment. The *εὐδαίμων* was a happy man, and the *κακοδαίμων* miserable, and so forth, clearly shewing that there is nothing in the word *δαίμων* which determines the question. We conclude, therefore, that neither element of the words under consideration can be appealed to as to the precise nature or character of the object of *δαισιδαίμωνια*. Plutarch is perhaps the writer who speaks most disparagingly of *δαισιδαίμωνια* in his treatise upon the subject; but like too many of the philosophers he treated such matters with undue disrespect.

The Fathers generally took a limited view of the subject, as can be seen by reference to Suicer, s. v., *δαίμων* and *δαισιδαίμων*. Chrysostom opposes the idea that the word *δαίμων* comes from a verb meaning to distribute, and has a homily specially directed against such as say that demons administer human affairs. "If demons presided we should be no better off than demoniacs, or rather worse," says he. Eusebius opposes the derivation of the word from a root signifying to know, and believes it really means to fear and terrify. Suicer shows by examples that the word means, 1, God;^{*} 2, powerful spirits different from the gods and inferior to them; 3, the *genius*, or familiar spirit of any one; 4, good or bad fortune; 5, in Scripture it always means an evil spirit. The last is the sense in which the Fathers use the word, almost without exception. Hence we expect to find that their employment of *δαισιδαίμωνια* corresponded with this.

With regard to the place in Acts xvii. 22, Suicer observes that Chrysostom and Œcumenius explain it *εὐλαβεστέρους*, *religiosiores*, and that Paul affirmed this as if praising the Athenians. A modern (?) poet has paraphrased the expression thus:—

— "Ignoti hanc Numinis aram
Vana superstitione verique ignara timoris
Induxit." . . .

They had a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge. Tertullian would have said, "Multitudine demerendorum numinum attoniti estis." Lucien says of a certain Rutilianus in his *Pseudomantes*, "A man in other respects well and good . . . but in what concerns the gods very diseased, and believing all sorts of nonsense about them." The remark of Ammianus about Julian has already been cited. That the Athenians were such

^{*} *Iliad*, t. 188.

is shewn by the ancients:¹ “Other cities adhere to one God, but Athens honours all gods without distinction.” Himerius against Epicurus says, “This Epicurus is a philosopher at Athens; and when I say at Athens, I say the principal head of religion.” In the declamations of Quintilian, the priest says, “I should have believed the divinity present at all our solemnities; this is due to the city of the Athenians, it is due to the very ancient race, it is due to the soil, for which it is believed not without cause that the gods contended.” Salvian speaks of “the most superstitious people of Athens,” and Philostratus of “the sacrifice-loving Athenians.” Now the scholiast on Aristophanes tells us “that the sacrifice-loving, are the *δεισιδαίμονες* (superstitious) who continually sacrifice to the gods, thinking that hereby they will remain uninjured.” An ancient epigram calls Athens, “holy Athens.” Sophocles declares that the Athenians are “the most religious Athenians,” *θεοσεβέστατοις*. Pausanias,² in his description of Athens, remarks that “the Athenians have in the forum, among others not known to all men, an altar to mercy, to which god especially, as profitable in human life and the vicissitudes of affairs, the Athenians alone of the Greeks render honour. Moreover, not only those things which relate to humanity have been established, but the worship of the gods more than others; for they have an altar to Modesty (*Pudor*) and to Fame, and to Alacrity.” He adds that their present prosperity may be taken as a proof of their greater piety, and he enumerates many of the forms of worship which they had adopted, and the mythological subjects with which they had adorned the city. There was a temple to Castor and Pollux, an ancient fabric containing representations of these divinities on horseback. There were statues of peace and Vesta, and a temple to Serapis, a temple to Lucina, and another to Jupiter Olympius. There was a brazen statue of Jupiter, and the shrine of Saturn, and of Rhea; a temple to Juno, and temples and statues in honour of many other gods. No wonder, therefore, that he repeats his declaration that the Athenians surpassed all others in their zeal for the deities. Every corner of the city was occupied with objects of religious reverence and places for religious worship. It would seem as if they had exhausted the Pantheon, and then set up an altar to the unknown god whom they might inadvertently have overlooked. We know they had anonymous altars. Finally, Cicero has these words in his oration, *Pro Flaco*, “*Adsunt Athenienses, unde humanitas, doctrina, religio, fruges, jura, leges, ortæ atque in omnesterras distributæ putantur.*” After this, it is not diffi-

¹ See Aristoph. in *Nub.*, and the Scholiast upon the place.

² *Attica*, i., 17, etc.

cult to see why Paul called the Athenians, "*δευσιδαμονίστες*," and that they would receive it as an appropriate compliment. We are also justified in concluding that *δευσιδαμονία* was frequently, but by no means always, equivalent to *superstitio* in classic authors, and that Christian writers viewed them as synonymous and in a bad sense. Among the ancient Greeks the *δευσιδαμναι* was not necessarily, according to modern ideas, "a demon worshipper," like the eastern Yezidi. Such a view can only be advocated by those who explain the word theologically in accordance with St. Paul's declaration, that "what they sacrificed, they sacrificed to devils," as the English Version has it. The Christian idea is that false gods are devils, and that idols are nothing, or rather that false gods are nothing, and idols blocks of wood or stone. In the early church, the false gods were evil spirits, and the idols their habitation.

Of popular superstitions and of superstitious practices in religion we cannot now speak, further than to observe that the word superstition was applied to both among the Romans. This use of the Word has descended to our own time. Both forms of superstition are irrational and unscriptural, and enlightened Christians will do their best to supplant them by a purer faith and a more spiritual worship.

In bringing to a conclusion these miscellaneous facts and observations, we will briefly recur to the question at the head of this paper: what is superstition? There is a difficulty in tracing the present signification of the word in its etymology. On the whole we are inclined to connect it with the literal meaning of the verb *supersto*, to stand over one, because superstition overbears and presses down the soul of man, fills it with imaginary fears and vain ideas, and leads men to perform acts which free and enlightened minds would shrink from and abhor. Hence it is not only applied to religious delusions, but to any popular delusion which occupies the mind and commands assent. Superstition, therefore, in all its forms and bearings is an evil, alike degrading to man and dishonourable to Divine Providence and revelation. The gospel of Christ is the only sufficient and effectual antidote for this, and in proportion as it is received and its dictates obeyed, will superstition disappear. There are forms of superstition which may give way to education, but they are its most harmless forms. So far as it is connected with religion, we can look to the teachings of divine revelation, as by God's blessing, the only satisfactory remedy.

THE RECORD OF CREATION.

IN estimating the degree of perfection to be attributed to language, it is necessary that regard should be had to the design of the writer, and to the distinction between what is asserted, and what is implied, to be relatively and absolutely true. The application of this maxim to what has been hitherto received as inspired language, and herein to the Mosaic record of creation, might have seemed too obvious to need remark, had not the distinction alluded to been often lost sight of or ignored by Mr. Goodwin, who, setting at nought the testimony of the Jewish and Christian churches, the keepers of the oracles of God, has arrived at the conclusion that the received account in Genesis is "not an authentic utterance of divine knowledge, but a human utterance,"—"the speculation," it may be, "of some early Copernicus or Newton." It is assumed that had the scriptural author been divinely inspired, his design could not have been otherwise than what it is presumed it ought to have been, had he been writing with a view to those to whom the established truths of physical astronomy and the less matured conclusions of other sciences have been explicitly unfolded to the extent they now have been. Now to say nothing of the gratuitous character of such a view, it might be sufficient to point out that it is from the nature of the case fallacious, inasmuch as it fails to recognize one prominent feature of inspiration; *viz.*, the comprehensiveness and manifold character and applicability of the form in which the Revelation has been throughout communicated and expressed. Mr. Goodwin's failure to see this generally, is illustrated in a particular instance by his quotation of the following text as countenancing the opinion of the earth's absolute immobility: "The world is established; it cannot be moved." One who joined with a competent knowledge of physical astronomy the critical knowledge possessed by Hebraistic authorities, would not have needed to be told by one of the latter class, "that there is not one text in canonical Scripture which implies the immobility of the earth in the system of nature."^a So far, therefore, as the text in question bears upon the subject, it must, we presume, be understood by ordinary readers of the Bible in the sense of relative motion, and by the physical philosopher as confirmatory of the laws of conservation of the motion of the heavenly bodies, according to which certain disturbances or irregularities of motion are periodically compensated so as to result in what is presumed to be implied. In like manner, the words of

^a *The Reviewers Reviewed*, etc. Parker. Page 49.

Joshua may be understood to imply the relative motion of the sun and moon with respect to the earth diurnally, without contradicting, what the mention of the lesser body would rather seem to imply also, the fact of the absolute motion in space of the moon, and consequently of the earth with respect to the sun. So that these passages are not otherwise than illustrations of the pregnant meaning of inspired language, covering senses which are adapted at once to the conceptions of the philosopher and those of the simple believer, who confines himself to the testimony of his outward senses. And if, to prevent the faith of the latter class being too abruptly staggered, the authorized guardians of the text of Holy Scripture were induced to withhold their countenance from Galileo's propositions, yet let the Word of God be true. It may not have been other than a judicious reserve which led those who occupied the chair of Moses and the Apostles, to give the weight of their authority to the upholding of the relative bearing of the scriptural statements, which may be all that it is necessary to impute to the language of the declaration which was put into the mouth of Galileo, and which describes accordingly his propositions as being "at least erroneous in faith." Neither the imposers nor the acceptor of such a declaration thus guarded can be held responsible for more than an assertion of the authority of the statements which, from the nature of the case, in the undeveloped and immatured state of science generally, could only be understood by the people to be true in their relative sense.

With respect to the form and structure of our earth, we may indeed reasonably accept the hypothesis of original fluidity, in connexion with rotation round an axis, as the fundamental fact which inductive reasoning has made "clear." The general figure of the earth's surface has been ascertained by accurate and extensive geodetical measurements to be that of an oblate surface of revolution; and the existence of this form, together with that of the strata of which the earth consists, is found by the results, and by a comparison of the results of a great number and variety of the most accurate and delicate observations at different parts of the earth's surface, to be precisely accounted for on that hypothesis. The steps by which this conclusion is arrived at can indeed be only appreciated by those acquainted with the higher symbolical language and formulæ of analytical mathematics. But the principal results^b have been

^b The most important of these results are,—*The expression for the length of a meridian arc corresponding to a given difference of latitude, and the law of variation of the force of gravity at different points of the earth's surface.*

A number of meridian arcs have been measured, and a system of equations

tested by numerous observations with pendulums, plumb-lines, levels, etc.; all agreeing to an extent which can only be accounted for by the truth of the original hypothesis.

This fundamental fact respecting the cause of the earth's figure is confirmed by the analogy of the heavenly bodies, the sun and the planets, which, in rotating round their axes, appear to have the same sort of form of oblate surface of revolution with respect to the axes of rotation.

The conclusion, however, which the believing reasoner will draw from this fact, in his study of the language of the Mosaic record, is widely different from that to which Mr. Goodwin is led. Instead of being induced to isolate "man's obscure home," and its being furnished under the external influences of the heavens above, as well as of the land beneath, in successive and progressive stages, with what was needful for his abode thereon, and for the accomplishment of the Creator's beneficent designs, the believer will link together the several parts of the system of the universe, surveying the "heavens and the earth" together, or, as it may be rendered, "the heavens with the earth." He will begin with recognizing in what is common to the several heavenly bodies in respect of form and motion, the hand of the same Divine artificer who in the beginning created the heavens and the earth (those terms including the description of the material both in germ and in its after development) co-ordinately and in mutual and inseparable relation (all the parts being put together and increasing together). He will recognize one pre-

formed requiring a great number of very delicate observations, and it is found that the values 3962·82 miles for the earth's major axis, and $\frac{1}{308}$ for the ellipticity of the earth, satisfy all these equations to a remarkable degree of accuracy, allowing for certain small errors which may easily be accounted for, and which, even considering them in the most unfavourable point of view, are very much smaller than $\frac{1}{308}$, which is itself a very small quantity. Now this very peculiar result thus capable of varied and extensive observation, and which agrees with it in a very remarkable manner, is arrived at on the hypothesis of the earth's original fluidity, from which we must conclude that the hypothesis is most probably true.

Another system of equations have been formed by observations at different places, and it is found that the values of 39·01228 inches for the second's pendulum at the equator, and of ·005321 for an expression involving gravity, the centrifugal force, and the earth's ellipticity, satisfy all these equations, not so exactly as before, but yet with remarkable accuracy, considering the small quantities we are engaged with; hence this result is another proof of the hypothesis which leads to it.

The comparison of this result with the former gives us what must be considered a decided proof of the truth of the hypothesis, inasmuch as the latter gives $\frac{1}{308}$ nearly for the earth's ellipticity, which is a very remarkable coincidence with the former result.

These conclusions have been gathered from O'Brien's *Mathematical Tracts*, Part I. (Deighton, Cambridge, 1840), which we had carefully read some years since.

siding mind pervading all things, and not the Gods many or Lords many by which that great principle of theology has been corrupted. Instead, therefore, of seeing any contrariety between the scientific fact of original fluidity and the history of the origin of things in the Book of Genesis, he will simply remember how mysterious and insoluble is the question which underlies the whole inquiry, *viz.*, the origin of form and matter. Under these circumstances his reason will lead him to consider it the true wisdom to be content with using what light he has, with a view to the clearing up of what yet remains of doubt and difficulty, without yielding to the hurtful curiosity which so gratuitously raises questions on uncertain data, except it be with a view to elucidating the fuller agreement, which the agreement already found to exist justifies the expectation of his discovering if the enquiry be pursued in a believing spirit. We shall have ample reason to see that, so far as the testimony of the record goes, it is in all essential particulars at one with the conclusions of universally accredited scientific conclusions, regard being had to what was the leading design of the writer. To such an extent is this acknowledged to be the case by Mr. Goodwin himself, that if the believer were content to concede that a plan of cosmogony was the leading design of the record, "that the Mosaic account is simply the speculation of some early Copernicus or Newton," he will have in return the adversary's acknowledgment of the "approximate correctness of the picture drawn."

Admitting, then, that "the first clear view which we obtain of the early condition of the earth presents to us a ball of matter fluid with intense heat, spinning on its own axis, and revolving round the sun;" we may legitimately regard this as included under the general terms used (Heb. *bara* and *hasah*) to describe the creating and making (which includes the ordering) of the earth and heavens. The recognition of any possible consistency in the record does not, however, harmonize with Mr. Goodwin's view of its design, and he accordingly is compelled to frame a supposition at variance with the fundamental fact of original fluidity, whereby to construct his interpretation of the second verse. "The earth," he says, "is supposed to be submerged under the waters of the deep, over which the breath of God—the air or wind—flutters, while all is involved in darkness."^a We do not concede the existence of any necessity for imputing to the inspired language any such supposition. Nothing more need be apprehended under its terms than that the earth being originally

^a *Mosaic Cosmogony*, p. 213, 214.

^a *Ibid.*, page 219.

in a state of chaos,—a formless void of heterogeneous matter,—the laws of motion originating as all law does from the bosom of the divine mind, were impressed upon this matter in connexion with the system of which it was part, according to which laws it took the shape which (being originally in a state of fusion, as the principal body of the system probably now is,) it has assumed; its crust having cooled down before the separation took place between the solid and fluid matter: for there is nothing to prevent our supposing with Dr. Buckland, that it may have been, in effect, as if ages had elapsed between the beginning of the work of creation and the operations of the third day, when the dry land appeared.

We come now to the next recorded act of creation,—the creative mandate with respect to light conceived of as anterior to “the manifestation of the sun,” and in connexion with the measure of “a day,” as the period is termed which included the time during which it prevailed and that of the darkness from which it was separated. Such a representation is described as “absurd,” and “repugnant” to our modern knowledge.* We are at a loss to conceive how such an objection can be maintained consistently with a recognition of the fact that light does exist through sources independent of the manifestation of the sun, both as respects the earth and the heavens. As believers, indeed, we might be content with simply replying that as He that made the eye cannot but see, so He that by His Word called light into being and ordained the laws and media of its propagation, cannot be straitened in his resources and expedients, not being tied to any one method to which he may ordinarily confine himself. To say nothing, however, of the intellectual presumption which would thus limit the creative mind (in a manner which analogy does not justify), we may observe, that no one who has tested by experiments the undulatory theory of light or its propagation by means of an ethereal medium can have any difficulty in conceiving a possible mode of consecutive light and darkness, irrespective of the solar source of its vibrations. According to this theory, the particles of ether, when in motion, produce the phenomenon of light, the degree of which answers to the nature of the vibrations which, when at rest, constitute the condition of darkness. It may be added that there are not wanting analogies in the theories of heat and sound confirmatory of the same view.

As to the use of the word “day,” we are not concerned to deny that the record does associate it with periods of consecutive light and darkness inclusively. But we conceive that, in this

* *Mosaic Cosmogony*, p. 218.

early stage of the creative work especially, the conditions as to the relative arrangement and movements of the heavenly bodies may have been such that the times of light and darkness were lengthened to an extent, of which our experience in connexion with the finally adjusted relation and movements of the heavenly bodies does not now inform us. For as in certain latitudes lengthened periods of light are followed by lengthened periods of darkness, and this has to do with the inclinations of the planes of the ecliptic and the equator, as well as with the elements of the plane of motion, and the laws of attraction and gravitation, we can hereby understand how a period prolonged beyond the time of a single or more rotation of the earth, may have been described as "a day," being defined by the consecutive intervals of light and darkness inclusively. Can we say then that in the creation and ordering of matter, and the laws to which it has been subjected, and the relative positions occupied by its parts, it was not in the nature of things necessary that the progress of results should be brought about by the sequence of lengthened periods of light and darkness, tending, as the course of time flowed on, to more contracted periods which, in respect of their similarity of form, are included in the same generic term of "day?" Nor is such a conception otherwise than confirmed by the philological senses of the term.

This consideration relieves us of the necessity of remarking on the alleged contrariety of the scriptural record of creation as accomplished in six days, to the fact which inductive philosophy conceives to be a necessity, viz., the more gradual production of the phenomena which the world discloses as the subject-matter of scientific research, and herein, particularly, of that limited field of geological research, the minor results of which are not sufficiently accredited to justify the degree of exception which Mr. Goodwin takes to the received record of creation, so far as it touches upon the subject. The believer is content to conceive of the Divine Being as of One whose thoughts are infinitely above our own, to whom a thousand years are as one day, and one day as a thousand years; who holds the seas as in the hollow of His hand, and weighs the mountains as grains in the balance, who could accordingly accomplish at once what, relatively to our conceptions, might require for its orderly production the operation of a sequence of secondary causes for a course of ages. Even so did the Incarnate Lord, when He walked upon the earth, exert His divine power, and supersede in an instantaneous effect the ordinary operation of the laws of growth, when he multiplied the substance of loaves and fishes, confounding thereby the wisdom of the wise of this world who (unable reason-

ably to adopt the alternative of explaining away the evidence) are prevented from believing, what notwithstanding they cannot reasonably contradict, repeating ever and anon that question which is the burden of their theme,—How can these things be?

Under the description of the second day's creative work, Mr. Goodwin has attempted to attach to the word translated "firmament," the sense of a "solid vault," which the Hebrews are said to have understood it to mean, inasmuch as "pillars," "foundations," "windows," are assigned to it in various passages. Hence it is argued, that the word cannot be translated as it has been by the term "expanse" in the sense of a transparent space. Mr. Goodwin has, however, here simply drawn down upon himself the retort of *ne sutor ultra crepidam*, the sense impugned by him as "an after-thought of philosophers," having been long ago adopted by the highest Hebraistic authorities.^f

It is also objected that the "heaven," considered as containing the sun, moon and stars, (which are not denied to have been presumably included in the original material) was formed by the division of the earth and waters, and that, consequently, there could be no sky, no local habitation for those bodies anterior to the fourth day of creation.^g But this is to lose sight of the gradual evolution of the creative work in accordance with the law of growth which the Creator has ordinarily prescribed for Himself as the rule of His operations. We are unacquainted with, and can but very faintly and imperfectly, if at all, conceive what may have been the conditions for the accomplishment in turn of each successive step in the progress of creation. But nothing more is needed to give consistency to our conceptions of that work in the present instance than to presume with Dr. Buckland (or rather with what the record may presuppose), that in "creating (Heb. *bara*) the heavens and the earth, it pleased the Almighty Creator to effect in germ what required the external conditions of space and time for its after development in detail; not that we can expect to obtain from this analogy any but the faintest glimpse (sufficient to satisfy any truly modest reasoner) of what we may reasonably conceive to have belonged to the Creator's design in the orderly development from pre-

^f "The first translation of the Hebrew Bible made in modern days, was that of Pagninus, who died four hundred years ago, and was one of the profoundest Hebraists of his own or any age. He translates this word *expansionem* in every instance. In the next century, that extraordinary oriental scholar, (as ignorant of geology as geologists can possibly be of Hebrew) Arias Benedict Montanus, who had been appointed to revise the work of Pagnin for the king of Spain, again insisted on *expansionem* as the true meaning of this word *rakia*."—*The Reviewers Reviewed*, p. 55.

^g *Mosaic Cosmogony*, p. 226. Cf. p. 221.

existent germinal matter of the form and structure of the earth and heavens."

With the recorded work of the third day, the record comes first into contact with the leading conclusions which have been arrived at by the consent of geologists respecting the "three great geologic parts," into which "the vast geologic scale naturally divides" itself, as Hugh Miller tells us, "by the consent of all geologists." With respect to this portion of the record, the testimony of Hugh Miller is as follows:—"The geologic evidence is so complete as to be patent to all—that the first great period of organized being was, as described in the Mosaic record, peculiarly a period of herbs and trees yielding seed after their kind."^a All that Mr. Goodwin has to say in reply to such testimony, is based on the assumption that, notwithstanding such acknowledged agreement between the oldest historic record and the universally accredited conclusions of geologists, the standard of truth is to be sought elsewhere. "If," he replies, "it be said the Mosaic account is simply the speculation of some early Copernicus or Newton, who devised a scheme of the earth's formation as nearly as he might in accordance with his own observations of nature, and with such views of things as it was possible for an unassisted thinker in those days to take, we may admire the approximate correctness of the picture drawn, while we see that the writer took everything from a different point of view from ourselves, and consequently represented much quite differently from the fact." Whatever may be the amount of truth in the assumed fact from which this conclusion is drawn, we may deny the *consequence*. We may reasonably be content with adhering to what the consent of generations past witnesses to be the oldest historic standard of relative and absolute truth, whatever allowance has to be made in consideration of the design of holy Scripture, as being infinitely above its scientific use. It is enough for the believer to know that "all geologists" agree in acknowledging the correspondence with their universally received conclusions of the first chapter of Genesis. It is for others to ask themselves what more could have been expected on the supposition of that chapter containing revealed truth?

The account of the fourth day's work is in perfect consistency with what precedes and follows it. The sun, moon, and heavenly bodies which had hitherto been gradually assuming their relative positions in space, in the process of being evolved in orderly development out of the germinal heavens and earth, are now made (Heb. *hasah*), and set in the firmament of heaven

^a Quoted by Mr. Goodwin, p. 243—246.

ⁱ Id., p. 246, 247.

to give light upon the earth, and "to rule over the day and over the night, and to divide the light from the darkness;" and "for signs and for seasons, and for days and years." There is no necessity for supposing, as Mr. Goodwin seems to do, that this operation was otherwise than in such a manner, co-ordinate and in close sequence with the commencement of vegetation on the third day, as to remove the objection arising from the conditions conceived to be necessary for the growth of plants in the absence of the influences of the sun.^j The considerations which have been used in a former analogous connexion with respect to the work of the first and second days, are no less applicable here in their bearing upon the conceptions of the creative mind and will.

Nor does the language of the record with respect to the "ruling" uses of the two heavenly bodies, the sun and the moon, "for signs and for seasons, and for days and for years," otherwise than express with "scientific exactness," though from the nature of the case in relative terms the grand conclusions of physical astronomy in particular, as of other science generally. What these terms contain implicitly, has been in the progress of thought unfolded explicitly, the varied phenomena of the earth and heavens having been in some measure reduced to system in connexion with the recognition of gravitating and other influences.

The description of the fifth and six days' work brings the record again into contact with those results of geology which are universally received. This portion of the Mosaic account covers the second and third of the three great geologic periods which "all geologists" agree in recognizing.

"We are prepared to demonstrate," says Hugh Miller, "that the second period of the geologist was peculiarly and characteristically a period of whale-like reptiles of the sea, of enormous creeping reptiles of the land, and of numerous birds, some of them of gigantic size; and, in meet accordance with the fact, we find that the second Mosaic period with which the geologist is called on to deal, was a period in which God created the fowl that flieth above the earth, with moving (or creeping) creatures, both in the waters and on land, and what our translation renders great whales, but that I find rendered in the margin great sea-monsters." "The tertiary period had also its prominent class of existences. . . . Its beasts of the field were by far the most wonderfully developed, both in size and numbers, that ever appeared on earth. . . . Truly, this tertiary age—this third and last of the great geologic periods—was peculiarly the age of the great 'beasts of the earth after their kind, and cattle after their kind.'"^k

^j Quoted by Mr. Goodwin, p. 221.

^k Id., page 221.

Such is the testimony, in deference to which Mr. Goodwin somewhat grudgingly concedes, that "the geologic periods are tolerably well assimilated to the third, fifth, and sixth Mosaic days;" but, as was before observed in reference to the third day's work and its agreement with the first grand geologic period, he does this in a manner calculated to turn the mind of the unwary from the contemplation of the divine design, and to represent the formation of a plan of cosmogony to be the design which occupied the mind of the writer. We repeat that this is begging the question. It is assuming that even so far as the account tallies with what "all geologists" agree in holding, the explanation is not, at all events, to be sought for in the supposition that it was *so far* "an authentic utterance of divine knowledge," and not "the speculation of some Hebrew Descartes or Newton." It was, indeed, with reference to a higher design than the formation of a plan of cosmogony, that we conceive the writer's mind was divinely directed. Our concern in this respect is to vindicate it, as also the expression of the spirit of truth, having regard to the relative aspect under which it is conveyed to the simple and the philosophic mind. We are not concerned with the logical discrepancies of believing commentators on the sacred text, such as Mr. Goodwin adduces, as it were, to justify infidelity. It is in accordance with the divine proceedings in the scheme of providence that the recognition of revealed truth should depend upon the will rather than the intellect: nor are we concerned to vindicate Mr. Hugh Miller's logical consistency of statement and arguments, although no one will object that he is not a competent witness to the fact of what "all geologists" admit in regard to that portion of geologic truth on which the record touches. We have no occasion to touch on the theory of a succession of visionary pictures, and other provisional theories of Dr. Buckland and Archdeacon Pratt; whatever may, or may not, be any degree of their approximation to the truth in detail. It is the temper of the humble and believing reasoner which we fail to discern in Mr. Goodwin's argument.

The sum of what we have written leads to the reflection that it is in reference to man as the high priest of the terrestrial temple, constructed and reared for him by the Divine Artificer who has "set the world in their heart," that we are to interpret the inspired Record both as a whole and in detail. His creation is accordingly introduced in a form and connexion differing from that respecting the other creatures. When all things had been

¹ Id., p. 246, 247.

created (Heb. *bara*) and made (Heb. *hasah*) for his sake, when his home had been furnished for his reception, there then takes place an operation of the divine mind in which the persons of the Godhead are represented as in counsel with reference to His being made by their concurrent will, and thought, and act, in their own divine image. We thus recognize in the first Adam, at least as respects the living soul breathed into him, the stamp and character of the archetype of creation, constructed in respect of his material frame and organization according to the analogy which holds good of the creatures which were brought forth from the matter of the earth and ocean, agreeably to what we know from experience and observation of analogous results now. Man too was made out of the dust of the ground, but that was in his case superadded, which is not predicated of the creatures who were put under his feet, and to whom it was accordingly given him to assign their names in the reasonable exercise of his proper faculty of speech.

We distinguish, therefore, between the law of propagation of mankind (especially as created anew in the second Adam, the first-born of a new creation), and what have been described as the self-evolving processes of animal life in nature. Both are equally to be referred to the original Word of God which imparted to the matter of the earth and waters the property of propagating organic life, in harmony with what we witness in the spontaneous organic existences which are mysteriously educed from vegetable and other matter. To man it may have been given to imitate the processes of nature, but not, as an originating principle, to create the principle of life and being which, in connexion with human instrumentality, is derived to us from the one divine source of all things. With the foundation for his faith which the inspired Record supplies, it is for man, renewed in the divine image, to use the dominion given him over the elements and their inhabitants in accordance with those dictates of reason, conscience, and the spirit, which are included in our idea of his responsible character, with a reverent and religious regard to the higher laws of Providence, and the hosts of unseen intelligences which compass us around. There is the prospect of the agencies which have been already employed in the extension of the means of communication and material welfare, such as steam, electricity, and magnetism, being still further extended and multiplied so as to bring near the fulfilment of the prediction, respecting the latter days, "that many shall run to and fro on the earth, and knowledge shall be increased." But let us not rest in this as the idea which, even if realized in our time, will satisfy the mind or support it in the

hour when the earthly tabernacle is dissolved. It must have been a higher thought than this which sustained the spirit of the late Prince Consort in the midst of his career of usefulness, and in the prospect of his approaching end. The restoration of our nature in the second Adam as the father of a race begotten of incorruptible seed of the Church which is his spouse and our spiritual mother—this, and this alone, is adequate to satisfy the aspirations and heal the maladies attending the education of the soul of man.

C. GOOCH.

EXEGESIS OF DIFFICULT TEXTS.

MARK XV. 15, COMPARED WITH LEVITICUS XVI. 5.

DEAN ELLICOTT in page 450 of his essay on Scripture^a and its interpretation, in the *Aids to Faith*, lays down two rules for the prudent expounder to conform to in tracing out types: "First, not positively to assert the existence of typical relations between persons, places or things, unless it should appear, either directly or by reasonable inference, that such relations are recognized in Scripture: secondly, even in the case of apparently reasonable inferences from Scripture, not to press the typical allusion unless we have the consent of the best of the earlier expositors."

It is not our intention to enter into any investigation of the first of these rules, which may at any rate be accepted as a caution even by those who are not willing to commit themselves to its guidance as an absolute rule. But the second appears to us to involve so glaring an attempt to lock the wheels of progress in the department of typology, that we cannot but raise our voice to protest against it. Our Lord has told us that every properly instructed scribe is like a householder who brings forth out of his store things both new and old (Matt. xiii., 52); are we then to be restricted to the old things only in the department of typology? Whence did Dean Ellicott derive his authority for thus restricting the general words of his Master? It may be that the fathers, fond as they were of discovering typical resemblances, where we, on reconsideration, can find nothing, passed heedlessly over some types of the greatest value, which lay too near the surface for them even to imagine them to be types at all. We are willing enough to pay great regard to the

^a Dean Ellicott's rules of Exegesis in the *Aids to Faith*.

earlier commentators, especially to Origen, but are not willing by our own act and deed to tether ourselves to a stake by a rope which will let us advance to the limits of their traces and no further. But let us proceed to Dean Ellicott's application of his rule.

He says (p. 451) :—

“To conclude with an instance of its negative use, we may allude to an ingenious attempt to connect the circumstances mentioned by all the four evangelists in reference to our Lord and Barabbas with the sortition in reference to the two goats (Lev. xvi., 5, sqq.) on the day of Atonement. At first there seems a strange persuasiveness in the suggested relations of type to anti-type; nay, there might be thought to be some scriptural basis in the similar comparisons that are indicated or hinted at (comp. chap. xiii., 11, 12) in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The opinion of the early writers here interposes a salutary caution. We find that the ceremonies connected with the scape-goat, and the somewhat similar ceremonies in the cleansing of the leper (Lev. xiv., 2, et sqq.), were almost unanimously referred alone to Christ,—to Christ, as both dying for us, and by His resurrection living again for evermore. The circumstances of the case, it was justly argued, required a type which, to be complete, must necessarily be twofold, and which, to be fully significative, must present two aspects, as it were, of the same anti-typal mystery. If it be admitted that the scape-goat can, by inference, be deemed a scriptural type of Christ, it is probable that we shall reject the ingenious parallel, and accept the view taken by the earlier expositors.”^b

Nothing can be fairer than the Dean's mode of stating the case; it is his rule itself to which we cannot give our assent. And we hope we shall always retain a grateful sense of his services to sacred literature, even while we are protesting against what we conceive to be his errors.

Let us first examine the theory of the fathers alluded to, and see whether it can stand a scrutiny. That the sacrificed goat represented our Lord in His death, everybody is agreed; but not so as regards the goat, which was let go into the wilderness “for Azazel,” ^{אֶזָּזֵל}, an expression which has not yet been satisfactorily explained, but is by some considered to be the name of an evil spirit, and is by the LXX. translated by τῷ ἀποπομπάλῳ, τοῦ ἀποπομπάλου εἰς ἄφεσιν, and εἰς τὴν ἀποπομπήν. The words of the LXX. may either be understood actively “for the averter” or “for the [demon to be] averted;” or lastly, “for the [goat to be] dismissed,” *hirco emissario*, as Schleusner has it.

^b In page 429 of the *Aids to Faith* Dean Ellicott says, “The great exegetical difficulty in John xx., 17, appears modified, if not removed, by taking into consideration the tense of the verb ἀρῶν, not ἔλῃ.” The reader will find this worked out, we believe for the first time, in p. 433 of this Journal for July 1860. Dr. Donaldson, *Gr. Gram.*, p. 414, notices the tense, but does not solve the exegetical difficulty of the γὰρ.

And we suppose this latter sense is that which is indicated by the English translation "scapegoat," *quasi* "escape-goat." Such, however, is the difficulty of the words, that it is quite impossible to take them into account in our investigation, and we must, therefore, simply consider the facts.

Now, there is but *one* circumstance in our Lord's life, death and resurrection, that bears any resemblance to the scape-goat, and that is, the fact that he is spoken of in both the Old and New Testaments as "bearing" our sins and infirmities. But this is either as *removing* them (Matt. viii., 17) or as bearing the pain and punishment of them, not as carrying them away to some other place. Surely He did not carry them to heaven, which is the idea involved in the theory of those who identify the scape-goat with our Lord in His resurrection. If any whither, He must have carried them to Hades, and left them there before rising and ascending to heaven. Again, the man who conducted the scapegoat into the wilderness, was rendered unclean by the contact; can it be supposed that our Lord was unclean in His resurrection? Not to mention that the act of release by the hands of a "fit man" is entirely lost from sight under this interpretation. Here, then, we have only one point of resemblance; and two points, which render that resemblance impossible to be more than accidental.

Another theory is, to regard the scape-goat as representing our Lord during His sojourn in the wilderness at His temptation; a view which simply divorces the two goats from each other entirely.

Archbishop Magee says that the ceremonies of the scape-goat are to be taken in connexion with the sacrificial system in general, and cannot have any particular explanation of their own, which sounds to us simply as an acknowledgment that he knows nothing about the matter, and cannot see his way through it.

But the fact is, that all these difficulties appear to us to arise from an entire misapprehension of the nature, purpose, and significance of types. That they had an immediate, local and moral, or spiritual significance, no one will deny; and this lies generally too near the surface to be mistaken. But as regards their future and eventual application we believe their import to be grossly mistaken. Their grand purpose was surely to furnish marks of identification of Jesus as the Messiah, whereas they are generally interpreted as having some mystical reference, which is only *φωνᾶν συνετοῖσι*, vocal to the initiated. Take, for instance, that of the Paschal Lamb, which is far more generally used for the explanation of the real presence in the Eucharist, than as a means of identifying Jesus as the Messiah. Indeed, with the exception

of Hippolytus and the author of the *Chronicon Paschale*,^c commentators have generally been very busily occupied in doing what really amounts to endeavouring to prove Jesus *not* to have been the true Paschal Lamb; and were it not for the distinct statement of St. Paul that he was the Paschal Lamb, we should probably have had it stated in so many words, that the Passover had little more to do with His identification as the Messiah, than the ordinary morning and evening sacrifices. But we hope that the last two numbers of this Journal have begun to give a more rational and really more orthodox turn to this investigation.

But before we take up the consideration of the particular type for which we are contending, let us briefly pass in review the principal acknowledged types relating to our Lord, and carefully note the number and kind of points of resemblance which they severally afford.

I. According to the ordinary view the points of resemblance between our Lord and the Paschal Lamb are only three:

(1). Guiltlessness and nonresistance, which indicate analogy of nature between the type and antitype, but which are not peculiar to the *Paschal* lamb, and therefore are scarcely worthy of a place here, where we are considering rather the distinctive features of the Paschal sacrifice.

(2). No bones were broken in either case.

(3). Both victims were partaken of after death, the one really, the other mystically in the sacrament. To which (4) those who hold with us, that the last supper was not a passover, can add, that our Lord expired at the very moment of the commencement of the Paschal sacrifice. Hence, too, we can add (5) that our Lord was set apart on the tenth day of Nisan, and (6) that his resurrection corresponded to the offering of the sheaf of first-fruits. But all these three last points of resemblance are utterly lost by the ordinary view.^d

II. Our Lord himself referred to the brazen serpent elevated by Moses in the wilderness, as a type of himself. The points of resemblance are two only.

(1). Elevation upon a wooden support, *probably* a cross in both cases.

(2). Cure in the one case of bodily, in the other of spiritual disease by the faithful contemplation of the object elevated for the purpose.

III. The sacrifice of Isaac—begging pardon of Dean Elliott's first rule—is generally acknowledged to be a type of that of our Lord. The points of resemblance are four.

^c See the Editor's note in page 184 of the last number.

^d Compare Mr. Parker's letter in pages 449—453 of our January number.

(1). Miraculous though not identical conception in each case. But this is more like the conception of John the Baptist than that of our Lord, and will scarcely bear pressing.

(2). The victim in each case given up to sacrifice by his father, is an only son. Or this may perhaps be considered as affording two separate points of resemblance.

(3). Isaac bore the wood on which he was to have been offered, our Lord bore his cross.

(4). There was a resurrection from the dead in each case; that of Isaac, who suffered a symbolical death in the substituted ram being figurative, ἐν παραβολῇ, (Heb. xi. 19), that of our Saviour real.

IV. The sign of Jonah is referred to by our Lord as the only one which would be given to the Jews of his day. The points of resemblance are three.

(1). Three days in a real or symbolical grave.

(2). Resurrection from that grave.

(3). Each was a voluntary sacrifice for the safety of others.

V. The high priest is treated in the Epistle to the Hebrews as a type of Christ. The points of resemblance are three.

(1). Divine calling, as of Aaron through Moses, and of our Lord by a voice from heaven at his baptism.

(2). Mediatorship between God and Man.

(3). Entrance into the unseen with blood.

These are the principal and most striking scriptural types, and in none of them do we find, according to the ordinary explanations, more than *four* points of resemblance, one of which is generally faint or uncertain. We may now proceed to the consideration of the ceremonies of the great day of atonement, which present to our mind a type as close and striking as any.

The points of resemblance are these.

(1). The two prisoners before Pilate correspond to the two goats in number.

(2). One of the goats and one of the prisoners were selected for death, the other for release.

(3). This death and release were actually carried into execution.

(4). As the two goats, so also were the two prisoners exact counterparts of each other. Jesus was the Messiah, Barabbas was the representative of the *kind* of Messiah, which the Jews expected and desired.

(5). Even if Origen's statement, that some MSS. of St. Matthew in his day read "*Jesus* Barabbas" as opposed to "Jesus called Christ," be not relied on, there yet remains a very singular coincidence of name between the two. Barabbas,

son of the Father, stands in a remarkable antithesis to the Son of man, who claimed God as his Father.

(6). The next point is not altogether one of *resemblance*, but also in some degree of *contrast*, yet comes equally under the laws of association, and rather indicates an interruption and incompleteness of the ceremony as regards a great portion of the Jewish nation, although as regards Christians it is complete and the parallel holds in every respect. The Jewish nation did not confess its sins by the mouth of the priest over the head of the scape-goat, but, at the instigation of the priest, deliberately took its greatest sin upon itself. "His blood be upon us and upon our children!"

The Jewish nation thus divided itself into two great portions, those who died with Jesus, the sacrificed goat, confessing their sins, and those who lived with Barabbas, the polluted scape-goat, taking their sin on their own heads. And as identified with Barabbas, the scape-goat, the portion of the scape-goat they have had ever since. They are wanderers in the wilderness of the world, everywhere separated from the rest of mankind and nowhere identified with the people among whom they live, a kind of living scape-goat, representing the mystical body of the outlaw, whom they preferred, just as the Church of Christ represents the mystical body of him, in whom every member of it suffers a symbolical death and resurrection at his baptism.

Now here is an explanation of a most important ceremony in the Jewish economy, that could hardly have been left without some striking fulfilment, which makes it point to Jesus as the Messiah in a manner more close and more remarkable than any other according to the current explanations, seeing that the points of resemblance are actually *six* in number. Is it just, is it reasonable to reject it for no other reason than that it has only lately been thought of? Even the "fit man," by whom the scapegoat was conducted into the wilderness, finds his anti-type either in Pilate himself, or in the person or persons sent by him to release Barabbas from prison, though we have thought this additional point of resemblance scarcely worthy of being classed as a seventh among the rest, lest we should lay ourselves open to a charge of over minute criticism.

But let us suppose for a moment, that this interpretation had been current from the first, and in vogue among the fathers? What use would Julian the apostate and the other early opponents of Christianity have made of it? They would have treated the history of Barabbas as simply inserted for the purpose of proving Jesus to be Messiah, and have declared that such coincidences did but prove Christianity to be a "cunningly devised

fable." But when things so plain and so simple are not discovered till a much later period, their force as types remains the same, while the religion itself is freed from the objection which would otherwise infallibly have been brought against it. If there had been no difficulty for us to elucidate in the matter of the pass-over and last supper, would it eventually have strengthened or weakened the case of Christianity? It would have weakened it undoubtedly, as laying it open to the suspicion of fraud and forgery, whereas such difficulties when solved exhibit a force of "undesigned coincidence," which far surpasses any evidence that can be gleaned from matters lying on the surface. And how differently does the argument addressed to a Jew from our point of view, identifying Jesus most clearly both with the Paschal lamb and the sacrifice of expiation, appeal to him from that in which almost every type important in his eyes halts and hobbles to a most unsatisfactory solution.

Nor is it reasonable to object that Barabbas was historically too unimportant a personage to occupy the position of counterpart to our Lord in such a case. How many people are great in their day, who are almost lost from recollection afterwards! *Vivere fortes ante Agamemnona*. And Barabbas was a *δέσμιος* 'ΕΠΙΣΗΜΟΣ (Matt. xxvii. 16), a "notable prisoner," who had headed a ΣΤΑΣΙΣ or *insurrection* against the Romans (Mark xv. 7), in which blood had been shed, though it is not recorded to what extent. But the mention of the *συστασιῶται* in St. Mark and the description of the man given by St. Matthew, taken together, certainly indicate an outlaw of more than ordinary consideration, who must have been at the head of a considerable band of men, perhaps amounting to a little army. No doubt at the time, he was a kind of popular hero. And in considering such a subject we ought to look upon things as they existed *at the time*, and not take an *ex post facto* historical view of events, judging of them by our own notions and prejudices or even by our own better and fuller information.

It will perhaps be worth while to state the manner in which we were led to our theory of the fulfilment of the symbolism of the great day of atonement, and the corroboration it has met with from living commentators, as it will shew that more minds than one have been working independently in the same direction. We believe it was in 1843 that a friend heard and recounted to us a sermon of Mr. Melville's, preached on Good Friday, in which he endeavoured to shew, (1) that the importance of the ceremonies of that day in the Jewish economy was so great, that they *must* have their counterpart in the actual history of our Saviour; and (2) that the history of the young

man, who fled and left the linen cloth, with which he was girded, in the hands of our Lord's captors (Mark xiv. 51, 52) was simply introduced in order to exhibit the fulfilment of the type of the scape-goat. This reasoning haunted us for some time, and we were equally unable to resist the arguments of Mr. Melville in favour of the necessity of a fulfilment of the type, and to accept his view of that fulfilment. We were, however, at length led to the conclusion, that it was not the young man who escaped, but Barabbas, who was deliberately released, that completed the anti-typical fulfilment of the ceremony of the scape-goat.

The same view appears to have been ventilated by a German of the name of Krafft and adopted by Luthardt, whose work on St. John was published in 1853. Just about the same time appeared Sepp's *Leben Jesu*, which contains the same theory. Thus it would seem that in all probability much about the same time and without correspondence or knowledge of each other's views, a Lutheran, a Roman Catholic, and an Anglican were led to the very same theory of the symbolism of this extraordinary ceremony. This view has also been adopted by Dean Alford from Luthardt, and that as long ago as 1854, though we were not aware of it, as we only possess the first and fourth editions of his first volume, and never had the second edition to our knowledge in our hands till the very day on which we are writing the present article. Altogether this is one of the most singular instances on record of several persons being led independently to the same conclusions, which had previously lain hid from the wise and learned. And we think we may fairly express a confidence that such a threefold cord will be found too strong to be broken by the touch of so arbitrary a rule as that laid down by Dean Ellicott with respect to typology.

We regret deeply that Dean Ellicott should in this case have been led to range himself on the side of the men, who live with their faces turned backwards, and who are willing to accept nothing that has not antiquity in its favour. Every man becomes an "authority" after he is dead, and the lapse of a few years will soon convert a new and startling interpretation into an old and stale one. And in the present day it is impossible to put enquiry down by a list of names or by anything that can be ultimately reduced to mere authority. If the *Essays and Reviews* shew nothing else, they at any rate shew this. We are ourselves convinced that the old orthodoxy is in the main in the right, and that the splendour of the truths it maintains will beam far more brightly after the windows have been cleaned, which let in the rays of the everlasting sun to its precious stores. But theologians have both collected a large quantity of dross

and sparkling tinsel along with the pure gold, silver and precious stones, and also in all probability left a great many jewels of "purest ray serene" unvalued and unconsidered through unskillfulness inattention or pre-occupation, which may after all have been heaven-sent for reasons unknown to us, but which a future age will more clearly perceive. Our duty is not to frame arbitrary rules like those by which Dean Ellicott would tether us, but to endeavour by God's help to be animated by a sincere love of the *truth* and the truth only, to make use of all prudential cautions that may be reasonably suggested to us, and neither to repudiate the old, because the germ of subsequent errors are visible in some portions of it, nor to reject the new, simply because it is new and may perhaps be startling to us. St. Paul gives us the true rule, "Test and try all things and hold fast that which is good" (1 Thess. v. 21). And whether we have to deal with those who depreciate the Fathers or with those who decry the labours of modern divines, let us always remember that our Lord himself has told us, that "Every scribe instructed as regards the kingdom of heaven, is like a householder who brings forth out of his store things *new* and *old*."

ROMANS III. 5—8.

This is commonly said to be a very difficult passage, and certainly the current interpretations of it are difficult enough. Neither is the matter mended by Professor Jowett, who persists in considering the interrogative *μή* as equivalent to *nonne*, in spite of Winer and every other grammarian and lexicographer of respectability. The fact is, that if the Professor used his own language with the utter lack of precision, which he is so fond of ascribing to St. Paul, he would never have obtained his present reputation. If he would but just take his own entire dependence on beauty and precision of language into consideration, he would, perhaps, be less ready to accuse St. Paul of a misuse of common particles which any good Cambridge tutor would underscore with very black marks indeed in a pupil's exercise. However, we think that a very simple observation will set this apparently difficult passage in a clear and unclouded light.

Let us first translate it carefully with a strict regard to both grammar and dictionary.

"But if our unrighteousness proves God's righteousness, what shall we say? Shall we say, '*God is unjust who brings his anger to bear?*' (I am speaking in human fashion—Never! Since in that case how shall God judge the world?) *For if the truth of God has by my falsehood*

abounded to His glory, why any longer am I, too, judged as a sinner? And shall we say, as we are slandered, and some assert we say, *Let us do the evil things, that the good things may come?* But the condemnation of such people is just."

It will be observed that especial attention is here paid to the meaning of $\mu\eta$ interrogative=*num*; and that from $\tau\acute{\iota}$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu$ in 5, $\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu$ is supplied to $\mu\eta$ in 5, and to $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\mu\eta$ in 8. But one further remark is required to make the whole passage plain and simple. St. Paul answers the supposition of verse 7 by anticipation in verse 6, and in fact interrupts the sequence of the objection on account of his pious horror at the blasphemy. Verse 7 gives the reason of the supposition which follows $\mu\eta$, in verse 5, and by a careful attention to this and the preceding remarks the reasoning of the passage may easily be drawn out without a flaw in either grammar or logic, somewhat as follows.

Apparently, from what has preceded, the righteousness of God is proved and recommended to man by the misconduct of the Jews. What then shall we Jews say under the circumstances?

(1). Shall we say that we are being unfairly treated by God, and that He is unjust in punishing us for what is but a means of carrying out His own ends? (St. Paul here interposes a caution that he is speaking in mere human fashion, and not as an inspired teacher ought to speak). For if the truth of God has been exhibited in greater plenitude by my falsehood,—continues the Jew—why am I to be judged and punished as a sinner for what is rather meritorious, judging by its results, than otherwise?

To this St. Paul replies or, rather, has already replied in his parenthetical exclamation, "This will never do, for it is inconsistent with what we know will be the case, namely, God's judgment of the world; and as we are sure that God both has the right to judge the world, and will judge the world, therefore it is clear that any statement of our case, as Jews, which is inconsistent with this, must be rejected.

(2). Shall we say, Let us do evil that good may come? Shall we adopt the principle that the end sanctifies the means?

To this St. Paul replies, "That the charge of holding such an immoral doctrine has been brought against himself and other Christian teachers, but that persons holding it are justly condemned on moral grounds, and that therefore this argument, also, must be rejected.

A. H. W.

PETER'S DENIAL OF CHRIST.

(Continued from No. I., New Series, page 134.)

It was now midnight, and the preliminary examination before Annas had already taken place. During the time of the pass-over, or in the months of March and April, though the days are warm in Palestine, the nights and mornings are very cold, so much so, that, according to some authorities, snow occasionally falls. In the midst of the open court, therefore, the servants and officers had kindled a fire, around which they sat and warmed themselves, and Peter came and sat down with them. The maid, who had opened to him the door, observed him, and looking him in the face, on which the light of the fire was reflected, she recognized his features, which she had previously seen, perhaps by a torch light, and she accosted him and said, "Art not thou also one of this man's disciples?" (John), or "Thou also wast with Jesus of Nazareth" (Matthew and Mark). Then presently turning to the servant, she said, "This man was also with him" (Luke). He denied it, not once only, but, in different words, again and yet again; and presently was heard the first crowing of the cock.

But were there then cocks in Jerusalem? The Mishna affirms that they could not be kept there, because they scraped up unclean worms; and, to explain the sacred narrative, recourse has been had to the notion that the Roman guards stationed in the city were accustomed to announce the several watches of the night by sounding a trumpet in imitation of the crowing of a cock. But the cock is not an unclean bird, nor is the keeping of it prohibited by the law of Moses. And if it were not usual among the Jews to keep this bird, can we therefore conclude that the Romans did not keep it; and may not this cock have been one in the possession of a foreigner who resided near the palace of the high priest? It is admitted by Reland, that whilst it was not lawful to breed cocks in Jerusalem, the Jews were not prohibited from buying them to eat, and that therefore the cock mentioned in the Gospel might be in the house of a Jew who designed to kill it for his own table; or may have been kept in the precincts of Pilate or of a Roman officer or soldier.*

It is a strange and significant creature, this "bird of dawning," as Shakspeare calls it. Pliny thus speaks of it, "Next to the peacock, the animal that acts as our watchman by night,

* See Harris' *Natural History of the Bible*.

and which nature has produced for the purpose of arousing mortals to their labours, and dispelling their slumbers, shews itself most actuated by feelings of vanity. The cock knows how to distinguish the stars, and marks the different periods of the day, every three hours, by his note. These animals go to roost with the setting of the sun, and at the fourth watch of the camp recall man to his cares and toils. They do not allow the rising of the sun to creep upon us unawares, but by their note proclaim the coming day, and they prelude their crowing by clapping their sides with their wings. They exercise a rigorous sway over the birds of their kind, and in every place where they are kept, hold the supreme command.”^b

There are two cock-crowings; the one just after midnight, the other about three o'clock in the morning. The latter was called *the* cock-crowing, a fact which explains the circumstance that St. Mark mentions two cock-crowings in the warning given to Peter (chap. xiv. 30), whilst the other three evangelists mention only one. It is Mark, too, who tells us that the cock crew after the first denial, whilst the other three evangelists do not name it. Seeing that St. Mark wrote his gospel under the direction of Peter, does not this fact intimate that Peter heard and noticed the first crowing of the cock? Yet it was not sufficient to bring to his remembrance his Master's words, though perhaps finding himself in danger, he went into the porch, to prevent a repetition of his grievous sin. And how sad a proof of the weakness of his nature was it that he should cower before a servant maid; she probably meant no harm, and certainly she could have done him none; no, nor the officers either, beyond heaping upon him a few opprobrious words. Or, if they could, and if, by manfully acknowledging his discipleship, he had exposed himself to the danger of imprisonment or of death;—what then? Would it not have been better to die than to deny his Lord? He thought so at a later period of his life, and, for the sake of his Master, endured a painful death; but now he neither had the faith, nor the courage, nor the fortitude to brave it, and he succumbed, therefore, to a simple girl.

The immoderate love of life is sure to lead the Christian into danger. “One of these things we must choose,” observes Rambach, “either our life must be renounced when Christ requires it, or we shall be apt to deny Christ on any exigency. For when any danger occurs for the sake of the Word, either of exile, imprisonment, or death, if our life be dearer to us than Christ and his religion, and we are not ready and willing to offer

^b *Natural History*, book x., chap. xxiv.

it up to Him who had given his life a sacrifice for us, we pave the way for denying Christ and his sacred truths." Yes, and therefore, should we remember those solemn words of our Lord, "If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and *his own life also*, he cannot be my disciple." The love of life is one of the strongest passions in the human breast, and was implanted there by God himself for the wisest and most benevolent purposes; but when it is suffered to interfere with the claims of duty, when to prolong life any one denies his Lord, when, to escape for a little while, the shafts of the last enemy, a man will prove faithless to his profession as a Christian, this passion becomes sinful and exposes him to the obloquy and shame which shall cover the enemies of Christ in the last great day.

It is not impossible that Peter might think to himself, "What right has this maid to question me in this way? she has no authority to ask me whether I am a disciple of Jesus of Nazareth, and therefore, I am under no obligation to confess it." But whether he thought so or not, the Holy Spirit called his conduct a denial of his Lord, and put it on the mark of God's displeasure. There are many refuges of lies in which men trust,—many plausible excuses they form for sin; but they are vain and worthless, and will one day be swept from underneath their feet. Be it so, that one into whose company I am thrown has no abstract right to question me respecting my religion; have I therefore a right to deny that I am a Christian if I profess to be one elsewhere? The system of morality which would sanction such a course is rotten to the very core, and the man who can thus trifle with his conscience will probably, ere long, have no conscience, or but a seared one, to trifle with.

But the second denial must now come before us, and the accounts of it we will place before the reader in the same form.

MATT. xxvi. 71.

And when he was gone out into the porch, another maid saw him, and said unto them that were there, This *fellow* was also with Jesus of Nazareth. And again he denied with an oath, I do not know the man.

MARK xiv. 69, 70.

And a maid saw him again, and began to say to them that stood by, This is one of them. And he denied it again.

LUKE xxii. 58.

And after a little while another saw him, and said, Thou art also of them. And Peter said, Man, I am not.

JOHN xviii. 25.

And Simon Peter stood and warmed himself. They said therefore unto him, Art not thou also one of his disciples? He denied it, and said, I am not.

Upwards of an hour had elapsed since the first denial, and the first examination of Christ before Caiaphas was now pro-

ceeding, when Peter was observed by another maid as he stood in the porch, who said to those that were there, "This (fellow) was also with Jesus of Nazareth," whilst the same maid, according to Mark,^c made a similar observation, and a man, according to Luke, charged him with the fact, which St. John intimates, was presently (as Peter returned and stood by the fire) reiterated by several persons at the same time. In this way we reconcile the apparent discrepancies of the four narratives, which from the very fact of their being different are evidently independent statements, yet all strictly and literally true. Is it necessary to have recourse to the hypothesis, that the sacred writers were liable to error in matters of this kind, or to suppose, with Alford, that John "was not so accurately informed of the details of this as of the other denials?" We do not think so. We believe that here at least there is the most perfect agreement with the facts of the case in each account, and that they are sufficiently harmonious to confirm the conclusion that each writer was led by the spirit of truth.

This second denial was accompanied with an oath, which was probably in the form of a solemn declaration that he was not a follower of Jesus. Annoyed at being charged a second time with the fact after he had positively denied, and thinking perhaps to save himself from another repetition of the charge, he even invoked the name of the Most High, and affirmed that he did not even know the man. This was another fearful step down the steep incline on which Peter had placed himself; so true it is, that when men once enter upon a sinful course they cannot stop when and where they will, but are driven forward by their great adversary into deeper and yet deeper guilt.

Nor should we pass over the contemptuous manner in which Peter now speaks of his Lord and Master. "I know not *the man*," was his solemn asseveration. *The man!* And is this the designation which Peter deems fitting for Him whom he had once acknowledged as the Christ the Son of God? "I know not the man!" Yet was it not the man who had called him from his nets and fishing-boats on the Galilean lake? Was it not the man whom he saw walking on the sea, and who, when he attempted to walk on it and was beginning to sink, took hold of him, and saved him from a watery grave? Was it not the man whom he saw transfigured on the mount,—the man, who, in his presence, fed the multitudes with a few loaves and fishes,—the man who raised Lazarus of Bethany from the grave, and did

* That is *the* maid who kept the door, ἡ παύλορη, the article signifying this, and not *a* maid, as in our version. Possibly, however, it may mean only *the* maid who was in the porch.

many other wonderful works? Yet now Peter professes not to know him! and thus does he add the guilt of lying and of false swearing to the sin of being ashamed of one who never was ashamed of him.

We may well imagine that Peter was now wretched and unhappy, and that, like a bird caught in a snare, he would flutter about with the utmost restlessness, and try, if possible, to make his escape from the company with which he had got entangled. But there was no egress from the court, and remain therefore he must until another blow from the arch-enemy would complete the work, now so unhappily begun. The way *into* temptation is often easy, the *retreat* is generally hazardous and difficult.

The third denial took place about an hour later, and is thus narrated by the four evangelists:—

MATT. xxvi. 73—75.

And after awhile came unto him they that stood by, and said to Peter, Surely thou art also one of them, for thy speech bewrayeth thee? Then began he to curse and to swear, saying, I know not the man. And immediately the cock crew. And Peter remembered the word of Jesus, which said unto him, Before the cock crow thou shalt deny me thrice. And he went out and wept bitterly.

MARK xiv. 70—72.

And a little after, they that stood by said again to Peter, Surely thou art one of them, for thou art a Galilean, and thy speech agreeth thereto? But he began to curse and to swear, saying, I know not this man of whom ye speak. And the second time the cock crew. And Peter called to mind the word that Jesus said unto him, Before the cock crow twice thou shalt deny me thrice. And when he thought thereon, he wept.

LUKE xxii. 59, 62.

And about the space of an hour after, another confidently affirmed, saying, Of a truth this fellow also was with him, for he is a Galilean. And Peter said, Man, I know not what thou sayest. And immediately the cock crew. And the Lord turned and looked upon Peter. And Peter remembered the word of the Lord, how he had said unto him, Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice. And Peter went out and wept bitterly.

JOHN xviii. 26, 27.

One of the servants of the high priest, being his kinsman, whose ear Peter cut off, saith, Did not I see thee in the garden with him? Peter then denied again, and immediately the cock crew.

It was now about three o'clock in the morning, and the second and more formal examination of Jesus before Caiaphas and the Sanhedrin was coming to a close. The shout, "He is guilty of death," which arose in the palace, was probably heard by Peter in the court, and strange must have been his emotions as he learnt that his Master, whom he had already twice denied, was pronounced guilty of blasphemy, and was condemned to die. But, alas, his peace of mind and his courage had forsaken him; and whereas he might, in the first instance, have stepped forward on his Lord's behalf, he had now rendered himself incapable of taking such a step, and unworthy of so high an honour. But, indeed, he was not disposed to vindicate Christ's cause; for he

was ashamed to be in the least identified with it. His former denials, however, had not satisfied the bystanders of his ignorance of "the man;" and now, as it would seem, several accosted him at once and charged him with being "one of them;" whilst, as John only relates, a kinsman of Malchus, whose ear Peter had cut off, said unto him, "Did not I see thee in the garden with him?"

In the garden Peter was very courageous, and, as we have seen, drew his sword in defence of his Master. He could scarcely have forgotten the circumstance, and the trouble it was likely to have occasioned; and now that it is indirectly alluded to by one related to the person he injured, and who was prepared to testify to Peter's conduct, being himself present on the occasion, Peter might well feel somewhat alarmed. Moreover his speech betrayed him. It was well known that the followers of Jesus were Galileans, and Peter spoke the Galilean dialect, which the rabbins say was rustic and uncouth.

"It appears from the Talmudists," says Dr. Kitto, "that the dialect of Galilee was considered very barbarous and corrupt by the people of Judæa. This may have partly proceeded from the circumstance that the population was of a character more mixed than that of Judæa, being occupied, along with the Jews, by people of different origin and languages. If we rightly collect the results of rabbinical statements, it appears that the dialect of the Galileans was marked by the indeterminate pronunciation of particular letters, so that the nice ear of the metropolitan Jew was often at a loss to distinguish their meaning; and in mis-pronouncing or confounding particular letters, especially the gutturals, in such a manner that they were frequently, out of their own country, understood to express something very different indeed from that which they intended to say."^d

It is probable then that Peter's former denials only tended to betray him. Had he kept silence this argument at least would not have been adduced against him; but so it often is, that men who yield to temptation in the first instance, thereby place instruments in the hands of their enemies by which to injure them on a second occasion. In other words, as Bengel puts it, "If Peter had remained silent, he would have been in less danger of discovery; by denying, which involved speaking, he increased the danger." Those who wish to appear neutral in reference to a particular cause, should, if thrown into the company of either party belonging to it, be still and say nothing, lest their very dialect betray them, and they should, though unconsciously, lay themselves open to keen suspicion.

^d *Pictorial Bible* on Matt. xxvi. See examples given by Lightfoot, Schoetgen, Wetstein, and others.

^e *The Gnomon* on Matt. xxvi. 74.

Peter's second denial was accompanied by an oath; his third was accompanied by cursing and swearing. Here again we see the downward course of sin, and how one sin having opened the door of the heart, others speedily follow as if it were their rightful home. Seldom is the child of God assaulted, in the first instance, by a troop of evil spirits, but as when robbers are about to enter a dwelling one is sent alone to steal into it unawares, and then let in all the rest, so one evil spirit—one temptation—one sin creeps stealthily into the soul, and then, when it has got possession, another and another easily find access. Perhaps Peter had been somewhat accustomed to cursing and swearing in his early days, and now that he had driven the good spirit from his breast, which had subdued, to a great extent, the old man within him, his former practice is renewed for the moment, until better feelings shall again return. It is often so; and hence the necessity, on the part of Christ's followers, of constant vigilance and of holy self-distrust. They may have been purged from their old sins, but, if once they yield to the power of temptation, those old sins may rise up and contend for the mastery again.

A second time the cock crew, for it was now the hour at which that bird repeats his mysterious notes, and arouses those who are apt to slumber longer than they ought. The sound fell on Peter's ear, and as it was the second time he had heard it, memory resumed her office, and he now remembered the solemn warning of his Lord. The memory is a wondrous faculty. Poets have sung of its pleasures, and doubtless they are among the highest which we are capable of enjoying; and a large amount of our happiness arises from recollections of past events, past scenes, and past enjoyments, by which we are able, as it were, to live them over again, and revel in them as if they were still present. But memory has its pains also; for it retains, mirrored upon its face, things distressing as well as things pleasing, and oftentimes circumstances which we would fain forget and bury in oblivion are suddenly brought back to our recollection by some very trifling matter—a peculiar noise, the sight of a long-forgotten face, or the recurrence of an attack of pain. The crowing of the cock awoke Peter's memory, and set it on the task of thinking of the words, "before the cock crow twice thou shalt deny me thrice;" and blessed for him it was that the "watcher of the night" was there, and did arouse him, for otherwise he would probably have fallen deeper still.

The hymn beginning *Æterne rerum Conditor*, attributed to St. Ambrose, tells us that the crowing of the cock should warn us against the danger of denying Christ.

"To strenuous labour let us rise,
The cock calls those who slumbering lie;
Awakes the sluggard from his couch;
Convicts who would their Lord deny."^f

But though the cock-crowing brought Peter's sin to his remembrance, something more was necessary to lead him to hopeful penitence and prayer. And St. Luke tells us what else occurred. The trial before Caiphas had just come to a close, and at that moment Jesus was being conducted through the court and led away to Pilate, when He turned and looked upon Peter; and that look it was which pierced the culprit's heart. Amazing is the power of the eye! It can not only move itself, but it can give expression to the whole countenance, and can convey to those on whom it looks sentiments of the most varied kind. Some looks are those of tenderness and love, warm and cheering as the beams of the mid-day sun; others are those of wrath and anger, terrible as the lightning's flash; and others again are those of pity and compassion, so consolatory as to revive the most desponding breast. What kind of a look was this of Christ's? Was it an angry look? Was it an upbraiding look? No; it was a look of sorrow mixed with pity for his poor disciple,—such a look as none but Jesus ever gave; a look that said far more than many words could say, even from the lips of Christ himself. Jesus might have uttered Peter's name as he did that of Mary Magdalene after his resurrection; but that would have exposed his faithless follower to danger from the people; and inasmuch as he could catch his eye in the glow of the fire that was still burning in the hall, or in that of the torches of those who were leading Him away, a look was all that was necessary; "and Peter went out and wept bitterly."

He went out. Gladly would he have gone out before, but could not;—now the gates of the passage leading into the street were open, and he passed along with the crowd which led Jesus to the hall of Pilate. Did he follow that crowd thither? Oh no! he had no heart for that now. He had seen enough and heard enough, and the fountain of his tears was broken up at the remembrance of his faithlessness and sin. "When he thought thereon he wept," says our version of Mark xiv. 72. The words are *ἐπιβαλὼν ἐκλαλειν*; respecting the meaning of which the critics are not agreed. Some take *ἐπιβαλὼν* in the sense of casting over his Lord's words, or all that had previously occurred, whilst others supply *ἱμάτιον*, and render "casting his garment

^f See *The Voice of Christian Life in Song*, p. 90, 91, where a beautiful translation is given of this hymn.

over his face he wept." What more probable than that, filled with shame and grief, he should try to hide his face, and, as speedily as possible, rush out of the place, and seek some solitary spot for prayer? Whither he went we are not informed, but we can imagine him going back to the garden of Gethsemane, and on the very spot where his Lord agonized on his behalf and on behalf of others, pouring out his soul in penitential cries. "He wept *bitterly*," says St. Matthew; for tears of penitence are bitter tears, as every one who has experienced the broken and the contrite heart well know.

Very different then was the repentance of Peter from that of Judas. The one was remorse which led to sad despair; the other was heartfelt sorrow mingled with some rays of hope. How long Peter remained in the solitude he sought, who can tell? The whole of that eventful day was doubtless to him a day of weeping and distress, and hence we hear nothing of his being present at the crucifixion, as was John; nor is his name mentioned again until the morning of the resurrection, when, as Mark informs us, the angel said to the women, "Go your way, tell his disciples and Peter that He goeth before you into Galilee;" implying doubtless that Peter was forgiven, and that he would still be accounted by his Lord one of the twelve.

Yes, Peter was forgiven; and at the sea of Tiberias, where he first received his call to the apostleship, his commission was renewed by his risen Lord. His triple confession then made was in striking contrast with his tripled denial now; and his language then, as well as his whole life subsequently, shewed that his former presumption and self-confidence were cured, whilst his natural courage, boldness and heroism, were consecrated to the service of his Lord.

Rich in mercy is the Saviour of the world, and hence no repenting sinner need despair. Yet none on this account ought to presume, for the narrative of Peter's fall is given by the Evangelists, not so much for the encouragement of the penitent as for the instruction and warning of those who believe. It says to all Christ's followers and to each, "Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall." It inculcates self-mistrust, checks the disposition to vanity and pride, and bids us watch and pray.

THORNLEY SMITH.



NEW TESTAMENT CRITICS: Tischendorf versus Tregelles.*

THE edition of the New Testament in Greek and Latin which S. P. Tregelles has lately begun to publish must not be passed by unnoticed. In the year 1844, a work of his appeared, entitled *ἀποκαλύψις ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ ἐξ ἀρχαίων ἀντιγραφῶν ἐκδοθείσα*; "The Book of the Revelation in Greek, edited from ancient authorities; with a new English Version, and various readings," in which he agreed to such an extent with my first edition of the New Testament issued in 1841, that he wrote as follows: "When the present work was nearly completed, the Greek Testament of Tischendorf was published. This has certainly in the Revelation met my judgment far more than any critical text," and so on;^b a commendation which by the bye he did not repeat when he published his *Account of the printed text*, etc., in 1854. He intimated in the first-named work that he had for many years in view what is called an edition of the entire New Testament, undertaken by himself, with this title, *The Greek New Testament, edited from ancient authorities, with various readings, and the Latin Version of Jerome, by S. P. Tregelles, L.L.D.* The first part of this publication containing the gospels of Matthew and Mark reached me the beginning of this year. From it I have found that in those principles of recension which he acknowledges, he had arrived at a conformation of the text, tallying for the most part, not to say always, with that of Lachmann or my own. To test whether this was really the case, I examined the first four chapters of Matthew, reckoning in what places he agrees with me in opposition to the Elzevirs—Lachmann sometimes agreeing, sometimes differing—and in what places differing from me he does as Lachmann, or stands alone. The following was the result. He agrees with me in these places—chap. i., 1, 5 (ωβηδ), 6, 8, 9, 10, and 11, 15, 18 *bis* (χv et γενεσις), 19, 20, 22, 25; ii., 3, 8, 9, 11, 13

* The accompanying paper is a translation of part of the Introduction to Dr. Tischendorf's New Testament. We have no hesitation in allowing the learned German to state to English readers, and in an English dress, the case between himself and Dr. Tregelles. We shall as readily insert any proper reply from the other side.—ED. J. S. L.

He there declares his own creed in the following words:—"I avow my full belief in the absolute plenary inspiration of Scripture, 2 Tim. iii. 16. I believe the sixty-six books of the Old and New Testaments to be verbally the Word of God, as absolutely as were the Ten Commandments written by the finger of God on the two tables of stone; and because I thus fully believe in its verbal inspiration, I judge that it is not labour ill bestowed to endeavour to search into the evidence which is obtainable as to what those words are," etc. Fuller reference to this book will be found in the Prolegg. of my edition of 1849, p. lv. sq.

(*φαίνεται*), 15, 17, 18, *bis* 19. 23; iii., 3, 4, 8, 10, 11, 15, 16, *bis* (*sec. et tertio loco*), iv., 2, 4, *bis* 6, 9, *sec. loco* 12, 13, *sec. loco* 16, *bis* 18, 24. Among these he adopts my reading in opposition to Lachmann, in i., 18 (*χv*); ii., 13 (*φαίνεται*), 18, *sec. loco*; iii., 15, 16, *tertio loco*; iv., 2, 6, 9. He agrees with Lachmann and my 1849 edition, i., 18 (omit *γap*); ii. 5 (*ειπον* as also *ς*), 13 (in this order *κ.ο.ν.φ.*) 21; iii., 2, (Lachmann and my 1849 edition omit *και*, Tregelles reads [*και*]), 6, 7; (Lachmann and my 1849 edition omit *αυτου*, Tregelles [*αυτου*]), 14; (Lachmann and my 1849 edition omit *ω*, Tregelles [*ω*]), 16, in the first and fourth (Lachmann and my 1849 edition omit *και*, Tregelles [*και*]). He agrees, moreover, with Lachmann alone, i., 4 (as also *ς*) 5 (*βοος*), 7 and 8, 24; ii., 22, *primo loco*; (Lachmann omits *επι*, Tregelles [*επι*]), and *sec. loco*; iii., 12; iv., 1, 5, 9, 10; (Tregelles omits *οπισω μου*, Lachmann [*ο. μ.*]); 23; (Tregelles *περιηγ.* [*ο ις*], Lachmann *πε. ο. ις.*) He agrees with my 1849 edition alone, iv., 3, and *ς* preceding i., 9 and 10. Finally, he stands by himself in receiving iv., 13, *ναζαρα*, (but ii., 23, he reads with me *ναζαρεθ*), and in iv., 23, *εν* (which Lachmann had by mistake omitted) *ολη τη γαλιλαια*.

As to his *apparatus criticus* he consulted the Greek uncial codices, and some few minor ones, also several of the Italian and Vulgate, the Syriac Version, the Egyptian, Gothic, Armenian, Ethiopic; the Greek fathers likewise down to Eusebius, and of the Latin Tertullian, Cyprian, Hilary, Lucifer. He studied this apparatus for the most part himself. As in 1849, I commended the severe and distinguished labours of Tregelles prosecuted for several years, in order to advance the criticism of the New Testament text; the same commendation must now be repeated. For in that very year 1845, in the beginning of which I returned home from long journeys prosecuted since the year 1840 through Europe and the East, in the end of that year Tregelles went to Rome for the first time for the sake chiefly of consulting the Vatican Codex B. He afterwards went to Florence, Mantua, Venice, Munich, Basle; and at the close of 1846, having returned to London, he consulted Codex G of the gospels, and the Syriac gospels. In 1849 and 1850, he rested from his critical labours in Paris, and went to Hamburg in order to compare Codex H with the Uffenbach fragments. In 1853, he informs us that at Dublin he deciphered throughout the palimpsest fragment of Matthew, restored by chemical process, though he adds, "I cannot speak of important discoveries through my work on this MS.; and afterwards (as he informed me by letter) he consulted the Nitrian palimpsest of Luke. I have in this

enumeration passed over the circumstance that he enjoyed an interview with Lachmann at Berlin, etc. But it remains for me to speak of his studies at Leipsic. After he had received the first part of my new edition (1849) containing the gospels, he sent me references to nearly two hundred places, in which he perceived that his collations differed from mine (of the codices evv. E. U. X.) in order that, as he was preparing his own edition of the New Testament, I might for his sake more accurately examine the several readings. In the prolegomena of my edition of 1849, I specified those out of the list sent me, which seemed to be of value in amending my readings, including the corrections of the fragment G evv., which he afterwards forwarded. I in return sent to Tregelles what he had requested for his own use. The following is the account he gives of the transaction. After mentioning the comparison he made of his collations with mine, "I immediately," says he, "sent the result to Tischendorf, so that when the complete volume appeared in the summer of 1849, he gave corrigenda in his prolegomena as to the readings of the MSS. of the gospels E. G. U. X." Bearing in mind the advantage that he himself had thence derived, he wrote to me the following year that he would come to Leipsic if I would allow him to compare my copious collations of various codices with his own. I cordially complied with his request, and he came to Leipsic, and being at the time overwhelmed with a mass of labours, I gave him from among my collations whatever he asked, so that at his own dwelling he could conveniently appropriate all to his own use. While he was doing this for my future use also, if indeed a fresh opportunity should occur for using it before the appearance of his edition, he took care everywhere to mark the discrepancy of *his own from mine*; inasmuch, that having returned from Hamburg to Leipsic, he communicated to me his collations of the Codex H, and of the Uffenbach fragment of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Regarding these studies at Leipsic, he thus speaks (*An Introductory Notice*, etc., 1857): "Tischendorf, whose collations have been compared with mine for our common advantage;" as before he had said in his *Account*, etc., "for our mutual benefit I made the comparison of our respective collations of K, U, and X, of H and G," etc. My edition of the New Testament being now sold out, I was keenly expecting quite a swarm of my collations; he promised that he would send me whatever in the libraries bore upon the doubtful places of my collations, but he never sent them *for our mutual benefit*. I shall presently notice the notes upon the Codex Claromontanus communicated to me. Before coming to Leipsic he learnt from my letters that I had

begun an edition of the Codex Amiatinus—it appeared in the autumn of 1850. He replied that he had himself consulted the same MS. (excepting all the unedited parts of it, which by the way include the prefaces, indices of chapters, arguments, summaries, occupying seventy-four pages of my small folio edition), and he offered me the use of his collation. I thought it would not be well to decline this, though I had full confidence in my own excerpts, that so weighty a work, in which more than a thousand errors of Fleck had to be corrected, might be published with greater assurance of correctness. I referred to this, as was fair, in the Prolegg. Codex Amiatinus. Where Tregelles differed from me, which seldom happened, I usually followed my own notes, except indeed in a few cases of orthography, *e.g.*, Matt. xxiii. 26, *pharisee* for *pharisæe*; Mark i. 6, *silvestre* for *sylvestre*. But not to notice the studies in which it has been my lot to assist him, I cannot help saying here how badly I take it that he should seem to labour under such envy and malevolence, with so short a memory as to appropriate to himself the office of detractor from my labours. For him minutely to search out and expose any error would be a kind act to me and to literature, and thus, it might be hoped, he would add something new to previous discoveries. But he is not satisfied with this; excluding all true piety and good faith, and indulging a lust for invention and vituperation, I am forced to defend myself against it, and to shew just men the truth in the matter. It will be sufficient to adduce three instances.

In the fourth volume of Horne's *Introduction*, edited by Tregelles (p. 184), he speaks thus concerning the NITRIAN FRAGMENTS: "The intention of publishing the Nitrian fragments had been communicated by Tregelles to many, and amongst others to Prof. Tischendorf. After, however, Tregelles had made all the arrangements for the publication, and just as he had completed a re-examination of the MS. for that purpose, he received a communication from Prof. Tischendorf, stating that it would be superfluous for an edition of it to appear in England, because he was about to bring one out at Leipsic." The truth of the matter is as follows. On the 24th of August, 1854, Tregelles wrote to me, "Mon sujet en venant à Londres est à collationner des fragmens palimpsestes dans le Musée Britannique (les 45 feuilles que vous appelez R), qui sont trop considerable pour être negligé dans mon N. T. qui est maintenant dans les mains des imprimeurs." Now in the middle of March, 1855, I went a third time to England to resume the labours not yet completed. Among these the Codex Nitriensis occupied not the least important place; and when S. V. Cureton had

given up the design of publishing it, a design referred to by me in 1850, in the Prolegomena of my New Testament,* I determined to publish it in the second volume of my *Monumenta Sacra*. A few days after I had begun to transcribe the codex in London, I made Tregelles acquainted, *bond fide*, with the fact, inviting him to come to London himself. On the 22nd of March, 1855, he sent me this answer :

“ Il me semble que vous avez lu les fragmens de S. Luc bien vite ; ce palimpsest m’a occupé pour quelques semaines. Si vous le publiez, il faut que vous soyez fort exact, car il y a aussi des personnes qui examineront votre impression avec un rigueur sévère. Il y a aussi des personnes qui ont proposé publier ce MS. en Angleterre il y a deux ou trois années. Dans votre édition du palimpsest qui contient une partie du N. T. il y a des lettres qui vous avez indiqué comme illisible, qui je suis certain qu’on peut déchiffrer avec soin ; mais pour cela il faut avoir une grande patience. En vérité vous avez fait beaucoup pour tous ceux qui sont occupés avec des choses critiques : il serait presque incroyable si il n’y avait pas quelque chose pour des autres a déchiffrer apres vous.”

As, therefore, in 1854 he had written to me only the note above named, regarding the editing of the codex by himself, so now when I told him that an edition of it was contemplated by me in the second volume of the *Monumenta*, he only replied, “ Il y a aussi des personnes qui ont proposé publier ce MS. en Angleterre.” A short time after I sent him a reply to this effect :—

“ Les travaux que je me suis efforcé, depuis presque une vingtaine d’années, d’exécuter pour la science sacrée, sont des plus consciencieux ; je regarde toute ma vie comme un sacrifice pour la science sacrée. Il y a des amis reconnaissans dans le monde, j’aimais toujours à vous compter parmi eux. Quant aux ignorans, aux envieux, aux ingrats, le monde en est plein ; j’en ai souffert depuis le commencement de ma vie littéraire : la grace de Dieu nous les donné aussi bien que les amis ; mais elle m’a aussi donné les moyens de poursuivre toujours avec succès mes entreprises, dont on s’est moqué assez souvent. . . Je n’ignore point que je ne suis pas exempt de l’erreur, que mes travaux, tous consciencieux qu’ils soient, ne sont pas libres de fautes ; mais je serai toujours heureux de trouver des personnes instruites et consciencieuses qui se mettent à me contrôler. La science n’y pourra que gagner ; les sérieux amis de la science sauront toujours apprécier ce que j’ai fait, malgré les efforts des méchants et des envieux.”

Again, on the 31st of March, Tregelles replied :—

“ Il faut que je vous dis que le palimpseste dans la Mus. Brit. est le MS. que j’ai eu l’intention de publier il y a quelques années, comme je vous ai écrit en 1853 (!), et maintenant je trouve que le libraire qui

* P. xiv. “ Editionem parat S. V. Cureton.”

avait l'expectation de le donner au public par mes soins desiré le faire. . . Ceux, pour lesquels je travail, me tiennent a mes promesses, et comme on a publié l'Homère en Angleterre, il me semble que le S. Luc doit être publié naturellement ici aussi. Vaudra-t-il mieux qu'il y aura ce MS. publié en deux éditions; le mien séparée, et la votre avec des autres monumens?"

I made no reply to this, for if what he wrote was correct, "Ceux pour lesquels je travail, me tiennent a mes promesses," it could not have been that he was hindered by the second volume of my *Monumenta*, which did not appear till the beginning of 1857. When I published the prospectus of that work about the end of the year 1855, I sent it to Tregelles with a letter, in which, if I mistake not, I made the remark that useful works published in Leipsic, should not for that reason, as it appeared to me, be considered foreign in England. When, however, he had said in March, 1855, that he would publish in a separate form what I was about to edit with other monumenta; what hindered him from fulfilling his promises by publishing without delay a text of only forty-five leaves? Whatever way it be taken, that which he has now written regarding the matter, together with his letter of March 31, 1855, is of such a nature that he must have forgotten—*mendacem oportere esse memorem*.

He has acted with equally bad or even worse faith regarding the *CODEx CLAROMONTANUS*. What my labours were in the editing of this was fully explained in the Prolegg. to the codex, p. xxxv, *sqq.* In addition to these I have prosecuted more important studies, recounted in the Prolegg. of the present work, of which this in particular must be mentioned here. After my twice repeated labours in the years 1840, 1841, 1842, when I found in preparing my second Leipsic edition of the New Testament, that a fourth examination of the entire codex would be desirable in order to the right editing of the readings of correctors, from my transcript, I went to Paris again in the winter of 1849, and during several months made a fresh examination of the entire codex, by means of which my copy was corrected in whatever places correction was necessary. Tregelles knew this fact quite well, and saw it recorded in the edition, and yet in his *Account*, etc, 1854, p. 164, and in his *Introduction*, 4th vol. of Horne, p. 192, he represents the matter as if I had compiled the appendix "of sixty-two quarto pages" from his notes and my own! And to make believe how much he himself had contributed to the work, he says, "Whoever compares these corrections of D, in Tischendorf's Greek Testament, with the appendix to the Codex Clar., will see that many amendments have been introduced." Cautiously passing by in silence, both

in this place and in his latest work, the fact that I had made another visit to Paris in the winter of 1849, in order to the ratification of *the readings of correctors*, as they had been noted in my transcript and thence transferred to my New Testament of 1849—ignoring this fact, I say, he has contrived that the magnitude of his own studies should be inferred from the difference between my apparatus of the New Testament in 1849, and the appendix to the Codex Clar., published by me in 1852! When Tregelles came to me at Leipsic, in the year 1850, he brought indeed a little book one day in the forenoon, from which he pointed out to me the readings of a few places which he had discovered as not rightly noted in my 1849 New Testament. But as only a short time before I had most diligently gone through the whole of my transcript, testing it by the codex itself, it was hardly worth while his doing this. I did not hesitate to tell him so, indeed he himself implies that he felt it in the remark, “sometimes indeed we differed as to which hand had made the correction, and then Tischendorf has simply given his own opinion.” Nevertheless even as to this point I faithfully gave *my reasons* when the matter seemed to be important. For in four places^d only, out of the three thousand which the appendix embraces, the communication of Tregelles was really of any weight. I cannot therefore strongly enough express my astonishment that, having so disgracefully misrepresented the matter, he should go so far in arrogance as to dare to describe the appendix of my Codex Claromontanus (a copy of which even he did not receive gratis for having rendered forsooth such a service), as “printed from his and my notes.”

In the year 1855, in the first volume of the *MONUMENTA SACRA INEDITA*, NOV. COLL., I published several fragments of the New Testament from that very ancient palimpsest codex which a little before, on my second journey in the east, it fell to my lot to bring to light (together with many other precious codices) from the oblivion of a thousand years. Regarding this labour Tregelles thus curtly says,^e “In the printed edition there are oversights and omissions.” Now, as I intimated above, I

^d Compare Proleg., p. xxxvii, “uno ille loco articulum a correctore obelis notatum animadvertit ubi obelos ego non notaveram. (Ipse laudat etiam *τ*e 1 Cor. i. 24 a se animadversum, quod dixi in ligatura codicis latere.) Again 127, 5, “non possum quin Tregellium cl. errasse existimem nuntiantem post *βρωμεως* additum in codice esse *ου*v.” Again, 387, 9, “Tregellio visum est *πρ*o a D^{xxx} improbatum esse. Quod nec vidi nec credo.” In no other place besides through the 533 pages of my transcript (in which the most trifling things are marked in different coloured inks in order to distinguish the several corrections) is there any mention made of the communication of Tregelles.

^e Horne's *Introduction*, vol. iv., 186 and 184.

agree with what Tregelles wrote, "Il serait presque incroyable si il n'y avait pas quelque chose pour des autres a déchiffrer après vous." For though I have spared no pains, I can easily believe, and indeed I know, that in so many and great labours, in the course of which—in reading and especially in judging the ancient codices—I have often had to convince others of error, the great Bentley not excepted,^f that I myself also may frequently have erred. Nevertheless I could not but esteem what Tregelles has written respecting the fragments I have published as a wanton calumny, unless he had distinctly pointed out the errors of the work.

Let these suffice. From these examples it may easily be inferred what honesty he manifests in the rest. I have in few words adduced these proofs for the sake of those English theologians who, for a considerable time, have received my labours in connexion with the sacred text with great favour, and who have in still greater degree advanced those labours themselves. I will never believe that they who are actuated by justice, sincerity, and love of truth, will accept the wrongs of detractors with favouring ears.

THE ANTEDILUVIAN WORLD, ITS LONGEVITY, AND PROGRESS IN THE ARTS.

THE long lives of the antediluvian patriarchs, and of the earlier Noachides, have been a sort of stumbling-block to many sincere believers in revealed religion. There has appeared an air of fabulosity about these millenarian existences, which has chilled the weak in faith; and Biblical critics have puzzled themselves to imagine the peculiar *physical* causes to which this vast extension of human life was to be attributed. In all these inquiries there is a taint of unbelief; for when we have traced all physical laws to their remotest limits, there is still one final law from which all intermediate ones are derived—the *will of the Creator*; which, without any secondary cause (such as the influence of atmosphere, or other conducive considerations), could, with the same ease, communicate the power of a vigorous existence for ten thousand years to the existing physical constitution of man, as to any other possible conformation.

^f See *Anecd. Sacra et Prof.*, p. 213, and below F. Epp. Pauli.

It is true, the fabulous history of nations delights in these deviations from the ordinarily observed laws of Nature. Ferdowsi (the great historical, or rather mythological, poet of Persia) makes Jemshid (one of the earlier kings of Persia, of the Caianian dynasty) to reign during an extended period of seven hundred years, and afterwards, when driven from his throne by Zohak, to win the heart of the fair Gureng, princess of Zabulistan, by his *youthful* graces. But we must attribute this and similar myths to a tradition pervading all nations, of the vast longevity of the early race of mankind.

The truth is, the Mosaic account of the long duration of the patriarchal lives is precisely one of those circumstances which, carefully considered, afford the strongest corroboration of the truth of Scripture. It seems absolutely necessary to the existence of the first races of men after the creation that their lives should have endured to the periods which Moses attributes to them; for, 1. Without an exceedingly rapid increase among mankind in the early ages of the world, the earth would have been so completely overrun by wild beasts and venomous creatures that the race of man must have been extinguished by the brute creation. 2. It being evident that mankind were left to their own resources for the invention of many or most of the useful arts, we cannot but discern that the longevity of the first races after the creation was peculiarly favourable to the rapid progress of the world in those inventions which tend to improvement in civilization and the arts.

Both these propositions appear self-evident. The rapid increase in population, which must have been caused by the duration of life for periods of seven hundred, eight hundred, nine hundred, or a thousand years, will appear on the most careless consideration. A man whose life endured eight hundred years might be supposed to be in the prime of life, and in the full powers of progeneritiveness, for at least four hundred. In this time it is within the bounds of possibility that he might have by *one* wife, of the same physical perfection, not less than *four hundred* children. If we suppose *two* hundred, there would be in the six-hundredth year of the world probably one hundred and ninety more human births, the progeny of *each* individual man, than there would have been if this man lived only seventy or eighty years; and each of the persons so born would (unless he died a premature death) continue a living member of the human race for seven hundred years longer than he would do under the existing physical laws of mankind. It would be easy to calculate from these data the enormous difference which would exist between the ratio of population under the patriarchal system

and under that of later days. As this longevity continued (though in a somewhat less degree) for a considerable period after the deluge, it will be seen that the rapid increase of mankind—far from being a cause of surprise—was a necessary consequence of the laws of nature, as they existed at that period.

With reference to the rapid progress in civilization, it is obvious that when the inventive spirits of mankind (always comparatively few in number, and usually persecuted by the base folly of the ignorant barbarians around them) enjoyed an existence of four hundred years in the full prime of life, and the perfection of their corporeal and mental faculties, each among them might have added to the stock of human knowledge nearly four hundred times more than he could do at present. In our days, just at the very moment when a man superior to his contemporaries has acquired that knowledge which would form the basis of vast discoveries, he dies, *והוא נפטר*, and the world is deprived of the splendid accession to science which he might have made if a longer space of existence had been allowed to him.

If Bacon, Newton, Leibnitz, Pascal, Locke, Euler, Kepler, and Galileo,—Homer, Virgil, Milton, Tasso, Ariosto, and Klopstock,—Shakspeare, Schiller, Corneille, Terence, and Molière,—with thousands of other men famous in every department of knowledge,—had each lived to the venerable age of Methuselah, the slow progress of human knowledge, the diminutive number of the great creations in poetry and the arts, would no longer be a complaint among mankind; a hundred sciences would exist of which we have at present no conception;—for one great epic poem or master-piece of the drama we should, under such circumstances, have an affluence which no library could contain. The world would become satiated with excellence, and mediocrity (the loudest brawler of our own days, and which perks up its fool's-cap as a sultan might wear his turban, or Chosroes his tiara) would be content to learn, and not arrogantly presume to teach.

The results of these speculations are obvious. At the time of the deluge, a much greater progress than is usually imagined must have been made in all the useful arts and civilizing sciences. The most distant parts of the world must have been familiar to the antediluvians, for in a life of eight hundred years every one might devote one hundred years to travel, and might become acquainted, from his own observation, with almost the whole of the habitable world. The peculiar produce of every climate must have been well known: each man who chose to travel could have written a complete geography of the globe.

Commerce under such circumstances must early have learnt to exchange the commodities of the most distant regions. Navigation must have existed ; for we are not to draw any inference adverse to this fact from the peculiar construction of the ark of Noah. The form of the ark was prescribed by a divine command, in order to shew that when all the navies of human creation perished in the deluge, this vessel of so singular a formation was preserved only by a miracle from the general destruction. To suppose that the antediluvian sciences perished with the deluge would be perfectly ridiculous. Noah and his children must have been well acquainted, at the time of the deluge, with the sciences then existing, and would indubitably have taught them to their posterity.

The countries of the world appear to have remained much the same after the deluge as before. The seas returned to the ancient limits ; the same lands existed in nearly the same form as before. Now with all the *previous* geography of the world we may suppose the Noachides to have been acquainted. India would be familiar to them, and was probably the country which they first inhabited ; for to suppose that the mountain in Armenia, *now* called Mount Ararat, was the real mount Ararat, would be to assume, as truth, what is neither supported by evidence nor probability. The post-diluvian patriarchs of the human race came from *the East* to Shinar.

India seems to have been one of the countries first thickly peopled. The rapid increase from early longevity would quickly populate even this vast peninsula ; and almost all the most careful enquirers agree in opinion that from India the arts and sciences first emanated.

Pre-eminently rich in all the gifts of nature, India also became the great object of early commerce. Nor is there anything irrational in supposing, from the premises we have established, than an active commerce between India and the West was carried on both by land *and sea* for many centuries previous to the time of Abraham.

To these considerations in favour of the early civilization and population of nations, we must add the certain and now generally admitted fact, that the chronology of the vulgar Hebrew text of the Pentateuch is erroneous ; that the text has evidently been tampered with by the Jews ; and that we must form the basis of our early chronology from a comparison of the Samaritan text of the Pentateuch, the Septuagint translation, and the history of Josephus, with the vulgar Hebrew text. We may hence deduce the groundwork of a system which will enable us to add not much less than nine centuries to the period which

the vulgar Hebrew text allows for the interval between the deluge and the exodus.

Under these circumstances, there is nothing to surprise us in the evidences which we discern in the Mosaic writings of a degree of wealth, civilization, and density of population in the countries round Canaan which (but for the causes which we have already suggested) would appear inconsistent with all rational probability.

HENRY CROSSLEY.

THE GOSPEL OF ST. LUKE.

To St. Luke the Christian Church is indebted for the most complete of its gospels. There is one writer in the Old Testament who was probably not a Jew,—the writer of the Book of Job; and Luke is the solitary writer in the New Testament, who was not of that nation (Col. iv. 11—14). With these exceptions the Bible is of exclusively Jewish composition. By profession Luke was a physician, and continued to exercise his profession (Col. iv. 14). He was evidently a Christian before he met with St. Paul at Troas, where he joined himself to that apostle for the purpose of helping him to introduce the gospel into Macedonia (Acts xvi. 10). In what capacity exactly he himself intended to act we are not told. It was probably in a comparatively private one. We are never told of his preaching in public. We read of his speaking on the truths of Christianity in ordinary conversation (Acts xvi. 3). Perhaps owing to this, and perhaps also because he was not a Jew, he does not seem to have been involved in the persecution which Paul and Silas met with at Philippi (Acts xvi. 19, 20). After the uproar at that place he is absent from Paul until, many years afterwards, he rejoins him there on his way to Troas (Act xx. 5, 6).

This long absence, amounting to about six or seven years, makes it probable that Luke did not at first intend to join himself permanently to Paul. If he had so intended, there does not seem to have been anything to prevent him from rejoining the apostle at once, after he was dismissed from his brief imprisonment at Philippi (Acts xvi. 40). While afterwards he could have had abundant opportunity for doing so. His parting from Paul at Philippi would seem then to have been without any intention of rejoining him. But the providence of God again

brought these two men into company (Acts xx. 5, 6). There was no true Christian who would not love Paul; Luke also possessed qualities which made him inexpressibly dear to one who, while ready to forsake all for Christ, yearned for human affection (Col. iv. 14). They were made to be friends, and perhaps the more so from striking dissimilarity of natural character. The man ever foremost in action and speech would love to retire from the stormy scenes of his public life, to enjoy the calm society of an affectionate and sensible friend. But from the period of their second meeting they appear to have lived and travelled constantly together; they certainly did so until the close of Paul's first imprisonment at Rome (Acts xxviii. 30). That it was chiefly for the purpose of rendering the aid of a physician to one who often suffered from bodily ailments that Luke joined himself to Paul is more than we can positively affirm. There can be no doubt but that he did in this capacity render the most material and valued assistance (Col. iv. 14). And doubtless in this, as well as in his personal friendship, we see the goodness of God providing for his faithful apostle that of which he stood in need.

Whether Luke continued with Paul as constantly after his release from imprisonment at Rome as he had done so up to that period, we cannot certainly know. The strong probability is that he did. He would scarcely leave in his age and increasing infirmities, the man with whom he had been associated in the more vigorous years of life. We find him with Paul only a brief period before his martyrdom, and then mentioned in a way to shew his close attachment, and enduring friendship (2 Tim. iv. 11). He probably remained with him until his death.

It was thus that God raised up and trained for his work the man who has left us, perhaps, the most valuable records of the apostolic age. Certainly the absence of Luke's gospel and his book of Acts would leave a blank in Christian records which no other could supply. We, at any rate, see in him a man thoroughly qualified to do what he has done, namely, to give us the life of Christ from its commencement to the ascension, and then to write of the establishment of Christ's Church throughout the world. He was for the best part of his life the intimate associate and bosom friend of one who received, by immediate revelation, at least as full an acquaintance with the history of the Lord as the original apostles had received from personal acquaintance, and who did more than any of one them to propagate the gospel.

Our evangelist has told us plainly the reason which led him to write a gospel. It was very similar to that which led Jose-

phus to translate his history of the Jewish war, namely, the existence of many imperfect and false accounts of it. It was because some men, "who were not concerned in the affairs themselves, put together vain and contradictory stories by hearsay," and wrote them down after a sophistical manner, Josephus determined to translate his Hebrew work into Greek for the benefit of the Roman empire.* From great moderation of temper in part, and partly, doubtless, because the writers whom Luke refers to, did not all of them deserve the character which Josephus ascribes generally to those of whom he speaks, our evangelist speaks of the unauthorized gospels of his day in very mild terms, but still in such a way as plainly to shew that it was the injurious effects which had followed, and would follow from their publication, that induced him to write an authoritative and counteracting gospel. Since many had taken on themselves to write of the life and doctrine of Christ, he tells Theophilus that he too will write upon the same subject, in order that he and others may be able to form a true and accurate idea of what had really happened, and distinguish the true from the false in the current tradition, which, without his gospel, they would not be able to do.

The character and object of the numerous gospels referred to in Luke's preface were in all likelihood widely different. Some were probably undertaken with the best intentions, and others to propagate error. Some were probably executed by men of sense as well as piety, and contained very much that was true and valuable; while others would be the work of credulous, fanatical, or weak-minded persons. Some would modestly allow, like the author of Maccabees, that with good intentions, they were but men, and might have been mistaken; while others might lay claim to the highest authority. What proportion of them might deserve these varying characters we cannot determine. The evangelist mentions them in a way which includes all alike; he describes them as men who "undertook to set forth in order a declaration of those things which were most surely believed" in the societies of Christians. His phrase includes them all, of whatever kind they were. In connexion with the context, it excludes them all alike, from a title to implicit confidence. This latter we now proceed to shew.

The gospels in question either endeavoured faithfully to represent apostolic teaching, or claimed to do so. Whatever were the nature of each, its aim or its claim was of *the highest kind*; it was to set forth a declaration of the things believed by

* Josephus, *Preface to Jewish War*, § 1.

Christians, *even as they delivered them which from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word*; i. e., as the original apostles delivered them to the Church. There could be no higher aim or claim than this. If this aim succeeded, or this claim were just, we should in these gospels have had accounts just as authoritative as if the apostles themselves had written them. They would have been as accurate gospels as we can conceive; as accurate as though Peter or James were the writers; as accurate as the Christian Church has always held the gospels of Mark and Luke to be. Now beyond any question the existence of a great number of such gospels would not give rise to any necessity for writing another gospel of no higher pretension. Their existence would make it a matter of little consequence whether such were written; and the more numerous they were the less would there be any room for a new one; while, certainly, their numbers could be no urgent reason for writing such. But in Luke's mind their existence in great numbers necessitated his writing. It was because they were written that he felt compelled to write. And, therefore, according to him, they had either failed in an honest purpose, or laid claim to an authority to which they had no just title. The honest were imperfect, the dishonest were false. Their numbers were the source only of additional danger, perplexity, and error. The multitude of conflicting testimonies loudly called for an accurate history. The mind of the church was becoming distracted and uncertain by the variety of gospels professing to instruct it, and Luke must come forward to narrate the life of Christ as it truly was. The only fair inference, then, for Luke's alleged reason for writing is that the writers, to whom he referred, failed in what they aimed at or claimed to have done.

Not only does the necessity for his writing a gospel at all imply the imperfection of those already written, but Luke himself by his description of his own gospel, as compared with the others, expressly asserts their want of accuracy. He tells us that he wrote in order that Theophilus "might know the certainty of the things in which he had been instructed" (chap. i. 4). He thus leads us necessarily to conclude that unless he wrote, Theophilus could not have this certainty. If from many other sources than Luke's gospel Theophilus might have had it, Luke could not truly say that his own gospel was required to give it. He therefore here plainly says that certain information of the life of Christ was not to be had from the gospels in question. They were in existence in plenty; known to Luke and Theophilus, and accessible to both; yet was Luke's gospel required to give "certainty" to Theophilus. From them,

therefore, according to our evangelist, "certainty" was not to be had. He places them all in the category of imperfect gospels. Not so much as one of them was accurate. Whatever was their aim, or design, or nature, he, in words, and not by mere inference, sets them all alike aside from a title to implicit confidence.

The verb *ἐπιχειρέω* (ver. 1) by which he describes their undertaking, is in exact agreement with our previous reflections, both as descriptive of their various characters and suggestive of their general failure. Its meanings may be classed under these two:—1st. "To attempt" a thing where you know you may not succeed. 2nd. "To undertake" a thing for the performance of which you claim to possess authority and ability. The phrase then comprises the various aims and claims which we have supposed the writers to have had or made. Again, it suggests the possibility, and even probability of failure. We do not say that it necessarily implies failure, but it is certainly a phrase with which is closely connected the idea of failure; so much so, that many of the best scholars among the fathers^{*} asserted from the mere use of this phrase the insufficiency of the writings referred to. Luke himself, we think, never uses the word except where the undertaking was a failure. He uses it in three places; here, and in Acts ix. 29; xix. 13. We have seen reason already for thinking that here he asserted want of accuracy on the part of every one of the writers he speaks of. In the other places there can be no fair question about it. In Acts ix. 29, he speaks of the efforts the Grecians were making to kill Paul at Jerusalem. He puts the verb in the imperfect tense, "they were making attempts to slay him," which attempts failed because Paul was sent away to Cæsarea. In Acts xix. 13, the verb is in the same tense as in Luke i. 1, namely, in the aorist.. He is here speaking of the attempt of the sons of Sceva to cast out devils in the name of Christ, an attempt which resulted in their shameful discomfiture (verses 15, 16). Dean Alford, indeed, denies that failure is implied, and asserts that Sceva's sons succeeded in that which they undertook. We are surprised that a man of Alford's ability could use so poor an argument as he does here. He supposes that all which Luke says that they undertook (*ἐπεχείρησαν*) to do was to name the name of the Lord Jesus over the possessed, and that this they did, and therefore did not fail in what they undertook. This is surely a sophistical argument. The undertaking evidently was not to say certain words,—any one could do that without difficulty,—but to say those words and produce by them the cure of the

^{*} See Alford's note.

possessed. Not only is this evidently the meaning from common sense, but the very next clause of the verse explains it so to be, where we are told that calling over the possessed, the name of Jesus was equivalent to "adjuring them by Jesus," *i.e.*, charging them solemnly in the name of Jesus to come out. In this adjuration they failed. We find then the idea of failure generally associated by Luke with his use of this phrase, and though it would be going, perhaps, too far to say that his use of it implies his idea of a failure, it is not going too far to say that he would be most unlikely, when speaking of the undertaking of others to do the very thing he was about to do himself, to describe their work by this sinister phrase. If he did not think that they had failed, candour would have suggested to him the use of a term that would not almost of necessity raise in the mind of his readers a doubt at least of their success. This word then does add weight to our view that Luke meant to affirm failure on the part of every writer of a gospel with whom he was acquainted.

We must, before leaving this part of our subject, advert to what is in our opinion a very erroneous view put forward by Alford. He admits (note on Luke i. 1) that Luke's gospel is superior to those to which the evangelist refers in his preface, but that this does not arise from "*any difference in kind*," but "because it *possessed completeness, whereas they were fragmentary*." Now we deny that any one has a right to affirm a thing of a work which he has never seen, and of which he has no knowledge. Such is the condition of every one with respect to the gospels in question, and we have just the same right to say that they were far more minute and circumstantial in their accounts than Luke, as Alford has to say that they were "fragmentary" as compared with him. But, more than this, Luke who did see them, and speaks of what he did know very well, gives us quite a different idea of what they were from Alford's, and suggests quite a different reason for their inferiority to his own gospel. He says that all, *i.e.*, each of them, "took in hand, to set forth in order (to draw up, to arrange—*Alford*), a declaration of those things which were most severely believed, as they delivered them who from the beginning were eye witnesses and ministers of the Word." This gives us no idea of "fragmentary" gospels, but of gospels very full and circumstantial in their narratives. The idea we should receive from Luke is, that each of them was an attempt at as complete and full a gospel as his own; while their united statements, which Alford supposes to be as accurate as Luke, would form an amount altogether surpassing in extent the gospel of Luke. But

while the evangelist sets aside the idea of their being "fragmentary," he suggests quite a different reason for their inferiority. His gospel was requisite to impart "*certainty*," and therefore this fault in his eyes was not mere brevity or omission, but failure in accuracy and truth.

We have said that we are probably to regard the rejected gospels as very different from each other, some being written with a good object, and some not. Were we to take the apocryphal gospels which have come down to us, as specimens of those in question, we should be compelled to regard them as the work of childish credulity or impudent heresy. But none of these early gospels seem to have come down to us. Our present apocryphal gospels then give us no clue to the character of the early unauthorized accounts. Many of them, perhaps the greater number, were probably of a far superior order. But we cannot well suppose them all to have been of this kind. Credulity existed in the first century as well as in the third or fourth, and heresy then, as at a later time, sought by forged writings, as well as by oral teaching, to propagate itself. Both were permitted in God's providence, and both gave rise to inestimable benefit. The New Testament is in the main the answer to the false or imperfect statements, oral or written, of the apostolic age.

Nothing indeed gives us so favourable an opinion of the honesty of intention with which the generality of the early statements were drawn up as *their subsequent early disappearance*. If they had been generally the work of heretics, these at least would have held fast to them, for it was not truth they wanted, and they would thus, in some instances, have been preserved. But their disappearance at a very early period suggests that they were generally the work of men who, in the absence of apostolic teaching, and unpossessed of any authorized gospel, sought after their ability to supply the want of both, and having had the latter want supplied by Luke, and perhaps our other gospels, neglected, or more probably destroyed, the accounts which had become superseded. Such men as Theophilus would put away the imperfect gospels after Luke's had come into their hands.

Once more, Luke's account of the early rejected gospels shews us the universally prevalent idea in the apostolic age, that none but the original eye-witnesses (with such extraordinary exceptions as Paul) could deliver a trustworthy life of Christ. Every one of the writers he refers to sought, or proposed to give, the account which some one or more of the original apostles had taught. It was what these had delivered, and nothing else, that those aimed or professed to write. This was the common

source from whence all drew or professed to draw their accounts. Nothing less could satisfy the requirements of the early church, and in accordance with the demand was the attempt to supply it. Any departure, more or less, from apostolical tradition would have been condemned by the voice of the church, and therefore no one of the first writers of gospels dared to assume any liberty in this respect. It was as the apostles delivered their statements that some aimed to write, or others asserted that they had written.

And this leads us at once to the important question of the original source of Luke's information. He had himself never witnessed any one of the events he undertakes to record, and therefore his information must have been derived from without. It must also have been of an authority fully equal to that which was the professed source of the statements he sets aside, for no lesser authority would have been listened to in the church. *Was it from the very same source, or from one equally authoritative?*

Bengel, Alford, and many others, hold that there is no doubt upon this point, for that Luke himself tells us, in his preface, that he had his information from the very same source from whence the rejected gospels professed to be drawn, viz., the original apostles. We should be slow to differ from men who have earned a well-deserved title to our respect, but we cannot agree with them here, and prefer the opinion of the early fathers that Luke derived his information from St. Paul. The first thing to inquire into is what Luke really says, for, of course, his own testimony is superior to that of all others put together.

When St. Luke says, in i. 3, "it seemed good to me also," he certainly identifies himself, in some important respect, with the writers he is speaking of. But what is that respect? It is not identity of their respective sources of information, but identity of professed object, namely, to write an orderly and accurate account of the life of Christ. Since they undertook it, he says that he too will undertake it. This is quite sufficient for the *καὶ* of ver. 3, and further considerations will, we think, prove that such was what he intended. In the first place, the professed source of information of the others was the tradition of the "original eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word." Why, when Luke comes to refer to his own source of information, does he *completely alter the description of it*? Of himself he says that he had "perfect understanding of all things from the very first," while the others professed to draw from "original eye-witnesses," etc. Had his source of knowledge been identical with theirs, why should he, in his brief preface, have introduced a second description which is by no means so plain and simple as the first?

He evidently alters the description because his source of information was not the same as theirs, while he also describes it in terms which make it fully equal. We cannot naturally account for the fact of his complete alteration of expression except that he meant to signify that his source of knowledge was different from what the others professed to have, while it was equal in authority.

That the *καμολ* of ver. 3 does not refer to identity of source but to identity of professed object in writing, is also apparent from this, that if it referred to the former it would prove too much, and would put the rejected gospels on an equality with Luke's, which all our previous reflections have shewn to be contrary to his intention. If the *καμολ* is to be taken in connexion with the following clause, we make Luke to say that "*he too had perfect understanding of all things from the very first.*" If this be our reading of it we make Luke to imply that the other writers had also "perfect understanding of all things from the very first." This proves too much. It would make us hold that every one of the writers of whom Luke is speaking had as perfect and full information as he had himself. Even Dean Alford does not maintain this view, for while he says that they were the same in kind, he allows they were inferior in "*completeness*" to Luke's gospel,—were "fragmentary" as compared to it. We cannot then take *καμολ* as referring to the source of information. We must place a comma after it, as is generally done, and not remove the comma as Alford does. We must refer the *καμολ* to *καθεξῆς σοι γράψαι* not to *παρηκολουθηκότι*. The verse shews us Luke's meaning when translated thus: "It seemed good to me also to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first."

But while Luke by his alteration of phrase implies a difference of source of information he also evidently asserts one *equal in authority*. When his object in writing, as we have seen, was to set aside imperfect gospels by an accurate one, he could not claim an inferior source of knowledge to what they professed to have, nor would any inferior source have been acquiesced in by Theophilus and the Christian church; while his words describe a knowledge as perfect and as full as any could lay claim to. The source from whence he derived "perfect understanding of all things from the very first," was equal to the knowledge possessed by any one or all of the original apostles, if it was not superior.

There was in the apostolic age one, and but one, source of information as to the life of Christ different from, yet equal to,

that of the original apostles, and that was *the apostle Paul*. No other source of information could approach in authority to theirs, but his certainly equalled it. Called "as one out of due time," to him was vouchsafed by express revelation what others had seen with their eyes, or heard with their ears (1 Cor. xi. 23; Gal. i. 12). Where Paul speaks of his knowledge derived from revelation, he does not speak of it as a partial knowledge of a few great leading facts known to every member of the church, he speaks of it as such a gospel as he would have heard from the original apostles, but which came to him not from man but from God. We have no right to limit a revelation which the receiver has not limited. We are fully warranted, by St. Paul's own words, to believe that his knowledge of the life of Christ was as full and circumstantial as was possessed by any apostle. While, in all probability, it was a knowledge which extended back beyond the public life of Christ to his earliest days, and so enabled him to supply information upon matters which were not personally known to the other apostles. Such is the information of Luke i., found in no other gospel: for which we need not look to Mary when we have Paul to supply it.

It is interesting to inquire if we can discover any internal proofs, from the gospel itself, that it was written from the Pauline source. In its style we can discover no resemblance to that of the apostle, which is easily recognized. But neither should we expect any such resemblance in a gospel of which Luke was the true and real writer, though he may have received his information from Paul originally. He would throw the materials thus derived into the shape that suited his own views, and clothe them in his own style. Nor can we necessarily connect it with the apostle of the Gentiles from that character of "universality" which has been remarked to belong to it, for Luke being himself a Gentile, and writing for Gentiles chiefly, would of himself give it this character. Nor, of course, can we expect to find in it any reminiscence suggestive of Paul, as in Mark's gospel we should almost expect to find such of Peter, since Paul was not present at any of the scenes of the gospel history. Yet while for these reasons we could scarce hope to find anything in this gospel to connect it with Paul, there are, we think, one or two passages which very strongly give rise to such an idea.

The first of these is a quotation made by Paul, in 1 Tim. v. 18, "the labourer is worthy of his reward." This occurs nowhere in the Old Testament, but it occurs with a verbal difference twice in the Gospels, viz., in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. There is between the two passages the difference of one word, where Matthew uses *τροφῆς* Luke uses *μισθοῦ*, and Paul's

quotation is in exact agreement with Luke. We place the passages side by side :

Matt. x. 10.

Luke x. 7.

1 Tim. v. 18.

Ἄξιός γάρ ὁ ἐργάτης τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ.

Ἄξιός γάρ ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ.

Ἄξιός ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ.

This agreement with Luke where he differs from Matthew does not indeed shew that Luke derived his knowledge of our Lord's words from St. Paul, but it suggests that the latter was acquainted with Luke's gospel, and used it when occasion required. The next instance is a very remarkable one. It is the marked agreement of Luke with Paul in his account of the last supper, where both differ from the manner in which it is related in Matthew and Mark. St. Paul tells us expressly that he received his knowledge of the circumstances from the Lord himself (1 Cor. xi. 23). Here too our meaning will be best seen from placing the several accounts side by side, as they stand in the received text.

Matt. xxvi. 26.

Luke xxii. 19.

1 Cor. xi. 24.

Εὐλογήσας ἔκλασε, καὶ ἔδιδον τοῖς μαθηταῖς, καὶ εἶπε. Λάβετε, φάγετε· τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου.

Εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασε· καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς, λέγων. Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἑμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.

Εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασε, καὶ εἶπε. Λάβετε, φάγετε· τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κλόμενον· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἑμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.

Here we find, in St. Paul's account, words and ideas introduced which we do not find at all in Matthew, or in Mark who agrees with Matthew. These words and ideas are followed by Luke, who would thus shew us the source of his information. Dean Alford calls this "a remarkable coincidence," and such indeed it is. But it is not the only one. There is another which is equally strong. From Matthew's or Mark's account we could not gather that there was any interval between our Lord's giving the bread and the cup to the disciples, but might well suppose that the two acts followed as closely on one another at the institution of this sacrament as they do in our administration of it. Thus Matthew says, "As they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to the disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my body. And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it" (Matt. xxvi. 26, 27). We should not from hence suppose that there was any interval between the two acts, but that the one followed closely upon the other. But from Paul we learn that between the two acts a considerable time elapsed. The bread, according to him, was given at the beginning of the supper, and the cup after supper was over. Luke exactly follows St. Paul's account.

Luke xxii. 20.

Ὁσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον, μετὰ τὸ
δειπνῆσαι.

1 Cor. xi. 25.

Ὁσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον, μετὰ τὸ
δειπνῆσαι.

There is another striking coincidence between Luke's gospel and Paul's teaching, which we must not pass by without notice. It is in the accounts given by both of the appearances of our Lord after the resurrection. In 1 Cor. xv. St. Paul is telling the Corinthians of some at least of the appearances of Christ, and he is evidently narrating such as he speaks of in the order of time in which he supposed them to have taken place. His words are, "he was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve" (ver. 5). Paul here lays down that there was an appearance of Christ to the apostle Peter previous to his appearing to the apostolical body. This appearance to Peter is not narrated by Matthew, Mark, or John; but Luke, in a very incidental way, shews his acquaintance with an appearance which it was not his purpose to relate, and which he has not related. The two disciples who had seen Christ at Emmaus are represented by him as finding the apostles at Jerusalem in a state of great excitement, and "saying, The Lord is risen indeed, *and hath appeared to Simon*" (xxiv. 34). Luke did not see fit for some reason to give us any account of this appearance, but thus casually acquaints us with his knowledge of it, in exact agreement with the direct statement of St. Paul.

We do not think these coincidences between Luke and Paul, where both alike fail in resemblance to the accounts of the other gospels, are unimportant in our argument. We have seen that we could not, from the nature of things, expect coincidence. Yet in the few places where it is possible, namely, where Paul in his epistles makes allusion to the sayings and acts of the Lord Jesus, we find evidence.

We are, we hope, now prepared to give its full weight to the early ecclesiastical testimony upon this question. This, we believe, is unanimous in favour of the Pauline origin of Luke's gospel. Alford refers to it, but dismisses it on the score that it is contradicted by the implicit assertion of the evangelist himself. This we have seen not to be the case. The ecclesiastical testimony upon this point appears to be very strong. Irenæus, writing in the second century, asserts it as a matter unquestioned in the church. He says, "Luke, the attendant on St. Paul, registered in a book the gospel preached by that apostle." There was no one at that time apparently better qualified than Irenæus to give an opinion upon this question. He was eminent for learning, and had extensive communication with other churches.

* Alford's Prolegomena to Luke.

He speaks of the point as one universally received without any question. Nor is there, that we know of, any different tradition here, as there is upon so many other matters. Tertullian, a man of great information, writing early in the third century, gives a similar testimony to that of Irenæus.^d And the succeeding ecclesiastical writers repeat the tradition. Now the unanimity of the fathers upon this question will, we think, be esteemed a powerful argument when we consider the nature of the theory which is put into opposition to ours. It is one which, if it had been true, could scarcely fail to have retained a place among the traditions of the church, or even to have taken a leading place among them. It is that St. Luke became acquainted with some one or more of the original apostles, and from them learned the events of Christ's life for the express purpose of drawing up a gospel from their testimony, to which Alford adds that he also had access to some documentary record relative to events which preceded and accompanied the birth of Christ, and which was derived from our Lord's mother.^e And this information is supposed to have been acquired by Luke in Palestine. Now on the face of it this is a theory which, if true, could not, we think, have been wholly forgotten. The Gospel of Luke was universally received in the church. He is, according to Alford's view, supposed to have come to Palestine, the central point of the Christian world, to gather his information for an expressed purpose of universal interest; to have consulted such of the apostles as were there, and learned from them the events which he wrote down in his gospel; and that he examined so generally and closely into things that he obtained access to sources of information not open to the writers of Mark's or Matthew's Gospels. He must, according to it, have left no source of information unexamined. Such is the theory which Alford and others set up in opposition to the early ecclesiastical tradition. Can we believe that such a theory, so well and so generally known as it would have been in the very centre of the Christian world, and from thence spread abroad,—which would have been of constant interest and mention throughout the churches,—could it in the course of so short a time have been consigned to such utter oblivion that no writer has preserved the faintest trace of it? It could scarcely have met with such a fate. Other traditions might easily, no doubt, have taken a place alongside of it, but this would surely have continued to be handed down in some shape or other. This has not been the case. It finds no place in tradition. It has been reserved for ingenious men of our own

^d Alford's Prolegomena to Luke.^e *Ibid.*

time to give it origin and shape, but they come too late to possess any authority. We attach then great weight to the unanimous opinion of the early church as to the Pauline origin of Luke's Gospel, confirmed as it so powerfully is by the internal evidence of the book itself.

We are sometimes told that Luke makes no high claim for the authority of his work, but allows it to be classed among those of uninspired men. This is apparently Alford's view in his note on i. 1, where he says that there is not *any difference in kind* between this gospel and the numerous early ones referred to in the preface, while the Dean apparently departs from this low view of our evangelist in his Prolegomena, when he says that "he drew up his gospel under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. To us it is not easy to reconcile these two statements, and we must say that this is a difficulty we not unfrequently experience when we are weighing Alford's views on inspiration. A harmony of his views on this point would be even more difficult than those harmonies on the gospels which he so often finds fault with. The opinion, however, by whomsoever entertained, that Luke makes no high claim for his work, seems totally unfounded. His claim, while modestly put forward, is of the very highest kind.

We have seen that the aim or claim of the rejected gospels was of such a kind. *It was to relate as and what the original apostles related.* There can be nothing beyond this. If they had succeeded, their treatises would have been the faithful records of the oral teaching of inspired men, *i. e.*, themselves inspired as much as Baruch's transcript of Jeremiah's prophecy was inspired (Jer. xxxvi. 32). Such would have been the rejected gospels if successful. They would have been as entitled to our confidence as if they were written by Peter, or James, or Andrew, or Matthew. Now what Luke denies to them he claims for himself, *i. e.*, that his gospel is as trustworthy as if it were the work of inspired apostles, in other words, he claims for it inspiration.

There are two ways in which he might do this. First, if he merely claimed to be the amanuensis of Paul, as Tertius of that apostle, or Baruch of Jeremiah (Rom. xvi. 22; Jer. xxxvi. 32). Secondly, if he were himself inspired to write accurately what he had heard from Paul, giving to his work the shape and manner natural to himself. To the latter of these we are led for several reasons. If he were merely an amanuensis then the Gospel would have been called the Gospel of Paul, as the Epistle to the Romans was called his. Again, the style of the gospel would have been that of Paul, which it is not in the most remote degree. But besides, he evidently claims much more than this

for himself in the preface, where he also compares himself to others who were not amanuenses, but original writers.

Luke then by necessary implication claims for himself personal inspiration. He had heard from Paul, Paul's account of the life of Christ. He had, with Paul, traced out that life from its supernatural origin. He now claims to write it out on his own plan, and in such a manner as deserves equal confidence, as if it were the composition of an original apostle or of Paul, *i. e.*, he claims personal inspiration. This claim, which probably some few of the rejected gospels put forward, he urges as his right. In the aim to record faithfully, which the more honest gospels endeavoured after, he says that he has succeeded. *Certainty*, according to him, is to be had in everything he has written, a feature which he denies to every one of the rejected gospels.

The total disappearance of those gospels is the best evidence of the judgment of the first century on the justice of this claim. Such gospels existed in numbers: some of them doubtless had strong claims for such trustworthiness as merely human records can command: they had obtained a general circulation: but when the inspired gospel appeared they were set aside,—probably destroyed, certainly allowed to vanish from sight and use. Men felt that they had in it the infallible record which it assumed to be (*τὴν ἀσφαλὲαν*, ver. 4), from which perplexity, failure, mistake, or error, was excluded. They had this in no other record, nor could they have this in any record or history of which man, uninspired by God, was the author. They accepted Luke's Gospel as an inspired record, and neglected or put away all of an inferior order. It is not possible, we think, to estimate too highly the value stamped by this fact, not only on Luke's, but on all our present gospels. They had competitors, and these had the great advantage of being first in the field. Numbers everywhere had seen, and read, and derived their first impressions from gospels such as are referred to in Luke preface. Yet no sooner do our present gospels appear than all others are laid aside. In the judgment of the first century,—of that period of it too while there were still living some of the apostles,—there was no comparison between the gospels we now have and any others. They must have reckoned the one as the word of God, and the other as the word of man: the one as infallible, and the other as open to mistake.

We can now have little difficulty in ascertaining the exact object of St. Luke in writing his gospels. It was to remove doubts and to distinguish the true from the false in the traditions, oral or written, of the church. Theophilus was a man of rank and education, probably as well acquainted as any ordinary

Christian with the life of Christ. Yet he would seem to have been distracted, or at least in danger of being distracted, by the various and contradictory accounts of existing gospels. He was in the main acquainted with truth (ver. 4): tradition had hitherto kept it tolerably correct. But yet even in the best informed Christian circles mists were gathering round the tradition. Doubts if certain true accounts were true, if certain false accounts were not true, were disturbing Theophilus' mind, and of course many other minds besides his. Luke, aware of this from communication of some kind with his friend, wrote to satisfy him, and all others besides him, whether the church of that or of succeeding ages.

We will next consider the very interesting question of the date of this gospel. We have in a former paper given reasons for supposing that we are not probably to ascribe any gospel to a very early date, for that the idea of writing inspired gospels was not an original idea in the church, but grew from the natural progress of events. But while this is the case we think that it will appear that Luke's Gospel was the first written of our present gospels, probably by several years.

The current theory of the fathers was that Luke wrote at a later period than Matthew and Mark. This idea may have arisen from the very mistaken notion that the gospels, to which our evangelist refers in his preface, were those of Matthew or Mark, and also from the opinion of the very early date of Matthew's Gospel. For neither of these opinions does there appear to be foundation; assuredly there is none for the first.

From his preface we have seen that Luke was aware of the existence of many imperfect gospels, but not of any that were of a higher character. He makes no exception in favour of some above others: he classes them all alike as unsuitable to the requirements of the church, and intimates that his gospel was needed to remedy the mischief they were producing. This is all quite inconsistent with his knowing that at that very time there were in circulation gospels, or a gospel, fully equal in authority to his own. Mark's was always allowed to be so, while Matthew's might by some be esteemed superior, as the work of an apostle. It is of course *possible* that those gospels might have been written at the time, but if they were, Luke could not have known of it. If he had he could neither have condemned all the gospels he was acquainted with, nor referred to his own as the only source of correction of their errors. But if they had been in being, at least for any time, it is most unlikely that Luke could have been ignorant of it. His information on church matters was very extensive, and we can scarcely conceive that

when he knew of the various imperfect gospels he should not also have known of the authorized gospels, if such were in being, unless indeed these had been published in some very remote part of the world to which their circulation had been hitherto confined. We, therefore, take Luke's gospel to have been written before any other. With this idea it exactly suits. It is a complete and perfect account of the life of Christ, from its very beginning to its close. It omits nothing requisite to give a full knowledge of that life to the church. It is, therefore, such a gospel as one would write who felt that he was the first to enter upon this field, and that, as no one had anticipated him in it, he must give a complete history. And this will further appear by comparing it with two of the other gospels. Neither Mark nor John possess that completeness which belongs to Luke; neither give any details of our Lord's birth, or genealogy, or early life, but introduce him to notice abruptly and without preamble at the opening period of his ministry. They would seem to have known that sufficient details on these points were already given. Mark again breaks off his gospel at xvi. 11, without mentioning a single instance of Christ's appearing after his resurrection. John's gospel, invaluable as regards its object, could not supply us with so full an idea of our Lord's life, as any of the other three. The character of both are accounted for on the supposition that they were written with the knowledge that another and complete gospel had already been given to the church. Matthew's gospel, indeed, is not open to such remarks. It is a complete gospel, beginning at the beginning, and carrying down the account to the close. But we think that it is likely that Matthew's gospel, though written probably some years after Luke's, was written either in ignorance of its existence, or without having seen it, and was therefore written with the intention of supplying a complete life of Jesus to those who had not one. This might easily happen, according to our view, that Matthew wrote in some land outside the Roman world, and had had from the time of his leaving Judæa little or no communication with the churches of the empire. The completeness then of Luke's gospel gives additional confirmation to our view of its being written before any other gospel, when we find others which were in all likelihood written after it, and with the knowledge of its existence, written in a less complete form because completeness was not essential.

That Luke's was the earliest written of our gospels we have then every reason to conclude. It may not be so evident what was the exact period at which it was composed. If we acquiesce in the view that 1 Tim. v. 18 is a quotation from Luke x. 7, we

have proof here that the latter was written before Paul wrote his first letter to Timothy at Ephesus. We cannot see any good reason for denying that it is a quotation from St. Luke. Bloomfield, indeed, seems to think it is not a quotation at all, but we cannot see what grounds he has for this idea. And if it is a quotation it is taken either from Matt. x. 10 or Luke x. 7. With the latter it agrees word for word; from the former it differs in one important expression. It is only reasonable then to conclude that it was taken from that gospel with which it is in perfect agreement. Again; we have seen strong reasons for supposing that Matthew wrote his gospel at a very late date and in a remote country, and, if so, Paul could not have quoted from a gospel written after his epistle. We have concluded certainly that Luke was ignorant of any gospel written by St. Matthew, and we cannot therefore suppose that Paul was at that time acquainted with it, for, if so, Luke would also have known of it. We can, therefore, see no reasonable ground for doubting that 1 Tim. v. 18 is a quotation from Luke x. 7. If we can, therefore, ascertain the date of 1 Timothy, we have a date before which our gospel was written. This is not the place for discussing the question of the date of 1 Timothy, but we incline to the earlier of the dates which are given for its composition. This would give to our gospel the probable date of from A.D. 50 to A.D. 54.

We do not think it likely that a gospel for the use of the churches of the empire could be deferred beyond probably the earliest of these dates. False oral accounts of the gospel had years before this been set in circulation (Gal. i. 6—9). It is very likely that false and imperfect written gospels would quickly follow the oral statements. There is every reason to suppose that such would not be deferred any great length of time in places where the general absence of any apostle would give rise to the desire for a written gospel. Such was the condition of the churches of the empire generally, at the time we speak of. Judæa, indeed, had an apostle, or apostles, resident at this period, and there, consequently, such gospels would not then be called for. But the vast extent of the empire seems to have had, at this period, little communication with any apostle except Paul. Peter, the two James's and John, in the opening period of the gospel, confined their ministrations to Judæa. The other apostles would seem to have, at this time, left the empire altogether.

One man, even though that man were Paul, could have had only very occasional and brief intercourse with some of the churches of the empire, while there were very many of them which he was unable to see (Rom. xv. 23; Col. ii. 1). Here

was ample room for the springing up at a comparatively early period of numerous imperfect gospels. We do not think that these could go on long unquestioned. We do not suppose that written lives of Christ, whether aiming at perfection, or claiming a perfection which did not belong to them, could be suffered to establish themselves in the confidence of the faithful, or to distract their minds by the variety of their statements, without calling forth either warning against their authority, or, and more likely, an authoritative gospel—their best rebuke and antidote. We, therefore, think it most probable that no great time elapsed between the appearance of the gospels referred to by St. Luke in his preface, and the publication of his own. And, if the former were written at a comparatively early period, the latter would not be long delayed.

The connexion of Luke with Paul as the source of his information, joined with the idea that a gospel for the churches of the empire could not be very long deferred, helps us still more in arriving at an approximation to its probable date. Luke did not become acquainted with Paul until a brief period after the council of Acts xv., which met about A.D. 50. No great time seems to have elapsed between this period and the time when (Acts xvi. 10) Luke joined himself to Paul, and before which the Gospel could not have been written. The union of these two men, at this time, was not for a long period, but it seems to have been very close. It comprised the short stay at Troas, the voyage of a few days from Troas to Philippi, and the abiding there together "many days." After this they were separated for several years, before the conclusion of which period we suppose our gospel to have been written. If our previous reflections then have been in the main correct, we ascertain that the time when Luke learned the materials of his gospel from Paul was in the space of time mentioned Acts xvi. 9—18. The confinement of a sea voyage, and the quiet of their stay at Philippi until the uproar of ver. 19 took place, would afford ample time for Luke to trace out, with his friend, the life of Christ as he has brought it before us in his gospel, while during the period of his separation he had ample time to draw it out. To this period then we refer as the period when Luke obtained the materials of his gospel, and also conceived the idea of writing it. That it was suggested to him by Paul is extremely probable. The latter would readily see in him the man suited for such a composition. He had been for some time aware of the efforts made to pervert the gospel (Gal. i. 6, 8), and was of course aware of any written gospels that were at the time in circulation. There was then nothing more natural than that he should have been led by pro-

vidential guiding to see the necessity for a written gospel, to suggest to Luke to become its writer, and to furnish him with all requisite materials, so that the latter could say that he had had "perfect understanding of all things from the very first." And if this be so, we have another proof of the fidelity of St. Paul to his high charge, "the care of all the churches." For Luke's gospel is thus also in a true sense the gospel of Paul, his correction of the false and imperfect traditions fast obscuring the life of Christ, as in his epistles we have his correction of the heresies that were obscuring his doctrine. To Paul we owe the most perfect gospel, as well as the fullest exposition of Christian faith. He was not silent while men, with good or evil intentions, were misleading the churches on the events of his master's life. It was not without the highest object that he had received a revelation on this subject equal, at least, to the information of the original apostles. It enabled him to preach of Christ with his lips, and, through the assistance of Luke, to hand down to posterity our most complete and earliest gospel.

Luke's perfect independence of the other gospels is of course evident if he wrote first; but it is besides apparent, even were we to suppose that he wrote after they were written. A very cursory comparison of their contents is sufficient to shew this. In his first two chapters we have a variety of information, some of it of the most private nature, and peculiar to himself. His genealogy is in great part a different one from that followed by Matthew. In ix. 31, he mentions what no other gospel mentions, and what was unknown even to the three apostles present; viz., the subject of our Lord's conversation with Moses and Elias which took place during their sleep. Chapters x. to xviii. containing one of the most interesting portions of Christ's life, namely, his farewell journey through the cities of Samaria and Galilee which he was to revisit no more, is not at all in the other gospels. In xxii. 3, he alone mentions the entering of Satan into Judas which was of necessity unperceived by any apostle present. In xxii. 8, he alone mentions that but two of the apostles were sent to prepare the Passover, and alone mentions their names. In xxii. 20, he places an interval between the delivery of the bread and the cup which is not hinted at in the parallel gospels. In xxii. 43, he alone mentions the presence of an angel at the agony of Jesus, who was in all probability unseen and not known of by either Peter, James, or John, who were asleep. In xxii. 50, he alone mentions which ear of Malchus was cut off. In xxii. 59, he is peculiar in his mention of the space of time which intervened between the second and third denials of Peter. The look of Christ on Peter is found only in Luke (xxii. 61).

The legal assembly of the Presbytery after daybreak, so obscurely alluded to by Mark and Matthew that from their accounts alone we probably would not have drawn that there was such an assembly at all, is here plainly narrated (xxii. 66—71). He alone relates Pilate's sending Christ to Herod and the reconciliation of the two rulers (xxiii. 4—12). The affecting story of the penitent thief is peculiar to Luke, and in all likelihood it was utterly unknown to any one except the three who hung side by side upon the cross.

The entire independence of Luke as far as relates to all our other gospels is thus quite evident, putting the question of their respective dates altogether aside; but we think that many of the above instances prove more than this. Some of them were unknown to any of the original apostles so far as their hearing or eyesight went; some of them were unknown to any one in the natural way. Where did Luke hear of the songs of Mary and Elizabeth? There seems to have been no record kept of them at the time. How did he become acquainted with the subject of conversation on the Mount, with the unseen entering of Satan into Judas, with the appearance of the angel at the agony, with the conversation on the cross? If there had been but one or two cases of this kind we should have wondered, but might not have felt justified in drawing any conclusion from scanty promises; but when there are several such, we are forced to ask do these not point to a source of information higher than that of the original apostles, to such a source as the supernatural revelation to St. Paul, which might as readily inform him of what no original apostle had seen or heard, as of what he had not seen or heard himself? To our mind these instances strongly point this way, and are strong confirmations of the Pauline origin of the gospel of St. Luke. We doubt if in any one of the other gospels there is a single instance of a similar kind, namely, the narrative of any one thing which was not either seen or heard by one of the apostles, or which could not be ascertained by them in the same way by which ordinary writers obtain their information. Luke alone seems to present an exception to this, hereby pointing to a source different from theirs.

The accuracy with which Luke has written his gospel will, we think, be found as well marked as his independent acquaintance with the events in our Lord's life. We will give some few instances of this. Luke, we are to remember, was a gentile and a foreigner. We read of his accompanying Paul to Jerusalem, and it is probable he remained at Cæsarea during that apostle's imprisonment there. Of his acquaintance with other parts of Palestine, especially with Galilee, we are not told a word, nor

have we any reason to suppose his acquaintance with the country to have been more intimate than that we can gather of it from the book of Acts. This consideration adds force to some of the instances which we shall bring forward.

In viii. 22—25, Luke describes a storm upon Gennesaret: it is also described by Matthew and Mark. From the accounts of the two latter we could form no idea of the nature of the locality where this storm happened; but one little word in Luke places it before us with a painter's force: "*There came down* a storm of wind upon the lake." Gennesaret is surrounded with mountains, and in Luke's *descent of the storm* we have this feature accurately marked. In the description of our Lord's journey to Jerusalem from Jericho we have this same accuracy. A foreigner writing of this from a distance would speak of Christ as *going* from one place to the other. A native would ever, as it is done throughout the Old Testament, speak of his *going up* from the one to the other. This is in the phrase which Luke uses: "When he had thus spoken, he went before, *ascending up* to Jerusalem." He writes as accurately as if the ascent from the low country of Jordan to the hill country of Jerusalem had been his own yearly custom.

In xxi. 1, we read of a gesture on Christ's part which we might perhaps feel disposed to pass over as unimportant: "*He looked up*, and saw the rich men casting their gifts in the treasury." But when we consider it, we come to ask where was he that he should require to look up in order to see what was going on. Luke puts him in the very place where this is going on, speaking to those who were present, nor does he give us the smallest hint that he was in any place where he should "look up" in order to see. But when we turn to Mark's account we find how it was. There we are told that after Christ's solemn warning of the disciples against the scribes *he sat down* (Mark xii. 41). This accounts for Luke's phrase: in order to see he should look up. Luke did not see Mark's gospel: he was not present at the scene: he tells us previously of no act of Christ which would account for the phrase he was about to use. Yet in saying, "*He looked up*," he as accurately marks the exact gesture of Jesus as if with the apostles he had seen Jesus seat himself, and from his lowly position raise up his head to see the gifts of the rich men and that of the poor widow which he preferred to theirs. In his use of the word "Amen," he shews a similar accuracy. It was a Hebrew term, quite unused by foreigners. Luke himself never uses it throughout the book of Acts. Yet in his gospel where he is narrating the words of Jews *it is of frequent occurrence* (iv. 24; xxiii. 43). The accu-

rate foreigner gives us the very word used by his speakers, which he never introduces into his own vocabulary.

These are in themselves little things, but the more unimportant they are in themselves, the more do they bring forward the extreme accuracy with which Luke's gospel has been drawn up. We should expect accuracy in great things, nor would it surprise us there. But when we find it in the most trivial matters, and these too, matters with which the writer had little or no personal acquaintance,—in the descent of the storm upon the hill lake,—in the ascent of the traveller from Jericho to Jerusalem,—in the look up of Christ in the temple,—in the use of a phrase which had no place in his own manner of speech, we discern an accuracy which has traced with the same minute fidelity what is small and what is great.

Our gospel professes to be written, and was therefore written, *in chronological order* (i. 3). Dean Alford, in his note on this verse, tells us that Luke "did not mean hereby to lay claim to *any especial chronological accuracy*,"—"which indeed is not (he adds) found in his gospel." But we are scarcely obliged to answer this strange assertion; for here, and elsewhere, Alford seems to overturn his own dictum. In his note on the word *καθεξῆς*, he translates it "consecutively" which, according to Johnson, mean "following in train, uninterrupted, regularly succeeding:" while in his Prolegomena to the gospel he gives us just such an account of it as we should naturally learn from Luke's words. He says, "the evangelist begins with the announcement of the birth of Christ's forerunner, and concludes with the particulars of the ascension: *thus embracing the whole great procession of events by which our redemption by Christ was ushered in, accomplished, and sealed in heaven.*" This is exactly what we think of Luke, and what Luke claims for himself. He claims to write, not a collection of anecdotes thrown together, but a well-digested narrative possessed of full claim to chronological accuracy,—*the chronology of history, not of diary*. He does not indeed profess to write a diary, nor would such be at all as useful to us as the work he has written. We cannot consequently say that every event related after another is posterior to it in point of time: this is a diary. History often, in order to give us a full and clear view of some subject, brings down its account of it to its completion, and then goes back in time to take up again some other subject left behind in order to present the unbroken view of the other. But we never say of such that it does not, therefore, "lay claim to any especial chronological accuracy." And so we may allow of Luke; he too may prosecute a subject to its close, and then relate what had in point of

time happened anterior to part of what he had previously described. This is no disproof of his chronological accuracy. It merely shews us that his gospel is written on the plan of a history instead of on that of a diary. We will give an instance of this in the narrative of Peter's denial. John relates it in strict chronological order. According to its time the three denials were interspersed throughout the trial, and John accordingly passes on from denial to trial, and from trial to denial, exactly as a bystander would witness the whole. Luke adopts a different order (xxii. 55—62), having begun his account of the denial, he completes the account without a break. Now it was not from ignorance on his part, or any idea that it actually took place thus, that he so related it, for he, and he alone, tells us (ver. 59) that about the space of an hour intervened between the second and third denials, during which he must have supposed that the trial was going on. It arose, therefore, from the difference of his plan; he preferred a full account of one event undisturbed by accounts of others, and therefore proceeds with one event to its close, and then takes up others. His chronology was, according to his own shewing, the chronology of history.

Again, we have to remark of Luke, that he evidently did not intend to write a history of all he knew, but only such a history as he judged sufficient for his object. There are some who seem to imagine that the evangelists have sought to make their accounts as full as they could. To us they appear to have been written on a different plan; as much brevity as was consistent with the communication of such an amount of knowledge, as was requisite for the events of the church, seems to have been their aim. If we were to suppose them uninspired men, it is idle to suppose that they could not have brought together materials for books of any size. If they were inspired, then their judgment must have been led to see that accounts such as we have, were more suitable than others of greater length. John plainly tells us that he omitted to relate far the greater part of what he knew, and that his written account in fact contained but an infinitesimal portion of his knowledge (xx. 30; xxi. 5). Luke claims an amount of knowledge which would have enabled him, if he saw fit, to have told us far more than he has done (i. 3). One instance shews us this, he has told us nothing about the death of John Baptist, which both Matthew and Mark have been pretty full upon. Yet he knew perfectly well of his death, for he was aware of and mentions his imprisonment, and in relating the words of Herod he shews that he was also acquainted with his death (iii. 20; ix. 7—9). He could just as easily have made half a chapter about Herodias

and her daughter, and Herod's oath and the decapitation of John, as the other evangelists have done, but he omitted it because he did not think it requisite for his purpose. He studied brevity as well as arrangement and completeness. And in this point of view, perhaps as much as in any other, the Bible is a marvellous book. The composition of some thirty-six men, embracing the religious history of the world for some thousands of years, and the history of one people for fifteen hundred, taking up at a later date the religious history of the world again, and narrating the rise and early progress of the Christian church, embracing every species of composition,—poetry, and allegory and prose, history and prophecy, moral, devotional, and epistolary writing,—it is all contained within a narrower space than numberless authors have each devoted to their special subject of thought. It is a book which a peasant may become familiar with during the hours spared from a life of toil, while it has aroused more thought, attracted more attention, given rise to more voluminous writings, than all the other subjects of thought and writing put together. Look around the largest libraries, and consider how their contents would shrink if all which has sprung directly or indirectly from the Bible, in attack, and defence, and explanation, and theory, and speculation, and history, and philosophy, were to be withdrawn. And yet the book which has given rise to all this is briefer than many works of individuals which have had their short day of fame, and then been consigned to oblivion.

That Luke wrote his gospel at Philippi, seems the most likely view. From the book of Acts we find Luke in the earlier period of our acquaintance with him apparently closely connected with this city. We find him going there with Paul on their first meeting, left behind by Paul on his departure from it, and then rejoining him after several years of separation; and this at the period when we suppose the gospel to have been written. It was composed for Theophilus, a Roman governor, and Philippi, we may well suppose, was the seat of the chief authority of the empire in that part of its dominions. With him, or near him, Luke seems to have lived when he wrote. But this is a matter of very minor import. The gospel itself, and its true character, is that which concerns us chiefly. We have endeavoured to shew that it asserts for itself an authority equal to any we can ascribe to any portion of the inspired Word, nor do we believe that any part of its contents will shew it to be undeserving of this lofty claim.

HENRY CONSTABLE.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON THE STATE OF MAN;

TENDING TO A HOLY LIFE.

*Translated and abridged from the Spanish of Luis de Granada.***I. Of the knowledge of ourselves.**

THE first thing which thou must try to obtain is, a perfect knowledge of thyself and of thy sins; by which alone canst thou hope to attain perfect penitence and sincere humility, which are the two gates and foundations of a Christian life. Thou oughtest first of all to think of the multitude of thy past sins, specially those thou didst commit when thou hadst less knowledge of Almighty God; for if thou examine thyself well, thou wilt find that thy sins are more in number than the hairs of thy head, and that thou didst live as the heathen do, who know not God. Then thou mayest run briefly over the ten commandments of God, and the seven deadly sins, and thou wilt see that there is not one of them of which thou hast not been guilty—either in thought, word, or deed. By eating of only one forbidden fruit our first parents sinned; but thou hast sinned many times and oft, in all thy members, and with all thy senses.

Consider, moreover, the divine blessings which have been heaped upon thee during thy past life, and see what use thou hast made of them. And as thou must needs hereafter give an account of them all, it will be well for thee to examine and judge thyself now, in order that thou be not judged of the Lord hereafter. Wherefore, tell me, O Christian soul, how didst thou pass thine infancy, thy childhood, thy youth, thy manhood, thine advancing and, it may be, thy declining years. In short, tell me how didst thou pass thy former life? How hast thou made use of thy bodily senses; and of the talents which Almighty God has given thee in order that thou mightest know him the more perfectly, and serve him the more faithfully? How hast thou employed thine eyes? but in beholding vanity! thine ears? but in hearing falsehoods! thy tongue? but in evil talking, murmuring, and in the vanities of the world! How hast thou employed thy other senses—thy taste, thy touch, and thy sense of smell? but in unmortified pleasure and sensual gratification! How hast thou, again, approached unto the blessed sacraments, ordained by Almighty God for thy soul's health? How hast thou, also, thanked him for his benefits? How hast thou listened to his holy inspirations? How hast thou employed the health, the strength, the natural talents, the gifts of fortune, the opportunities which God has given thee to enable

thee to live holily ? How hast thou, once more ; how hast thou behaved to thy neighbour who has been committed to thy love ; and how hast thou performed those acts of mercy which thou owest unto him ?

What wilt thou answer on that dreadful day, when thy judge shall say unto thee, “ *Give an account of thy stewardship*, and of the goods I have entrusted to thee ; for I will that thou shouldest enjoy them no longer ? ” O thou unfruitful branch, prepared for eternal fire, what wilt thou answer on that day, when the account of thy life, and of its every moment, shall be required of thee ?

Secondly, think of the sins thou hast committed, aye, and dost yet commit, since thine eyes have been opened to a still more perfect knowledge of Almighty God. Thou wilt see that, notwithstanding that increased knowledge, much of the old Adam still remains within thee. For if thou couldest discover how much thou dost daily sin, by sins of omission or commission, against God, thy neighbour, or thyself, thou wouldest well know, that in all good things thou art deeply wanting. Consider, for instance, how irreverent thou art, and lacking in devotion towards God ; how ungrateful for all his benefits ; how rebellious to all his holy inspirations, or at least how careless to obey them ; how slothful in his service, for which, save in the eyes of the world, thou hast neither, as thou oughtest to have, zeal nor diligence, nor even purity of intention. Think how uncharitable thou art towards thy neighbour ; how lenient towards thyself ; how fond thou art of thine own will, thine own honour, thine own interests ; see how proud, how ambitious thou art ; how full of angry feelings and vain glory ; how malicious, and eaten up with envy ; how over-careful about thy food ; how changeable ; how sensual a lover of pleasure, and over much talking ; how inconstant in all good resolution ; how inconsiderate in thy words ; how negligent in good works ; how full of sloth in all matters of serious business.

Thirdly, after thou hast examined into the number of thy sins, thou must consider their heinousness, in order that thou mayest see how thy misery has encompassed thee in on every side. Thou must first consider these three things concerning the sins of thy past life ; first, against whom hast thou sinned ; secondly, why thou hast sinned ; and thirdly, after what manner thou hast sinned. If thou considerest against whom thou hast sinned, thou wilt know that it was against Almighty God ; whose goodness and majesty is infinite ; whose bounties and mercies towards mankind are more in number than the sand of the sea ; in whom alone is found all excellency ; and to whom all the

gratitude and obligations we owe to the creature are really due. Next, consider why hast thou sinned? For a point of honour; for some pleasurable and sensual gratification; for some paltry interest, or for something equally frivolous! Of this the prophet sadly laments, "I have been dishonoured in the presence of my people, for a handful of barley and a piece of broken bread."

Lastly, consider in what manner thou hast sinned? With such facility; with such boldness; without scruple; without fear; at times with positive pleasure, as if thou wast sinning against a God who neither sees, nor hears, nor knows what is going on in the world. Can this be the honour due to so great a Majesty? Is this fit gratitude for such exceeding benefits? Is this repayment for that precious blood which was shed on Calvary? or for the agony, the denial, the scourging, or the cross? O heartless son of man; O wretched man, for what thou hast lost; doubly wretched for what thou hast committed; and far more so, if thou feelest not thy lost estate. For, think of the infinite hatred with which thy heavenly Father hates sin; and forget not the everlasting punishment he cannot but inflict upon the ungodly and disobedient, that thou mayest somewhat understand the exceeding sinfulness of sin.

Having considered these matters, thou must think of thyself, with as much humility as thou mayest. Thou must believe thyself to be no better than a reed shaken by the wind; with no steadfastness, without holiness, without strength, with no stability, with no manner of good. Think of thyself as a spiritual Lazarus, four days dead in earthly corruption, in the sight of man; hideous and loathsome in the eyes of Almighty God, and of the holy angels. Conceive thyself—as in truth thou art—unworthy even to lift thine eyes to heaven, unworthy that the earth should bear thee, unworthy of the bread thou eatest, unworthy of the very air thou dost inhale. And if thou art unworthy of these things, how much more unworthy art thou to take upon thee to speak unto the Almighty, to receive the consolation of his Holy Spirit, to be treated as his adopted child?

Consider then, O my soul, consider then thyself as one of the most miserable creatures in the world; that thou hast made the worse possible use of God's gifts and graces; and acknowledge, that if the Lord had done in Tyre and Sidon the mighty works that he has done in thee, they would surely have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes. Confess thyself to be much worse than thou canst even conceive; and thou wilt, also, discover that the more closely thou dost examine into the iniquity of thy sin-sick soul, even when thou thinkest to reach the

bottom, thou wilt only find thyself more deeply and painfully corrupt. Raise then aloud thy voice to Almighty God, and say unto him—O Lord Jesus Christ, *I have sinned against heaven and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son.* Cast thyself, with the penitent sinner, at the feet of thy loving Lord ; humble thyself before the great King of all the earth, against whom thou hast rebelled so often, and so treacherously ; and with much sorrow and deep penitence, implore his merciful pardon for thy many shortcomings, and that he will be pleased, of his infinite goodness, to receive thee once again into his fold.

II. *Of the consideration of our sins.*

The first plank to be seized upon, after the shipwreck of sin, says a holy man of old, is penitence, which is the first step by which thou canst ascend, and the very foundation stone of thy spiritual life. To obtain this virtue, besides the gift of thy heavenly Father, whose gift is true penitence, it will be profitable for thee to consider the multitude of thy sins, as well present as past, and the exceeding greatness of them ; as from this consideration only can proceed sincere repentance. And not only this virtue, but many much higher ones arise from the same source ; namely, a perfect knowledge of oneself, a hearty contempt of oneself, the godly fear of Almighty God, an abhorrence of sin, and other similar dispositions, in which consist a great part of spiritual perfection.

That this exercise may be profitable to thee, thou must apply it unto these ends, endeavouring to draw out the sweetest of fruits—as thou wilt draw them—from the bitter root of this consideration. In order that thou mayest obtain these fruits, divine grace, which is never, thank God, refused to the humble and devout, is very needful for thee. Entreat, therefore, thy dear Lord, to grant thee this grace of humility and devotion, so that possessing a knowledge of thy inmost heart, thou mayest follow the example of the repentant king who said—*O Lord, I am oppressed, undertake for me, I shall go softly all my years in the bitterness of my soul.*

III. *Of the number of our sins.*

If thou desirest to know, O my soul, how numberless are the sins of thy past life, think over on thy knees, as thou hast been urged before, the ten commandments of God, and the seven deadly sins, one by one ; and thou wilt discover to thy shame and confusion of face, that there is not one command thou hast not broken ; not one sin thou hast not committed either in

thought, or word, or deed ; of these consider at present but two instances. The first commandment declares—*Thou shalt have none other gods but me* ; and enjoins us to honour Almighty God, as the only, very, and true God. God, says a saint, is honoured by the exercise of these three virtues—faith, hope, and charity. But what manner of faith, does he hold, who lives in this world as if he really thought that all which has been revealed by the Holy Ghost were false? What Christian hope can he have, who remembers not the life to come, and who neither calls upon Almighty God in trouble, nor is anxious to do him service? What charity that deserves the name does he possess, who loves his own pleasure more than his neighbour's good, and the wages of sin more than the sweet and easy yoke of Christ? Think also of the last command—*Thou shalt not covet* ; and who can say he has not broken *that* ? And here, in this case, who can answer for the extent of his covetousness? Who can say that his eyes have not become windows of perdition to him—and that, in many ways—to let in unto his soul unruly desires, which, so far from being contented with what his heavenly father continually provides for him, certainly end in coveting the possessions of other men?

Examine after this manner, but far more searchingly, and one by one, the divine commandments ; and then judge thyself, lest thou be judged of the Lord, how far removed thou art from sin? Consider thy pride of heart, how great it is? Thy desire for honour and praise, to what an extent it has reached? Thy self-esteem and depreciation of others, who can estimate them? What can be said of thy vain glory, or the levity of thy heart, since any trifle is sufficient to distract thee? What steps hast thou taken, what works hast thou done, what words hast thou spoken, which have not proceeded from a wrong intention, from vanity, and from the wish to be thought well of? Again, thy dress, thy table, thine acquaintance, thine actions, thy very courtesies and charities, are they not infected with vanity, or eaten up with pride? Examine also thy senses ; and not only them, but consider also the gifts and graces which Almighty God has poured upon thee, and see what use thou hast made of them? Alas, thou wilt not fail to find, that all these aids which he hath given thee, whereby thou mightest have served him better, thou hast turned into instruments to offend him the more grievously. Herein hast thou wasted thy strength, thy means, thy life, thy intellect, thy memory, and many other of God's blessings.

These, and other, and even worse evils hast thou committed in thy past life ; for all of which thou mightest well say with the

kingly penitent, "My sins have taken such hold upon me, that I am not able to look up ; yea, they are more in number than the hairs of my head, and my heart hath failed me." And although there are so many things which might have restrained thee, and taught thee to fear God, such as the number of his benefits, his great goodness, his infinite mercy ; yet in his blessings thou hast not recognised his hand, for his goodness thou hast not loved him, nor hast thou feared him notwithstanding his justice. But forgetting and closing thine eyes to all these things, thou hast wilfully thrown thyself into all manner of wickedness. Had thy motives for, and inducements to sin been strong, thou mightest have found some excuse for thy many and grievous offences ; but what sayest thou of thyself, O my soul ? Alas, God knoweth, thou must confess that thou hast sinned for things light as air, for childish trifles, for mere vanity, and as it seemed, simply to disobey the commandments of thy God. Others, when they sin, are wont to have some fear and remorse of conscience, or at the least, to feel ill at ease after they have sinned ; but thou, peradventure, hast been so blind, and so insensible, that thou hast committed thousands of sins without feeling the least compunction or fear ; as if, verily, thou didst disbelieve in the existence of a God ; or as if, believing there was one, thou believest after the manner of those who say, *Tush, the Lord shall not see, neither shall the God of Jacob regard it.* This is indeed one of the most grievous evils in the world ; for amongst the seven things which the wise king says is abomination in the sight of God, one is to have feet swift to run to destruction, that is, the recklessness with which the wicked sin before the Almighty.

IV. *Of some means whereby self-knowledge is attained.*

It is certain that thou hast fallen into these and many other sins, before thou hadst arrived at a perfect knowledge of Almighty God ; but now, that knowledge having been attained, ask of him to open thine eyes, and thou wilt find much of the old Adam still remains within thee, that many Jebusites still abide in the land of promise, because thou hast been so well disposed towards them.

Consider then, how in everything thou art deficient, especially as regards the duties thou owest to Almighty God, thy neighbour, and thyself, how little hast thou profited in the service of thy Creator, during the long time he has called thee ; how strong are thy passions ; how little thou hast increased in holiness ; how thou art ever the same faulty being, like a branchless tree which never flourishes ; and perhaps, alas, thou hast rather

gone back, since, in the way of the Lord not to go forward is always to turn back. And in fervour and devotion of spirit, is it well that thou art now removed farther from it than thou wert formerly?

Think of the careless sorrow thou hast shewn for thy sins; the little love, fear, and hope, thou hast felt towards Almighty God. The coldness of thy love, is shewn forth in the little thou doest for him; thy slight fear, in the many faults thou dost commit; and thy want of confidence in him, shews itself in the hour of tribulation, by the stormy passions which trouble thee, and in that time of sorrow, from thy heart not being firmly stayed with the sure anchor of hope.

Again, consider how feebly thou hast responded to divine inspirations; how rebellious thou hast been to the decrees of heaven; how thou hast grieved the Holy Spirit of God, and suffered his many calls in vain, for since thou wilt not mortify thine own will, thou canst not perform the holy will of God. He calls thee one way, thou goest another; he desires thee to perform some work for him, and thou straightway doest some other. Though thou seest clearly what is the will of thy heavenly Father, if thine own will is contrary to it, thou servest him after that will, and not after the manner in which he would have thee to serve him. Perhaps he calls thee to inward devotional exercises, thou immediately hast recourse to outward ones; he calls thee to prayer, thou dost immediately begin to read; he wills that thou shouldst attend to thine own soul, before that of any other, thou art forgetful of thyself, and settest aside thine own improvement for that of others, from whence it comes to pass that thou neither profitest thyself nor them.

Lastly, every time the divine will is contrary to thine, thine own is the conqueror, the divine will is the vanquished. Even supposing thou hast done some good work, how great, how manifold were its defects? Hast thou given thyself to prayer, how many have been thy distractions, how often hast thou been wearied and slothful, without due reverence for the divine majesty of God with whom thou wert conversing, and dost thou not long for the hour which shall end thy task? If thou hast done other good works, with what coldness are they performed, and how great are their faults. If it is certain that Almighty God beholds not so much thy good deeds as the spirit and intention with which they are done; and how many thinkest thou of these good works hast thou performed, which, purified from chaff and dust, were unstained by vanity and the world? how many hast thou done unmoved by the importunity of others, or out of compliment to them? how many for thine own honour

and reputation? how many to please men? how many for thine own gratification? Alas, thou wilt soon see, how small have been the number of those deeds which thou hast done simply for the sake of Almighty God, without taking any notice of the opinion of the world.

If thou dost examine into thy duties towards thy neighbours, thou wilt soon see that thou hast neither loved them as God hath commanded thee, nor felt that their sorrows were thine, nor helped them in their distress, nor shewn sufficient compassion towards them. Rather, perhaps, instead of pitying them, thou hast vented thine anger upon them, and hast despised their distress, not considering that true justice is tempered with compassion, and false justice with contempt.

Again, touching that bond of love, which the apostle recommends to us so often, commanding us to love one another as members of the same body, since we are all partakers of the same spirit; how far hast thou been from fulfilling this command? how often hast thou refused to succour the poor, to visit the sick, to help the widow, and to assist him who can do but little for himself? how often hast thou scandalized others, by thy words, thy actions, thy answers? how often hast thou preferred thyself before thine equals, despised thine inferiors, and flattered thy superiors; being, as occasion offered, humble to some, and proud to others.

If thou wilt examine thyself further, put thine hand into thy bosom, how leprous shalt thou pull it out again; what deep wounds shalt thou find; how full of the roots of pride, of love of honour, vain glory, and hypocrisy, with which thou concealest thy faults, so as to appear different to what thou really art? What a lover of gain art thou; how fond of the pleasures of the flesh, for which oftentimes, under the colour of necessity, thou dost not only provide for, but serve, not only dost sustain, but pamper? Again, if thine equal goes but a little way before thee, how speedily do signs of envy shew themselves? If another does but touch thee in some point of honour, how quickly art thou angry? But, besides all these evils, canst thou forget the looseness of thy tongue, the levity of thine heart, the obstinacy of thy will, the instability of thy good resolutions? How many evil words proceed from thy lips; how vain and prejudicial are they to thy neighbour; how flattering to thyself? How seldom hast thou denied thine own will, and given over the prey whereon it feedeth, in order to fulfil the will of Almighty God? Examine into it well, and thou wilt surely find how seldom it is that thou gainest a victory over thyself, whereas it is always needful for thee to have this power, to enable thee to live a holy

life. What canst thou say of thy broken resolutions, but that thou art like a weathercock, which is turned about by every breath of wind, as thou art, on the least occasion which offers itself to thee? What is thy whole life, but a child's play, purposing something in the morning, and changing sometimes even in the self-same hour? What art thou like, but to the lunatic in the Holy Gospel, whom the apostles could not heal? Consider the levity of thine heart, whose fickleness, changefulness, and cowardice thou canst as little explain, as it is certain that thine heart changes almost hourly, without any stability or firmness into as many shapes and figures as occasions offer. How quickly is it distracted from business; how lightly it pours out all that it has, and how slight an adversity is enough to vex and overwhelm it.

In conclusion, cast up thine account well, and see what thou hast, and what thou dost need. Thou wilt then know that thou hast great reason to fear, since thou hast been but a mere appearance and shadow of holiness and goodness. For thou hast in thyself nothing more than a bare thought of Almighty God, which perhaps savours more of the flesh than of the spirit. It might thus appear to thee that thou art safe; even thou mightest say with the Pharisee, that thou art not as other men are, because they possess not even the thought and feelings which thou hast; whereas the other portion of thy soul is full of self-love, self-will, and many other defects and passions. So that all the substance of this shew of holiness is but to say, Lord, Lord, and not to do the holy will of God. This is to imitate the hypocritical Pharisee, and to be that lukewarm one of whom Almighty God emphatically says in the Revelation, "I will spue thee out of my mouth."

All these things thou must consider very diligently, and endeavour to obtain sincere sorrow and penitence for thy past sins, and a perfect knowledge of thyself; that by the one thou mayest ask pardon for having offended thy dear Lord, and by the other, power and grace never so to offend him again for ever.

V. Of the contempt a man should feel for himself.

After a man has thus considered the number of his sins, by which he is weighed down, he ought to humble himself as much as possible, and to desire the just contempt of all creatures, since he has despised the Creator of them all. He may help himself with the devout considerations of a holy saint, who, in speaking of this compunction of conscience, says, "Behold, brethren, our great vileness, and the enormity of our sins; and let us humble ourselves before Almighty God as much as we can.

Let us be afraid to lift up so much as our eyes unto heaven ; let us smite our breasts like the publican in the Holy Gospel, that the Lord may have mercy upon us ; and let us constrain ourselves, and take up arms against our own wickedness, and enter into judgment with ourselves. Let each one say within himself, If for these sins, which I have committed, my Saviour was so insulted and afflicted, why should I not abase myself, seeing that that it was for me that he suffered ? Far be it from me ever to presume upon myself. For I am he who has despised almighty God, and who has crucified him afresh upon the cross. It seems, indeed, as if the whole world gave sentence against me, saying, This is he who has despised our common Lord ; this is that ungrateful and perverse one, who has been moved more by the wiles of the devil, than by the benefits of the Almighty ; this is he to whom the malice of the devil is more agreeable than the divine goodness ; this is he who could never be attracted by divine love, nor intimidated by divine wrath ; this is he who has dishonoured and scoffed at the power, the wisdom, the goodness of God ; fears more to offend a mortal like himself than the omnipotent God. He is more ashamed of committing a bad action before men than in the presence of God. This is he who enjoys earthly pleasures more than his chiefest good ; this is he who fixes his eyes on corruptible creatures, and has turned from the service of his Creator. What shall I say more ? There is nothing vile and wicked which he has not committed in the presence of God, without shame or any respect for so great a Majesty. Wherefore let all creatures cry out against him, saying, This is he who has treated us so badly, for he ought to have employed us in the service and praise of our Creator, has made us serve the enemy of souls, turning into reproach the Holy One who created us to serve himself alone. His soul was beautified with the image of God ; he has darkened that image, and clothed it with our vile likeness. More earthly was he than earth ; more unstable than water ; more changeful than the wind ; more ardent than fire in his fleshly appetites ; more hardened than stone ; more cruel against himself than his enemies ; more uncharitable against others than the evil one himself. He has neither feared God, nor regarded man ; he has scattered his wickedness amongst men, attracting many others to be the companions of his evil deeds. Not content with injuring God himself, he has induced others to be partakers in his injuries. What can I say of his other offences ? His pride is so great that he will neither be subject to Almighty God, nor bend his neck beneath the yoke of his obedience, but lives as he himself thinks best, having in all things his own will, and being utterly rebellious.

ous against that of God. If God grants not his desires, or sends him any trouble, he is wrathful with the Creator, as he would be to a creature. In all his actions he desires to be praised, as well in bad as in good ones, as if he were that Deity to whom alone it is due to be praised for everything, since all he does is good, and is ordained for good. He is, after a manner, more proud than Lucifer, and more presumptuous than Adam; for they, being filled with light and beauty, had some reason to presume of themselves; but a sinful man, what reason has he in the least degree to esteem himself?

“All creatures raise most justly their voices against me, for I, O my soul, I am the man. They exclaim, Come, and destroy the despiser of our Creator. The earth says, Why do I sustain him? The water, Why do I not cover him? The air, Why do I give him breath? The fire, Why do I not consume him? And hell says, Why do I not swallow him up and torment him? Alas, wretched man that I am, what shall I do, whither shall I fly, since everything is in arms against me? Who will receive me, since I have offended all things? Almighty God have I despised; the holy angels have I grieved; the saints have I dishonoured; men have I offended; all creatures have I treated badly. Why need I make so long a discourse, for in offending the Creator, I have also offended all his creatures in him. I know not whither to flee; everything is against me, so that I can see no one to take my part, and even my own conscience raises its voice against me; my very reins chasten me in the night season. Wherefore I will weep, as some poor wretched creature weeps, with unceasing tears of penitence whilst I live in this vale of misery, hoping that my most merciful Saviour will vouchsafe to turn his eyes towards me. I will cast myself at his sacred feet, and with all possible humility and shame I will say to him, Lord Jesus I am that great enemy of thine, who, before thy divine eyes, has committed such abominable sins. I acknowledge myself so guilty before thee, that were I only to suffer those pains of hell, which evil spirits and men have been condemned to suffer, I could make no sufficient atonement for my sins. Extend then, O merciful Lord, the cloak of thy mercy over this miserable creature, that my wickedness may be overshadowed by the greatness of thy love. Let the heavenly Father rejoice at the return of the prodigal son; and the good shepherd at the recovery of the sheep which was lost. Oh! how joyful will be that day, when thou shalt extend Thine everlasting arms to me, and give me the kiss of peace. To obtain this blessing I well know what to do. I will take up arms against myself, and will be more severe towards myself than towards any other; I

will afflict myself in all manner of ways; I will despise myself; I will rejoice in being dis-esteemed from whatever side dishonour comes; I will rejoice when my shame is discovered and published, and because I alone am not enough to despise myself; and I will join all creatures in the world, and will desire to be despised and afflicted by them, since I have despised their great Creator. It will be a longed-for treasure for me to heap up pain and contempt upon myself; and I will sincerely love all those that will help me. All the consolations and honours of this life shall be to me as torments, and I will count them all as poison and flattery. If I do this, I firmly believe that, though I have offended them, I shall induce all created things to have pity upon me, and that all those who formerly gave their voice against me, will now pray and entreat for me after their manner. Insults and dishonour may come upon me from every side, and are welcome, if they only bring me near unto my dearest Lord. May all honour and all pleasure be far from me; the name of them even shall not be heard in my dwelling; in all things I will seek the honour of my Lord, and my own despite and confusion."

Such are the words of a holy saint of old, which will help those who devoutly meditate upon them, and which will excite in them these four great affections,—sorrow for sin, godly fear of Almighty God, hatred of oneself, and the wish to be little esteemed for the sake of God. From the first affection proceeds penitence, which will cleanse us from our past sins. In the second is found the love of God, which excludes all other love. From the third is obtained a hatred of self. And with the fourth comes true humility against the glories and desires of the world.

Whoever is anxious to obtain these four virtues, must exercise himself in these and in similar considerations. By them is specially obtained that hatred of self, which not only eschews all pleasures of the flesh, and procures for itself labour, but much more, to despise all the dignities and honours of the world, and to love to be dis-esteemed for the sake of God. This affection belongs properly to humility, which is a hearty contempt of self; from whence is derived a true knowledge of ourselves and of our sins. And, in conclusion, I would only add this, in order that the lovers of true humility may be encouraged, that from the same fountain from which is drawn the water to obtain abhorrence of ourselves, proceeds water to sustain and nourish the tree of true humility, from whence springs all virtue and holiness of life.

O. S.

CORRESPONDENCE.

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CHRONOLOGY OF OUR LORD'S LAST PASSOVER.

THE great question between H. C. and myself is, *Did our Lord keep the passover at his last supper?* In the New Testament there is a positive statement that he expressed a desire to partake of the passover, and also a positive statement that after expressing this desire he partook of a supper with his disciples; but there is no positive statement that the supper of which he thus partook was the passover feast, and therefore whether it was so, or not, is only a matter of inference. But, if there be good evidence that the hour at which he partook of this supper was within the legal time for killing the passover lamb, or if there be no good evidence as to what was the legal time for killing the passover lamb, then the inference might fairly be that this supper was the passover feast. But, on the other hand, if there be good evidence that the hour of which he partook of this supper was not within the legal time for killing the passover lamb, then the inference must be that the supper, of which he thus partook, was not the passover feast. Thus, that our Lord kept the passover at his last supper must not be considered as an undoubted fact merely upon these statements in the New Testament, to which I have referred. Evidence must be sought as to the legal hour of killing the passover. In my paper, in your number for January, I endeavoured to shew that our Lord ought to be regarded strictly as our passover lamb, and from this I inferred that the hour of his death ought to be regarded as good evidence of the legal hour at which the passover lamb under the law was to be killed; and if the passover lamb under the law was to be regarded strictly as a shadow of our Lord, as the body, the evidence would of course be good and conclusive; but different minds may hold different views of this matter. The direct evidence as to the hour is of course to be found only in the Old Testament, and I will now endeavour to shew from the Old Testament that the ninth hour, at which our Lord gave up the ghost, was within the limits for killing the passover lamb under the law, that is, that the lamb was to be killed not at or subsequent to, as H. C. contends, but before the setting of the sun, and if this be established it must necessarily follow that our Lord could not have kept the passover at his last supper, notwithstanding the statements in the New Testament, to which I have referred. With

this object in view I will consider (1) the literal meaning of the terms in which the time is expressed in the Old Testament; (2) whether this literal meaning is confirmed by the context in the various passages in which these terms occur; (3) whether this literal meaning is confirmed by the account which is given of the Exodus; (4) whether this literal meaning is confirmed by the interpretation which was put upon these terms by the Jews, as manifested by their custom in the hour of killing the passover lambs and the victims for their daily evening sacrifices.

I. The time for killing the passover lamb is mentioned seven times in the Old Testament. (1) In Exodus xii. 6, the time is given as *between the evenings*, and the LXX. here says, πρὸς ἑσπέραν. (2) Lev. xxiii. 5 the time is *between the evenings*; and the LXX. here says, ἀναμέσον τῶν ἑσπερινῶν. (3—5) In Numb. ix. 3, 5, 11, the time is *between the evenings*, and the LXX. in 3 and 5 says, πρὸς ἑσπέραν. (6) In Deut. xvi. 6 the time is *at even at the going down of the sun*, and here the LXX. gives ἑσπέρας πρὸς δυσμὰς ἡλίου. (7) In Joshua v. 10 the time is *at even*, and here the LXX. gives ἀφ' ἑσπέρας. The term *between the evenings* also occurs in Exod. xxix. 39, 41, and in each place is rendered by the LXX. τὸ δειλινόν. The killing of many victims must necessarily occupy some time, and thus instead of a particular hour we have *the evenings* given as the limits between which the killing of the passover lambs was to take place; but, in order to be within these limits, it is evident that the time must have been between the beginning of the first and the beginning of the second evening; for no time after the beginning of the second evening could be said to be between the two evenings. Further, the time must be wholly in one Jewish day, and not partly in one day and partly in another. But what is meant "by the two evenings?" Suidas, *Lexicon*, gives ἑσπέρων as ἐπὶ δυσμὰς ὁδόν, and δειλὴ ὄψια as ἡ περὶ δύσιν ἡλίου: δειλὴ πρῶτα as ἡ πρὸ ἁρίστον ὥρα, ἡ μετὰ τὸ ἁρίστον, and gives ἁρίστον as περὶ ὥραν τρίτην. Hesychius, *Lexicon*, gives δειλὴ ὄψια as ἡ περὶ δύσιν ἡλίου and δειλὴ πρῶτα as ἡ μετ' ἁρίστον ὥρα. Demosthenes, *Eubulides* (p. 1301), says, "We began to give our votes δειλὴς ὄψις so that when my name was called, darkness had already come on; for I was about the sixtieth, and was called the last of all that were called that day." From the mention of δειλὴς ὄψις we infer that a previous part of the day was known as δειλὴ πρῶτα, and from Demosthenes saying that darkness had already come on when his name was called, we infer that it was not dark at δειλὴς ὄψις, when the voting began, and from his being the sixtieth that was called, we infer that some considerable time must have elapsed between the δειλὴ ὄψια and the calling of his own name, and hence we conclude that the δειλὴ ὄψια began at sunset. Further, by taking the *at even at the going down of the sun* in Deut. xvi. 6 as equivalent to the *between the evenings* in the other passages, we refer the *at even* to the first evening, and the *going down of the sun* to the second evening, and it is admitted that the Jewish day began at sunset. From even to even (ἀπὸ ἑσπέρας ἕως ἑσπέρας) shall ye celebrate your Sabbath (Lev. xxiii. 32). Hence we conclude that the second evening of the Jews began at sunset, and therefore the killing of the

passover lambs must have been between noon and sunset, according to the literal meaning of the terms in which the time is expressed.

II. The term *between the evenings* also occurs in other passages of the Old Testament. In Exod. xxix. 38, 39, 41, it is said, "Now this is that which thou shalt offer upon the altar; two lambs of the first year day by day continually. The one lamb thou shalt offer in the morning, and the second lamb thou shalt offer *between the evenings*;" "and the second lamb thou shalt offer *between the evenings*." In each of these passages, as I have already noticed, the LXX. gives τὸ δειλινόν. In Numb. xxviii. 3, 4, 8, 9, it is said, "two lambs of the first year without spot in a day for a continual burnt-offering. The one lamb thou shalt offer in the morning, and the second lamb thou shalt offer *between the evenings*." . . . "And the second lamb thou shalt offer *between the evenings*." . . . "And on the Sabbath day two lambs of the first year without spot." In each of these passages the LXX. gives τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέραν. Josephus, *Ant.*, iii. 10, 1, says, "The law requires that out of the public expenses a lamb of the first year be killed every day at the beginning and at the ending of the day; but on the seventh day, which is called the Sabbath, they kill two and sacrifice them in the same manner." Now unless the second lamb had been killed before sunset, it could not have been killed on the same day as the first, and this is especially noticeable in regard to the Sabbath. Here then we have from the context a striking confirmation of the meaning which we have given to the term *between the evenings*. The term also occurs in Exod. xvi. 12 and xxx. 8, but there is nothing in the context of either of these passages by which the limits of the period can be determined. In these we have to rely upon what we have already determined to be the literal meaning of the expression. I will now consider other passages in the LXX. in which the expression πρὸς δυσμὰς ἡλίου is used. In Joshua x. 27 it is said, "And it came to pass at the time of the going down of the sun (πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμὰς) that Joshua commanded, and they took them (the five kings) down off the trees." In Joshua viii. 29 it is said, "And the king of Ai he hanged on a tree until eventide (ἕως ἑσπέρας): and as soon as the sun was down (ἐπιδυνόντος τοῦ ἡλίου), Joshua commanded that they should take his carcase down." But in Deut. xxi. 23 it is said of a man that was hung, "His body shall not remain all night upon the tree, but thou shalt in any wise bury him *that day* (ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ);" and in accordance with this we read of our Lord and the two malefactors, John xix. 31, "The Jews therefore, because it was the preparation, that the bodies should not remain upon the cross on the Sabbath day (for that Sabbath day was an high day), besought Pilate that their legs might be broken, and that they might be taken away." Thus we see that neither the πρὸς δυσμὰς of Joshua x. 27, nor the ἕως ἑσπέρας καὶ ἐπιδυνόντος τοῦ ἡλίου of Joshua viii. 29 extended beyond sunset. But the expression in Joshua x. 27 is not quite equivalent to the expression in Deut. xvi. 6, the ἑσπέρας is wanting. Πρὸς δυσμὰς also occurs in Deut. xxiv. 13. Upon this passage H. C. says, "*When the sun has set* is beyond any doubt its proper sense here, for the entire passage shews that the command is to restore

the debtor his pledge at the legal close of the civil day, which was not until the sun was set." I can see nothing in the context to determine that such is its meaning, but, from the verses immediately following, I find that the sun was not to set (*οὐκ ἐπιδύσεται ὁ ἥλιος ἐπ' αὐτῆς*) upon the hire of a poor man, and from this I should rather infer that it was not to set upon the pledge of any poor man; and Josephus (*Ant.*, iv. 8, 26) says, "Let him that takes the pledge restore it *before* the going down of the sun (*πρὶν ἡλίου δυσμῶν*)."

III. I will now consider whether this literal meaning is confirmed by the account which is given of the Exodus, and this I will do by considering whether the account agrees better with the supposition that the passover lamb was killed at or subsequent to sunset, than with the supposition that it was killed before sunset. The command to Moses (*Exod.* xii.) was, "They shall eat the flesh in that night;" "and ye shall let nothing of it remain until the morning," "and ye shall eat it in haste." "For I will pass through the land of Egypt this night, and will smite all the first-born in the land of Egypt;" "and none of you shall go out of the door of his house until the morning. For the Lord will pass through to smite the Egyptians." "And it came to pass that at midnight the Lord smote all the first-born in the land of Egypt." "And Pharaoh rose up in the night, he and all his servants, and all the Egyptians; and there was a great cry in Egypt; for there was not a house where there was not one dead. And he called for Moses and Aaron by night and said, Rise up, and get you forth from among my people." "And the Egyptians were urgent upon the people, that they might send them out of the land in haste; for they said, We be all dead men. And the people took their dough before it was leavened;" "and the people of Israel journeyed from Rameses to Succoth." "And they baked unleavened cakes of the dough which they brought forth out of Egypt, for it was not leavened; because they were thrust out of Egypt, and could not tarry, neither had they prepared for themselves any victual." Upon this I should notice that the Lord passed through Egypt this night, that is, the night immediately following the killing of the passover lamb; that it was at midnight that the Lord smote all the first-born, and that it was in the night that Pharaoh and all his servants and all the Egyptians rose up, and that it was also in the night that he called for Moses and Aaron. Thus, no doubt can exist but that all this passed within twelve hours of the time that the passover lamb was killed, and the only question is, What was the interval between this calling for Moses by Pharaoh, and the departure of Moses from Rameses? H. C. says, "Surely a delay of some twenty-four hours was little enough for the necessary preparations that must be made, even though we know that their departure was for some time being prepared for." But surely such a supposition is utterly inconsistent with the account of their departure, which I have just set forth.

That there was not a delay of some twenty-four hours is evident from the circumstance that the people took their dough before it was leavened, and not only this, it is expressly said that *they could not tarry*. They

were thrust out of Egypt; the Egyptians were urgent upon the people that they might send them out of the land in haste, and for a very good reason. They knew that within a very short time all the first-born in the land both of man and cattle had been smitten, and there was not a house where there was not one dead, and they doubtless feared how far the destroying angel might proceed, if the Israelites remained any longer in the land; for they said, "We be all dead men." They had strength too to expel them; for Pharaoh and all his servants and all the Egyptians rose up by night. Their fear of the Egyptians also forbade their delay; for when "the Egyptians marched after them they were sore afraid, and the children of Israel cried out unto the Lord; and they said unto Moses, Because there were no graves in Egypt, hast thou taken us away to die in the wilderness?" Further, Moses was prepared for this urgency on the part of the Egyptians. The Lord had said unto Moses, "Yet will I bring one plague more upon Pharaoh and upon Egypt: afterwards he will let you go hence; when he shall let you go, he shall surely thrust you out hence altogether." Moses had also said, "Thus saith the Lord, About midnight I will go out into the midst of Egypt;" and to Pharaoh Moses had said, "I will see thy face again no more." It may therefore well be supposed that Moses had made the needful preparation, and so there was the less occasion for delay, even if it had been permitted by the Egyptians, and instead of a delay of some twenty-four hours in taking their departure from Rameses, their departure must have been immediate and very much within twenty-four hours from the sunset which preceded the night in which the first-born were smitten. But on what day of the month did this take place? The passover lamb was killed on the fourteenth, and if it was killed after sunset, then their departure must also have been on the fourteenth; but if it was killed before sunset, then their departure must have been on the fifteenth, that is, on the morrow after the killing of the passover. It was on the self-same day with the first of the seven days of the feast of unleavened bread, which ended on the twenty-first day of the month. It must therefore have been on the fifteenth day of the month. St. Mark (xiv. 12) speaks of the day on which they killed the passover, that is, the fourteenth as the first day of the unleavened bread; and in Exod. xii. 18 it is said, "In the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month at even, ye shall eat unleavened bread, until the one and twentieth day of the month at even." But from the fourteenth to the twenty-first the number would be eight, and Josephus (*Ant.*, ii., 15, 1), says, "We kept a feast for eight days, which is called the feast of the unleavened bread;" but in *Ant.*, iii. 10, 5, he says, "The feast of the unleavened bread succeeds that of the passover and falls on the fifteenth day of the month, and continues seven days." In Lev. xxiii. 5, 6, it is also said, "On the fifteenth day of the same month is the feast of unleavened bread unto the Lord: seven days ye must eat unleavened bread;" and in Numb. xxxiii. 3 it is said, "And they departed from Rameses in the first month, on the fifteenth day of the first month; on the morrow after the passover the children of Israel went out with an high hand

in the sight of all the Egyptians." Josephus (*Ant.*, ii. 15, 2) also says, "They left Egypt in the month Xanthicus on the fifteenth day of the lunar month." Thus, the account which is given of the Exodus is perfectly consistent with the supposition that the passover lamb was slain before sunset, and as perfectly inconsistent with the supposition that it was slain at or subsequent to sunset, and thus the account of the Exodus also gives a striking confirmation of the literal meaning of the terms in which the time is expressed.

IV. I will now consider what interpretation the Jews put upon the terms, and for this I must look to their custom as to the hour at which they killed their passover lambs, and also their victims for their daily evening sacrifices; for the time of killing these victims is, as we have seen, also expressed in the same terms. I learn from Ezra iii. 2—6, that in the first year of Cyrus and in their seventh month they "builded the altar of the God of Israel to offer burnt-offerings thereon, *as it is written in the law of Moses* the man of God;" "and they offered burnt-offerings thereon unto the Lord, even burnt-offerings, morning and evening;" "and offered the daily burnt-offerings *by number according to the custom*, as the duty of every day required." "From the first day of the seventh month began they to offer burnt-offerings unto the Lord. But the foundation of the temple of the Lord was not yet laid." In Ezra vi. 15, 19, it is said, "And this house was finished on the third day of the month Adar, which was in the sixth year of the reign of Darius the king." "And the children of the captivity kept the passover upon the fourteenth day of the first month." Upon this I should notice that it is expressly stated that in the time of Cyrus the burnt-offerings were offered, *as it is written in the law of Moses*, meaning of course, among other particulars, as it is written in the law of Moses, as to the number and the time of killing the victims. It is also expressly stated that the daily burnt-offerings were *according to the custom*, as the duty of every day required *as to number*, and if according to custom, as well as according to the law as to number; we may also safely infer that they were according to custom as well as according to the law as to the time of killing the victims. I also notice that the passover in the time of Darius was kept according to the law and custom in regard to the day and month, and it may be safely concluded that it was also kept according to the law and custom in regard to the hour at which the lambs were killed, especially as there is such reason for believing that the victims for the daily evening sacrifices, which were to be killed at the same hour, were killed in the time of Cyrus according to the law and custom in regard to their hour as well as number. Nor can I conceive it credible that any change should have taken place in the custom as to the hour of killing either the passover lambs or the victims for the daily evening sacrifices from the time of Cyrus, when the Jews returned from their captivity to rebuild their temple, to the time of Vespasian when the second temple was destroyed. And as to the custom in the times of Caligula and Nero there is the testimony of two Jews who lived in the times of which they speak, Philo and Josephus, and Josephus was a priest. According to Philo

(*De Septenario*, p. 1190, tom. ii., p. 292), who lived in the time of Caligula, they sacrificed the passover, beginning from noon to evening, and in *De Animal. Sacrif.*, *Idon.* ii., p. 239, Philo says, "Twice every day the sweetest incenses are burnt within the veil, when the sun rises and sets, and before the morning and after the evening sacrifices." Hence the evening sacrifices must have been before the sunset. According to Josephus (*Wars*, vi. 9, 3), in the time of Nero they slew their sacrifices at the passover from the ninth to the eleventh hour, and in *Ant.*, xiv. 4, 3, Josephus says, "The priests were not at all hindered from their sacred ministrations by their fear during this siege, but still twice a day, in the morning and about the ninth hour, offer their sacrifices on the altar." I will now consider the statements of the evangelists as bearing upon the time of killing the passover in the year of the crucifixion. In xiii. 1, St. John speaks of the day of the crucifixion as the day before the feast of the passover. Hence it is evident that the supper of which our Lord had partaken on the evening before his crucifixion could not have been the feast of the passover. In the twenty-ninth verse of this chapter St. John, speaking of what happened in the evening after the last supper, says, "Some of them thought, because Judas had the bag, that Jesus had said unto him, Buy those things that we have need of against the feast." But what was the feast here alluded to, but the feast of the passover, of which St. John had just been speaking in the first verse of the chapter? From this also it is evident that the supper, of which our Lord had partaken before this was said of Judas, could not have been the feast of the passover. St. John (xviii. 28) speaking of the day of the crucifixion says, "It was early; and they themselves went not into the judgment hall, lest they should be defiled; but that they might eat the passover."

From this it is also evident that the supper, of which our Lord had partaken before he was taken to the judgment-hall, could not have been the feast of the passover. It is also evident that the passover could not have been killed at the time that He was in the judgment hall; for, if killed, it must also have been eaten, for it was early (*πρωτα*) and the command in Exodus xii. 10 was, "Thou shalt let nothing of it remain until the morning (*ἕως πρωτ*). I learn from St. Mark xiv. 12, and St. Luke xxii. 7, that the passover was to be killed on the day of the crucifixion, and as it had not been killed at the time that our Lord was in the judgment-hall, it must have been killed between that hour and the end of the day, that is, before the coming sunset. Thus the positive testimony of Philo and Josephus is fully confirmed by the circumstantial evidence of the evangelists. But H. C. speaks of a party in the Jewish nation in our Lord's time who killed the passover about twenty-one hours before the Jews in general killed theirs. But how does he seek to establish it? He assumes that it is an undoubted fact that our Lord did so, and from this he infers the existence of such a party. But I have already shewn that instead of this being an undoubted fact, it is only an inference, and an inference which is only to be drawn in the absence of good evidence as to the legal hour of killing the passover, and therefore in the face of the

evidence which I have produced on the point, the inference to be drawn from this inference amounts to nothing as evidence of the existence of the party. Nor does what H. C. produces from Gesenius and Kuinoel amount to the semblance of evidence on the point. Hence, the statements of the Evangelists as to the passover must be dealt with as if no such party existed. H. C. feels a difficulty in drawing from the statements of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, as to our Lord's eating the passover, any other inference than that he ate it at his last supper. But the drawing of this inference involves at least an equal, if not a greater, difficulty in regard to these very statements. For is it not exceedingly difficult to conceive that when St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, speak of eating the passover, they mean the legal passover; but that when St. John speaks of eating the passover, he means a feast which was not the legal passover. Further, St. John speaks of the day of the crucifixion as being the preparation of the passover, and St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, also speak of it as the preparation, and is it not difficult to conceive that the three mean the preparation of the legal passover, which had been eaten the preceding evening, and that St. John means the preparation of a feast which was not to be eaten before the following day, and which was not the legal passover? Josephus (*Ant.*, xvi. 6, 2), speaking of the time of Augustus, says, "They were not obliged to go before any judge on the Sabbath day, nor on the day of the preparation to it after the ninth hour." Clemens Al. (*Strom.*, 316, 15) says that the fourth day and the preparation are called, the one, Mercury's, the other, Venus's. Thus, Josephus and Clemens speak of the preparation in the sense in which it seems reasonable to suppose that it was used by all the evangelists, and it is far more reasonable to suppose that H. C. is wrong in the inference which he draws from these statements of the evangelists, than to suppose that St. John should use words which are used by the other three in reference to the same matter, but with a different meaning. H. C. also refers to the large passover in the time of Josias (2 Chron. xxxv. 10—16) as favouring his view, but surely it is far more favourable to mine, on the principle of more work, more time. H. C.'s view would allow only from sunset to midnight for all the previous preparation, the killing and the eating; mine would allow all the preceding twenty-four hours in addition.

Thus the literal meaning of the terms in which the time is expressed, the context in various passages in which these terms occur, the account of the Exodus, and the interpretation put upon these terms by the Jews all concur in their testimony.

For the sake of argument I might admit that there was doubt as to the literal meaning of the terms, doubt as to the force of the context in the various passages in which the terms occur, and doubt as to the inference to be drawn from the account of the Exodus; but no doubt can exist as to the customary hour for killing either the passover lambs, or the victims for the daily evening sacrifices. Nor can there be any doubt but that Moses and also Ezra must have known what was the will of God on the subject, and any doubt which might exist as to all or

any part of the varied testimony which I have elicited from the Scriptures would only add to the importance of the testimony which is borne by the custom of the Jews in regard to this matter. Hence, the custom, if it stood alone, would have been sufficient testimony in the matter. How much more sufficient then must be the united testimony which I have produced, and from this it is evident that the ninth hour, at which our Lord gave up the ghost, was within the limits for killing the passover lambs under the law. That our Lord was put to death on the proper day for killing the passover lamb is admitted by H. C. Hence, any lamb which might have been partaken of at the last supper could not have been slain on the right day, and also at the right hour, and hence our Lord could not have eaten the passover at his last supper.

FRANKE PARKER.

Luffingcott, April 8, 1862.

I DO not understand what the circumstance is which seems to have escaped my observation, and to which W. L. B. wishes to draw my attention in your last number.

I have not overlooked Matt. xxvi. 17, Mark xiv. 12, nor Luke xxii. 7; but from taking these passages in connexion with what follows them I do certainly identify the day of the crucifixion, not with that of the eating, but with that of the slaying of the ordinary Paschal lamb. I infer that the sending of Peter and John to prepare the passover, and all that followed, took place after 6 p.m. on the evening preceding the crucifixion, and so took place on the day of the crucifixion, which began at 6 p.m. of the preceding evening, and I make it to be the fourteenth of Nisan. But from these same passages W. L. B. concludes that the day of the crucifixion, that is, the Friday was the fifteenth of Nisan, the day after the day on which they killed the passover (the fourteenth).

Now, according to Matt. xxvii. 62, Mark xv. 42, Luke xxiii. 54, and John xix. 14, the day of the crucifixion, that is, the Friday, was the day of the preparation of the passover, and thus we should have the day of the crucifixion, that is, the day of the preparation of the passover to be the day after the day on which they killed the passover. This is of course incredible, and if W. L. B. admits that the day, on which the disciples made the preparation for the passover at our Lord's command, must have been the day of the preparation of the passover, we should have both the Thursday and the Friday, that is, both the fourteenth and the fifteenth of Nisan, according to W. L. B., as the day of the preparation of the passover. But this could not be. Hence, the day of the crucifixion could not have been the day after the day on which they killed the passover.

Further, when John (xviii. 28) speaks of eating the passover, W. L. B. interprets it as meaning a feast wholly different in kind, and partaken of on a different day from that which is meant by the other three evangelists, when they speak of eating the passover. But as the

four evangelists concur in speaking of the day of the crucifixion as being the day of the preparation of the passover, is it not far more reasonable to suppose that they also agreed in what they meant by eating the passover, and from this it would follow that the passover, which Peter and John were sent to prepare, had not been partaken of when our Lord was in the judgment-hall in the morning of his crucifixion?

Hence our Lord could not have eaten the passover before his crucifixion. Must we not also conclude that when our Lord said to Peter and John, "Go and prepare us the passover that we may eat," He meant the passover mentioned by all the evangelists, and gave His directions for the preparation, not before, but on the day of the preparation of the passover, the same day that was called by His four evangelists the day of the preparation of the passover? W. L. B. also says, "*But an objection to my conclusion may be raised from the supposed mode of reckoning the day of Pentecost.*" The great question here is, *From what day were the fifty days reckoned for the feast of Pentecost?* Lev. xxiii. 15 says, "And ye shall count unto you from the morrow after the Sabbath, from the day that ye brought the sheaf of the wave-offering; seven sabbaths shall be complete." But after what Sabbath? Lev. xxiii. 6—8, says, "And on the fifteenth day of the same month is the feast of unleavened bread unto the Lord. In the first day ye shall have an holy convocation: ye shall do no servile work therein. But ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto the Lord seven days: in the seventh day is an holy convocation: ye shall do no servile work therein." Thus, during the seven days feast of unleavened bread there were to be two sabbaths, that is, the first and the last of the seven days, that is, the fifteenth and the twenty-first days of the first month were to be observed as sabbaths. In addition to these it is said, in Lev. xxiii. 3, "Six days shall work be done: but the seventh day is the sabbath of rest, an holy convocation." But from the context it is evident that the Pentecost was to be reckoned, not from any ordinary seventh-day sabbath, but from one of the two sabbaths of the feast of unleavened bread. But thus far the Scripture does not say from which of the two. I will now turn to the day on which the sheaf of the first-fruits was offered. In Lev. xxiii. 11, it is said in the Hebrew, "And he shall wave the sheaf before the Lord, to be accepted for you: on the morrow after the sabbath the priest shall wave it." Here again we are referred to the sabbath, as the day from which the reckoning was to be made, but without any information as to what sabbath it was. But the LXX. in this passage says, "On the morrow after the first day the priest shall offer this up." Here we have the desired information; for the first day plainly refers to the first day of the feast of unleavened bread, that is, the fifteenth day of the month, the first of the two sabbaths.

I will now turn to the interpretation which was put upon this matter by the Jews as manifested in their custom of offering the sheaf of their first-fruits and reckoning their Pentecost. Philo (*De Septenario*, tom. ii., p. 293) speaking of the feast of unleavened bread, says that the

fifteenth day was the beginning; that the feast was celebrated for seven days; that of these seven days God called two, that is, the first and the last holy. In p. 294 Philo says, "The day immediately after the first is a feast which is called the sheaf from what took place; for this, the first-fruits, is brought to the altar." "The festival at the offering of the sheaf has great privileges, and is a feast which precedes another greater feast; for from that day the Pentecost is counted." Josephus (*Ant.*, iii., 10, 5) says, "The feast of unleavened bread succeeds that of the passover, and falls on the fifteenth day of the month and continues seven days, wherein they feed on unleavened bread. . . . But on the second day of unleavened bread, which is the sixteenth day of the month, they first partake of the fruits of the earth: for before that day they do not touch them. . . . They also at this participation of the first-fruits sacrifice a lamb as a burnt-offering to God. When a week of weeks has passed over this sacrifice (which weeks continue forty-nine days) on the fiftieth day, which is Pentecost, but is called by the Hebrews, *Asartha*, which signifies Pentecost, they bring to God a loaf."

Thus, according to Philo and Josephus the day of first-fruits, from which the Pentecost was reckoned, was the sixteenth day of Nisan, that is, the morrow after the fifteenth, that is, the morrow after the first of the two sabbaths of the feast of unleavened bread, just as we have learnt from the LXX. Nor to set aside this testimony is it sufficient to say with W. L. B., "But Josephus frequently follows the Septuagint, or has been brought by transcribers into harmony with it; and in Lev. xxiii. 11, the Septuagint reads instead of, '*on the morrow after the sabbath*,' '*on the morrow after the first day*,' τῇ ἐπ' αὐριον τῆς πρώτης. I cannot help thinking that this may have been a transcriber's error arising from the insertion in the text of an explanatory gloss."

Rather from the much desired light which is thrown upon this matter by the LXX., I should infer that the copy of the law, from which the LXX. made their translation, was, in regard to this passage, preferable to the copy from which our present Hebrew has descended, and the testimony of Philo and Josephus must be regarded as applying to the custom of the Jews which prevailed in their time as to this matter. The calendar of the Jews of this present year (1862) gives Tuesday the fifteenth of April as the fifteenth of Nisan, and Wednesday the fourth of June as Pentecost.

From this also it is evident that their Pentecost was reckoned from the sixteenth of Nisan. W. L. B. holds that the sheaf was always waved on a Sunday, and if the sixteenth of Nisan was on a Sunday in the year of the crucifixion, the fourteenth must have been on a Friday, as I have before concluded from the statements of the evangelists, and not on a Thursday, as is contended by W. L. B.

W. L. B. also says, "If sabbaths were computed from a day which was frequently not a sabbath of ordinary rest, either the computation would be a vague one, or the day on which the disciples rubbed the ears of corn was possibly no sabbath at all." But if the fifteenth and the twenty-first days of the first month, that is, the first and the last days

of the unleavened bread were always to be kept as sabbaths, how could it be said that the computation would be a vague one, or how could there be any doubt as to whether the day on which the disciples ate the ears of corn was on the first day of these two sabbaths or not? If it was on the first of these two sabbaths, they evidently transgressed the command in Lev. xxiii. 14, which forbade the eating of green ears before the sheaf of the first-fruits had been offered on the sixteenth of Nisan. Further, if no sabbath were computed from a day which was frequently not a sabbath of ordinary rest, how could there have been, as W. L. B. says, a first sabbath in the passover feast week? A first sabbath in a period of seven days plainly implies that one of the two must have been on a day which was not a sabbath of ordinary rest; for the ordinary sabbath only recurs every eighth day, and thus the explanation which W. L. B. gives, and which I doubt not is the right one of the *σαββάτω δευτεροπρώτῳ* in Luke vi. 1, demands the very mode of computation which W. L. B.'s theory as to the reckoning of Pentecost bids him reject. If the sixteenth of Nisan, in the year of the crucifixion, was on a Sunday, the first of the two sabbaths, that is, the fifteenth of Nisan must have been on a Saturday, that is, a Sabbath of ordinary rest, and that this sometimes happened we learn from Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 8, 4), "Hyrcanus marched along with Antiochus when he made an expedition against the Parthians, of which Nicolaus of Damascus is a witness for us; who in his history writes thus: 'When Antiochus had erected a trophy at the river Lycus, upon his conquest of Indates the general of the Parthians, he stayed there two days. It was at the desire of Hyrcanus the Jew, because it was such a festival derived to them from their forefathers, whereon the law of the Jews did not allow them to travel.' And truly he did not speak falsely in saying so: for that festival which we call Pentecost did then fall out to be the next day to the Sabbath: nor is it lawful for us to journey either on the Sabbath day or on this festival day." In this year Pentecost was on a Sunday, and therefore, according to the rule which I have established, the fifteenth of Nisan must have been on a Saturday. But the waving of the sheaf, and consequently the Pentecost, could not have been always on a Sunday, as is supposed by W. L. B., if it was reckoned, as I have shewn, from the morrow after the first sabbath in the passover feast week, that is, if it was reckoned after the morrow of the fifteenth of Nisan, and we might almost infer that it was not always on the day after a Sabbath, from the circumstance of Josephus thinking it necessary to say that it was so on this occasion.

Thus also from the mode of reckoning the day of Pentecost it is evident that the Thursday, the day before the day of the crucifixion, must have been the thirteenth of Nisan, and consequently no one could have eaten the passover before the day of the crucifixion which began at six o'clock on the Thursday evening.

W. L. B. also says, "That our Lord did not, as some have thought, anticipate the day of national observance, or correct any supposed error in the Jewish reckoning of the fourteenth of Nisan, may be gathered from the fact that Matthew and Mark represent the *disciples* as originat-

ing the question of preparation." It appears from Luke xxii. 8, that *our Lord* himself originated the question, and not Peter and John, saying, "Go and prepare us the passover, that we may eat." But of course I hold with W. L. B. that our Lord did not, as some have thought, anticipate the day of national observance, or correct any supposed error in the Jewish reckoning of the fourteenth of Nisan; nor can we suppose that He anticipated the day of national observance in regard to making the needful preparation for the feast.

FRANKE PARKER.

Luffingcott, Devon, April 9, 1862.

I AM much pleased to find that my article on this question has drawn forth replies from some of your correspondents, as I have little doubt that its free discussion will result in the clearing up of one of the most important discrepancies in the writings of the evangelists.

I will first refer to the objections urged by Mr. Wratismaw, and then to those of Mr. Blenkinsopp, in your Journal of last April.

Mr. Wratismaw sets out with stating that my theory is "next to an impossibility, and entirely destitute of evidence."

I scarcely think he would have said that it was "destitute of evidence" if he had kept in mind what was the main point I undertook to prove. This was, "*that the original command as to the passover was that it should be killed at the commencement of the fourteenth day, and eaten before the morning of that fourteenth day.*"^a In proof of this point I brought forward various texts from the Old Testament. My interpretation of these texts has not been controverted except in one instance (Deut. xvi. 6). Whether he has there succeeded in his attempt to impose a new sense upon a well-known Hebrew phrase, I will leave to the judgment of any Hebrew scholar.^b I consider therefore that I have brought forward very abundant evidence of my first and main point. The state of parties in our Lord's time has nothing to do with this part of our subject. I invite Mr. Wratismaw to a further consideration of it.

And now let us attend to Mr. Wratismaw's objections. His first, and, avowedly, his chief one, is drawn from the analogy of the evening sacrifice. This, he assumes, was commanded to be offered up at the close of each day, and therefore the Paschal offering was to be offered up at the close of the day, not at its commencement. His reason is that both offerings were directed to be offered "*at the same time.*"

They were indeed both directed to be offered "*between the evenings;*" but Mr. Wratismaw should remember that, according to his own shewing, this phrase includes the close of one day and the beginning of

^a *J. S. L.*, October, 1861, p. 51.

^b *J. S. L.*, April, 1862, p. 179, 180.

the next.^c It is quite possible, therefore, so far as this phrase is concerned, that the evening sacrifice might have been offered up before sunset, and the Paschal lamb subsequent to sunset, *since both periods were "between the evenings."* So much for Mr. Wratislaw's chief objection. The others are possessed of still smaller weight.

He tells me that I have discussed the difficulty of John xiii. 29 in a "very off-hand and unsatisfactory manner." I have looked again at my treatment of it.^d It appears to me satisfactory, and as Mr. Wratislaw has not attempted to shew that it is unsatisfactory, I will continue to regard it with some complacency until he does. Another of my opponents, Mr. Blenkinsopp, thinks that there is "very great plausibility" in my examination of it, and now as to the existence of parties differing in opinion on this question in our Lord's time.

In the first place, let it be remembered, that I distinctly stated that the proof of this was not essential to my argument; I think however we have good evidence on this point.

Let it be conceded that Gesenius and Kuinoel were not justified in their assertions, that a controversy of the kind existed in our Lord's time, between the Karaites or Samaritans and the Pharisees, and that I was misled in relying upon them. But what are we to think of the statements of the Evangelists? Three of them tell us that our Lord and his apostles ate what they considered and called "the passover," some twenty-four hours before the time when St. John tells us that the Pharisees, and the nation generally, intended to partake of what they considered and called "the passover:" it strikes me that this is contemporaneous and good evidence of a variety of opinion and practice in our Lord's time.

As to the case of Joseph of Arimathea, I did not, *avowedly*, place much reliance on it; I would not have alluded to it if it had not been brought forward on the respectable authority of Dean Alford.

But Mr. Wratislaw thinks that it is "quite contrary to our Lord's practice to interfere authoritatively in a matter of purely ritual observance, involving no question of morality." To this I can only say I cannot see anything in our Lord's conduct to lead us to suppose that he would not prefer to follow the precept of the law, rather than that of the Scribes and Pharisees, if there was any opposition between them. He authorized his disciples to violate the tradition of the elders, relative to the washing of hands, a question not very closely connected with morals, and in opposition to no precept of the law; he surely might give similar authority in a case where the tradition was in opposition to a legal precept.

Any opinion of Dean Ellicott is entitled to our highest respect, but I do not think his conjecture from the words *ἐρχόμενος ἀπὸ ἀγροῦ* (Mark xv. 21) is well founded. The day of our Lord's crucifixion was certainly the 14th day of Nisan; but on that day (Exod. xii. 16) no common work was to be done, and therefore Simon was not returning from work when he met the procession to Calvary.

^c *J. S. L.*, January, 1862, p. 471.

^d *J. S. L.*, October, 1861, p. 69.

There is not much force then in Mr. Wratislaw's objections; he has done absolutely nothing to controvert my reasoning from Scripture. Let it be plainly understood, that it is on this I rely. I have, I think, shewn that the beginning of the 14th day was the time originally commanded for the slaying of the Paschal lamb. It is conceded that the Jews generally, in Christ's time, did not kill at this hour, but at the close of the day. Three Evangelists relate, in plain language, that our Lord and his disciples partook of the passover before the nation in general partook of theirs. If my first and main point be established, it clears up all the apparent difficulty; let those who differ from me apply themselves to this. It is the question before them; all others are of little comparative importance.

I will now refer to Mr. Blenkinsopp's letter. He is apparently willing to allow the force of my reasoning, but for "one flaw in it, which," he thinks, "vitiates the whole." I have carefully read what he says, but I do not think it will be found to possess much weight.

He says, that I have overlooked the fact that the passover was *a sacrifice*, that, as such, the blood must be offered by a priest in the temple, and that our Lord and his disciples could not possibly have accomplished the sacrifice at any other time than that appointed—wrongly or rightly—by the authority of the priesthood.

In order to make this reasoning of any consequence, Mr. Blenkinsopp must shew that the priesthood were unanimous upon this question, or, that if they were not unanimous, the ruling party would strictly prohibit any departure from the usual practice. It is not enough for Mr. Blenkinsopp to affirm their unanimity, or their intolerance of an opposite opinion. I have just as much right to say that they were not unanimous, and better reason for maintaining that there was no such intolerant spirit existing at that time as would prevent a minority, however small, from carrying out their peculiar views, and sacrificing a lamb at any hour of the evening that they chose. There were many differences of opinion among the Jews, and there appears to have been perfect liberty of opinion among them. The Pharisee did not excommunicate the Sadducee, nor either of them persecute the Essene. It is not therefore at all improbable, far less impossible, that an Israelite might have had his Paschal lamb slain at the beginning of the 14th day, and its blood sprinkled on the altar in the temple, if he saw fit to do it. Mr. Blenkinsopp must give us proof of its impossibility, his mere affirmation goes for nothing. The testimony of the Mishna is not any proof; it was not written—if we allow the highest antiquity claimed for it—before A.D. 180; it comes too late to speak with authority.

There is one other argument of Mr. Blenkinsopp to which I would refer. He says that our Lord celebrated the Eucharist at his last supper with leavened bread, and that consequently he could not then have been partaking of his passover, which, according to the law, must be eaten with unleavened bread. There would be much force in this if Mr. Blenkinsopp had good evidence that our Lord did use leavened bread at the Eucharist; his only evidence, however, is the tradition of the Eastern church. I must be excused if I do not accept this as evidence

of the smallest weight against the testimony of the three Evangelists, who tell us that our Lord did eat the passover. On the authority of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, I believe that the tradition of the Eastern church is wrong, and that our Lord celebrated the Eucharist with unleavened bread.

My theory then is unshaken as yet, and I have little doubt that the more it is examined into, the more generally it will be acquiesced in.

HENRY CONSTABLE.

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE SINAITIS.

SINCE my letter on the Sinai question in the last number of the *J. S. L.*, two communications have appeared on the same subject; on which I should wish to offer a few observations.

I. To bring to a test the relative pretensions of *critics* and *tourists* I ought, perhaps, to commence by answering the question of W. O., who (with the "*civil triumph*" of the traveller in Sterne)^e inquires if I have ever visited the Sinaitis, or whether I wrote from *hearsay* only. As to the first part of the question, I must answer in the negative. If I had ever travelled in this region, I should not have been under the necessity of making an appeal (unfortunately, I am afraid, *in vain*) to the *piety* and *religion* of the influential portions of the clergy, to promote a thorough and complete examination of this most interesting region. Knowing perfectly what still remains to be done, I should, if I had ever travelled on the Petræa, have exerted myself, to the best of my power, to investigate those portions from which travellers have hitherto turned aside, and in which alone any discoveries of real importance are to be made.

But, on the other hand, the application of the term "*hearsay*" seems to me hardly correct. Hearsay evidence (as we all know) is not tolerated in a court of justice; and the words "*mere hearsay*" imply, *primâ facie*, some ill-supported statement. But there is no legitimate connexion between careful and well-studied geographical criticism, and what may, with any propriety, be termed "*writing on hearsay*." To combine in a critical spirit, and after a careful comparison, all that is most valuable in the relations of travellers who have actually seen what they describe, is *not to write upon hearsay, but to decide upon evidence*. The difference is of importance; for a writer, who has all the evidence before him, may possibly judge better and form a clearer conclusion (to the extent of that evidence) than any one of the various witnesses, whose united testimony forms the body of evidence.

If W. O. wishes for an example of this, he will find it by comparing

^e "They order," said I, "this matter better in France."—"You have been in France?" said my gentleman, turning quick upon me with the most civil triumph in the world.—Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*.

the very able letter of M. R. E. respecting the Wady Feirán, with the narrative of Canon Stanley. The latter had actually passed through the Wady Feirán, and ascended the Jebal Serbal; and the principal result of this autoptic examination, is a wild tissue of romantic impossibilities. Romantic the Canon always is (as was correctly observed in the review of his *Lectures*, in the last number of *J. S. L.*); but the romance, which may be pleasing in a novel or a poem, is always a tawdry, often a very mischievous accessory, to Biblical investigations. The Canon's romance, like a will-o'-the-wisp, sinks into a quagmire before the criticism of M. R. E.; and the *autoptic witness* appears simple enough before the *critic on evidence*, who (as he himself informs us) has never visited the Sinaitic region. From the letter of M. R. E. we see how much topographical knowledge may be acquired by reading and study. From the book of Canon Stanley we easily discern how useless is a mere *autopsia* unsupported by a correct criticism. That the errors of the travelled Stanley are corrected by the non-travelled M. R. E., is a fact to which the travelled W. O. himself bears witness.

So if we compare the two letters of M. R. E. and W. O., we shall not, perhaps, be of opinion that the communication of the writer who derives his information from books and maps, is, in any respect, the least graphic, correct, complete, and intelligible of the two. In novel suggestions, of real importance, the superiority is plainly on the side of M. R. E., who at once perceived (what escaped the observation of the autoptic Canon) that the battle with Amalek, if it had taken place at all in the Wady Feirán, must have occurred about twenty miles to the west of the impossible position in which the Canon was inclined to fix it. The correctness of this suggestion seems admitted by W. O.; yet though, perhaps, hundreds of travellers have passed through the Wady Feirán, since that Wady was first suggested as the site of the battle of Rephidim, the remark was first made by a writer who tells us that he never set foot in that picturesque ravine. So much for the observation of travellers! To M. R. E. we also owe, for the first time, the important suggestion (which, if correct, renders the supposed passage of the Israelites through the Wady Feirán ridiculous) that the mere line of march of the people and their cattle would have filled this Wady from one end to the other. When the *average* breadth of the ravine is exactly ascertained, we shall perhaps have a full confirmation of this hypothesis.

We must not, therefore, be too rash in affixing the trivial name of "*hearsay*" to that criticism, which corrects the errors of actual observation; nor must we suppose that a man is a competent writer on Biblical geography, merely because he has passed through Biblical scenery.

I trust it will not be understood that I wish to undervalue, in the slightest manner, the important and indispensable aid which judicious travellers may afford to the removal of all the remaining doubts respecting the Exodical geography.

But up to the present time that aid has been too uniformly con-

fined (as W. O. himself observes) to certain beaten tracts, as to which we really require no further information, except of that exact and specific kind (descending to the minutiae of actual admeasurement) which travellers rarely afford. It is to be lamented that this state of things is not likely to pass away in a hurry. The *Convent of St. Catherine* affords such a convenient *terminus* for a tour to what is (with amusing simplicity) termed *SINAI*, that tourist after tourist makes his arrangements for the familiar trip, in the familiar manner; and year after year we have the old cuckoo-song repeated,—*Cairo to Sinai* (meaning, of course, the convent) and *Sinai to Cairo*. It is also probable that the bargains with the Arab Sheikhs are made more easily, and on more reasonable terms, for that than any of the less practised routes. The terms are known, and there is less room for Arab chicanery. Then also, after the trip to the convent,—after the old homage paid to the old Loretto,—the tripper is, of course, unwilling to suppose that he has visited Attica, and not seen the Parthenon. Has he been shaken till his bones are dislocated on a camel? been burnt to a mummy by the scorching suns of the Peninsula? disputed tremendously with imposing sheikhs?

“And shall these labours and these honours die?” Have all these toils been encountered in vain? *Μὴ γένοιτο*. The rocks around the convent will be Sinai to him, even if common sense has long since erased such Sinais from the leaves of her tablets. He will still maintain to his friends and his family that he has visited *Sinai*; though the Sinai of his visions be as chimerical as the gardens of Irim, and the palace of king Shedād, which was built alternately with “bricks of red gold and white silver.”^f

Since the *clergy* (unhappily occupied with intestine wars) persistently ignore the necessity of elucidating the geography of the Exodus, we must trust to time, and comfort ourselves with the sage apophthegm of the afflicted Durandarte, “Patience, cousin, and shuffle the cards.”

To proceed then with our shuffling:—

II. Among the tourists who have confined their investigations to the trip from Cairo to “*Sinai*,” and from “*Sinai*” to Cairo, I presume we must number W. O.; since he makes no allusion to any further route. If he had ever visited Petra, I presume he would have favoured us with some suggestion with respect to Canon Stanley’s apocryphal identification of that city with Kadesh;—an identification only to be paralleled by the rabbinical stories of king Og, in whose shiu-bone a man might (according to Rabbi Jochanan) run comfortably for three miles without being able to see the end of it.

^f The palace and gardens of king Shedād are famous in the romantic history of Arabia. A full account of the creation and completion of these monuments of pride, and of the fate of the superb Shedād, their founder, will be found in the celebrated history of Abū Ja’far Mohammed Tabari (fantastically termed *the Arabian Livy*), and in a work entitled the *Tohfat-al-Mujālis*. According to tradition the gardens and palaces still exist in the deserts of Araby, but have remained hidden from the sight of mortals, except on a single occasion in the time of Moawiyah.

With a natural partiality for the route he has taken, W. O. appears disinclined to give up the good old granitic region, the memorable seat of monastic imposture. Hence (without expressing any very decided opinion) he supports, so far as his suggestions extend, the claims of Ras Safsáfah.

I shall shew, as I proceed, that his principal error consists in the partial and limited views which he has taken of the subject; and that he leaves completely out of sight the most important and unequivocal criteria of the genuine Sinai. But let us examine what he has to say with respect to the Ras Safsáfah.

As to the space afforded by the plain of Er-Rahéh for an encampment, he thinks the objections by no means so serious as they have been lately represented. On this point, I am compelled to differ from him in the most decided manner. Unquestionably the space for encampment is enlarged, if we are, with W. O., to take in the *five* miles in the upper part of the Nukb Hawy. But, so far as I can understand the observations of Robinson and Stanley, the two chief supporters of the Ras Safsáfah, no clear view of the monkish Horeb (of which the Ras Safsáfah is a peak) is gained by the traveller from the westward till he reaches the *watershed*; and beyond *this* neither of the last-mentioned writers (if I rightly comprehend them) intended to carry the limits of the encampment westward.

It seems to me that we must place the whole encampment in sight of Mount Sinai. We read (Exod. xix. 2) that the Israelites came to the desert of Sinai, וַיָּבֹאוּ אֶל-הַבְּרָזָה. "*Neged*" is here correctly rendered by Noldius (*Concord.*, 529) in the sense of *à regione*. Besides it is evident, from Exod. xix. 16, that the Israelites, *before they had quitted the camp* on the day of the covenant, saw with terror and consternation the thick cloud which covered the whole of the mountain, and the lightnings which were flashing about it in every direction.

With reference to the space which is actually required to coincide with the description of Moses and the incidents related by him, W. O. will perhaps allow me to quote a single paragraph from the "Critical Enquiry into the Route of the Exodus:"—"In the desert, at the foot of Mount Sinai, there should be room for an encampment of three millions of souls with the cattle; and between the camp and the mountain space is required for the whole people; *first*, to be ranged in order at the foot of the mountain; and, *secondly*, to retire *afar off* in the direction of the camp."

If W. O. imagines that all the space, which the most extravagant liberality can add to the plain of Er-Rahéh, will enable us to meet these requisitions, I must confess I differ, *in toto*, from him. According to *my* ideas, the camp of Israel was pitched, in a regular and compact form, in the open desert, and not dispersed in nooks and crannies among the clefts of the rocks; and between the camp and Mount Sinai was a very extensive open space (alone larger than the whole plain of Er-Rahéh) in which a population, as large as that of London, might be *first* ranged in front of the mountain, and *then* retire *afar off*, still remaining between the camp and the mountain. That this could

have taken place in any part of the granitic region, appears perfectly absurd.

But the *real* reason which will induce many modern travellers to prefer the Ras Safsáfah is, that it is the seat peculiarly fitted for the representation of a great drama of imposture. I have not been anxious to display the evidence of this, because I well know that to place this fact in the clear light which it admits, would be to consecrate the Ras Safsáfah, as a precious idol, in the estimation of all the pupils of rationalism and infidelity.

It is possible that Canon Stanley (himself a warm admirer of the charming volume of *Essays and Reviews*, as is evident from his recent book of *Lectures*) may have had a clear perception of this fact. Moses informs us that the words of the decalogue were repeated by the voice of God, in the Hebrew language, from the summit of Mount Sinai. Canon Stanley notices "the reverberation of the human voice, which can never be omitted in any enumeration of the characteristics of Mount Sinai." He proceeds to remark in that blank verse, which forms one of the most fascinating beauties of his singularly poetical style; and which it is a self-immolation to print as prose,—that,

"From the highest point
Of Rás Sufsáfah to its lowest peak,
A distance of about sixty feet, the page
Of a book distinctly, but not loudly, read,
Was perfectly audible; and every remark
Of the various groups of travellers descending,
From the heights of the same point rose clearly to
Those immediately above them."^s

Hence we may fairly infer that the voice of a merely human Stentor (and the Nomade tribes are famous for the tremendous powers of their vociferation) might have been heard from the Ras Safsáfah into the plain below, and have been mistaken by a credulous people for the voice of the Deity.

If the Ras Safsáfah were the real Sinai, the evidence of imposture on the part of Moses would be so decisive, that I should feel some difficulty in blaming any one, who (believing this peak to be the real Sinai, and forming the natural conclusions from such premises) should trample on the Pentateuch with as much indifference as he would trample on the Koran, the Zendavesta, or the Vedas. But this singular aptitude for the deceptive miracles of a false prophet, will of course endear the spot to the cohorts (daily increasing in England) of rationalism and scepticism, and induce them (in defiance of an overwhelming weight of evidence to the contrary) to contend that the Ras Safsáfah is the genuine Sinai.

III. Assuming apparently that the want of space, in the Wadys of the granitic region, is the only, or at least principal, objection to that part of the peninsula, W. O. endeavours to invalidate this objection by shewing that there were equal difficulties to encounter in the admitted

^s *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 13.

route of the Israelites, before they arrived at the plain of Murkhah; from which I have supposed them to turn off (instead of entering the granitic Delta) into the Debbet Er-Ramleh. He observes that, if the Israelites can be "safely led from Shur to a Pi Hahiroth, south of Jebel Attakah, and then (having crossed the Red Sea) by Murkha to Debbet er Ramleh, he thinks there is no need to be afraid of any difficulties that the granitic region offers."

To this I reply, that, as to the march from Shur to the plain called by some writers Baidea, and by others the Wady Tawarik, the *difficulties* attached to this route really constitute its *chief recommendation*; because they coincide with the motives suggested in Exod. xiv. 3, for this deviation from the ordinary and direct tract. On this account it has been preferred by almost all orthodox writers; and hence the passage of the Red Sea from the plain of Baidea has been rightly termed, by the late Dr. Kitto, "*the orthodox alternative*," in contradistinction to the northern passage by Suez, which he terms the *sceptical*. The latter is, of course, preferred by Dean Milman and Canon Stanley, as being most in accordance with their rationalistic views.

Difficulty, in this particular instance, therefore, constitutes no objection. We believe that a great miracle was performed; and, if so, this was the proper site.

The only other peculiar difficulty is in the passage from Wady Gharandel to the plain of Murkhah. Here some tolerably narrow Wadys are to be threaded through; but *these* were merely the *gates* to lead to a more open region; and there is an enormous difference between a passage of two days through a difficult country, and the pitiable folly of rejecting the open country of the Debbet er Ramleh, and the best pasture grounds (as I shall shortly shew) in the Peninsula, to rush into the dangerous defiles of the granitic region, and encamp for nearly twelve months in such a pit or den, as the *plain* of Er-Rahch.

Upon the same principle on which he endeavours to rebut the objections to the granitic region from *want of space*, W. O. replies to another, which has been alleged against it, from *want of pasture* for the "*very much cattle*" mentioned by Moses. "Nor is the want of grass at present of any importance; there is an abundance of plants suitable for pasturage. As Wady Gharandel and Wady Feiran are *the only fertile spots* between Suez and *any* Sinai, a little grass or a few shrubs more or less are, I think, of no consequence."

From this I am compelled to infer that W. O.'s knowledge of the peninsula is chiefly confined to the route which he himself travelled. When he speaks of *ANY* Sinai, he appears to lay completely out of sight the Jebel el'Ojmah, which is certainly the *true* one. About this mountain, and on the route to it from Murkhah (along the Jebel et-Tih, of which the Jebel el'Ojmah forms the principal elevation) are, according to Burckhardt, the best pasture grounds in the whole of the Sinaitic peninsula. This great explorer, speaking of the Tih chain observes, "These chains form the northern boundaries of the Sinai mountains" (by this he seems to have meant the mountains around the convent of St. Catherine), "and are the pasturing-places of the Sinai

Bedouins. They are inhabited by the tribes Terabein and Tyaha, the latter of whom are *richer in camels and flocks* than any other of the Towara tribes. The vallies of these mountains are said to afford *excellent pasturage*, and fine springs, though not in great numbers."

It appears then, in the neighbourhood of the actual Sinai, there was such an abundance of excellent pasturage, as suffices for those tribes of the peninsula, which, at the present day, are richest in cattle. We may also infer that this pasturage is wanting round the plain of Er-Raheh; since Burckhardt informs us that the Sinai Arabs (meaning I presume the Arabs located round this plain) came to the Tih mountains in search of pasturage.

IV. But, after all, though the want of space and of pasturage are important objections to the granitic region, they are neither the *only*, nor the *principal* objections.

The writers who support the claims of the Ras Safsáfah must shew us:—1. A MOUNT HOREB, so closely connected with Sinai as to account for the fact that Sinai itself is frequently called Horeb. 2. At the foot of this Mount Horeb, they must shew us a REPHIDIM,—a battle-field, in which half a million of men might have disputed for the supremacy of Amalek or Israel. And, 3. The Sinai of their selection must be so situated, that the Israelites, on quitting their encampment before it, would at the end of their first day's march have reached the desert of Paran, the modern desert of Et-Tih. The claims of any mountain which does not agree with all these criteria, are perfectly ridiculous. *ALL of them are to be found united in the Jebel el-'Ojmañ.* In connexion with the Ras Safsáfah, I defy any person living to point out ONE.

V. My letter has already extended to such a length, that I must reply very briefly to some minor points. With respect to the meaning of the word "*Negeb*," I trust, at some future time, to convince M. R. E. that the error is on his side, not mine.

The "*difficulties*" alluded to by W. O. were *historical*, not *geographical*, and have no relation to the present enquiry.

With respect to the two essays, "*On the Origin of the Phœnicians*," and "*The Doom of Amalek*," I have deferred their publication for the present, for reasons which any one acquainted with the present state of the Church will readily appreciate.

I have only to add, that I trust neither W. O. nor M. R. E. will feel offended at the free manner in which I have combated their opinions wherever I have happened to differ from their views. I feel (as every one interested in the cause of Biblical illustrations must necessarily do) most earnestly obliged to them for the light which they have thrown upon a very important subject.

HENRY CROSSLEY.

HOW SCRIPTURE SHOULD BE TREATED!

IN a letter published in the last October number of the *J. S. L.* (p. 186), I intimated an intention of controverting Mr. Constable's very erroneous notions respecting the last journey of Christ to Jerusalem. A passage, however, in that gentleman's correspondence in the subsequent January number (p. 436), has induced me to change this intention; and, in order to avoid the imputation of inconsistency and caprice, it seems desirable that I should be permitted to explain the reason which has induced me to give up my original design.

Mr. Constable, in the letter just alluded to, observes with some pathos, that he "cannot approve of my mode of treating Scripture." This was assuredly a serious charge, and the accusation implied in it was the very last which I should have expected that any person of ordinary judgment could have made against me; since, in an age when the clergy are producing such choice volumes as the *Essays and Reviews*,—I, a layman, have (as I am told) seriously imperilled the reception of my Biblical illustrations, by strictly adhering to the sense and spirit of the Thirty-nine Articles. This may very possibly be the case; for between the two extreme parties, whose respective tenets have a strong tendency to semi-papistry and semi-atheism, the orthodox members of the Church may possibly be in a minority. Of this they have no reason to be ashamed. In these days (with the popular cry against it) orthodoxy is not the refuge of the weak and uninquiring, but a dangerous position chosen by those who, confident in themselves and careless of all antagonism, are (from their reliance on a just cause) equally prepared for attack and defence.

This rigid adherence to orthodoxy, in the midst of its unpopularity, stood me, however, in little stead, as a protection from the censure of the still more orthodox (?) Mr. Constable; and the rudeness of this gentleman's attack surprised me the more; since (considering the singular manner in which he had laid himself open throughout the controversy on Jewish orthodoxy) I felt that I had treated him with great consideration, and unusual forbearance.

When courtesies of this sort begin to be bandied in a discussion, it is of course desirable to avoid their repetition.

Nothing would be easier than for me to defend myself against Mr. Constable's charge, and to expose the misrepresentations on which it is founded; but he has saved me all trouble on this score, by an invaluable example (contained in the same letter) of the mode of treating scriptural authorities, which he himself prefers as *more* in accordance with the *plain-dealing* absolutely required in sacred investigations.

Throughout the controversy on Jewish orthodoxy he had uniformly asserted that the Sadducees "were never mentioned in the New Testament except in terms of condemnation;" and he had alleged *this* as a reason to prove their heterodoxy as a sect. It might have been expected that he would have favoured us with *examples*;—such, for instance, as were contained in that extraordinary list of withering denunciations, which I had myself collected against the rival sect of

the Pharisees (*J. S. L.*, October, 1860, pp. 158, 160). Instead of this, he (with an enviable coolness) referred us to Cruden's *Concordance*, for the authorities which he relied on! When it was hinted to him that the reference to Cruden was scarcely satisfactory, he at length endeavoured to produce an instance in corroboration of his bold and confident assertions.

With grief and sorrow, I am compelled to say, that this memorable example, which is cited with as much ostentation as if it were an avalanche hurled against the heads of all opponents of his opinions, is neither more nor less than Matt. iii. 7, which, being referred to, is in the words following;—"But when he" [John the Baptist] "saw many of the *Pharisees and Sadducees* come to his baptism, he said unto them, O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?"—In citing this passage, Mr. Constable omits all mention of the *Pharisees*, and leaves his readers to infer that the epithet "generations of vipers" was applied to the Sadducees alone, and in their sectarian capacity. So completely was he at a loss for evidence to support his statement, that the example which he cites to establish Sadducean *heterodoxy* applies in an *equal* degree to the Pharisees, whom he had positively and peremptorily declared to be the *orthodox* sect. In such an unhappy position is he placed, that he can only wound the Sadducees through the bowels of his own friends the Pharisees. It is evident that the language of the Baptist applies to *no* sectarian opinions. His denunciation was directed against *the whole Jewish people* (as comprised almost entirely in its two great sects): and, this being plain, it must evidently have been addressed against *moral*, not against *schismatic* delinquency. Yet Mr. Constable, for want of better arguments, is content to cite that text in support of his opinions. He expunges the word "Pharisees" from the record, and makes the judgment apply merely to the Sadducees. The words of the Baptist applied to *morals and conduct*, and Mr. C. applies them to *opinions*.

If *such* is the mode of dealing with Scripture, approved by Mr. Constable in theory and practice, I am but too happy that he does not approve of *mine*. I feel that I must no longer venture to compete with him in his novel dialectics.

"Nec nos obniti contra, nec tendere tantum sufficimus."

It is but too plain that new discussions between myself and Mr. Constable would not be attended with a profitable result. Declining, under *any* circumstances, any further contest with so expert a Retiarius, I leave the arena free to his exertions, and shall wait, as a quiet spectator, till he involves himself in the meshes of his own net.

It has happened, unfortunately, that our respective contributions to the *J. S. L.* have, in deference to the rules of that periodical, in the late series, (as *insisted on* by Dr. Burgess) appeared under the same initials (H. C.) I beg now to state that I am only answerable for anything which is contained in the following list of papers, comprising all my contributions to the *J. S. L.*, except such articles in the *Correspondence* as have appeared under my own name:—

1. "The Origin and History of the Sacred slaves of Israel."
2. "Critical enquiry into the route of the Exodus."
3. "On the Parables of the New Testament."
4. "History of Christ to the commencement of his Mission."
6. "On Atheism and Superstition."

This explanation is important to both of us;—to Mr. Constable that he may not be suspected of opinions of which he may not "approve;" to myself, because (while fully appreciating Mr. Constable's unwearied industry and zeal in the cause of Biblical exegesis,) I have never yet been able to concur in any of his various theories, and see much to object to in all his arguments.

HENRY CROSSLEY.

THE "TE DEUM."

It is rather hard to be scolded as one of a class of men, who "seem ready to throw their opinions of all kinds, as it were, into the melting pot, and watch with a great deal more curiosity than anxiety what is to come forth," by a person who says my misgivings and those of Lamed lie so much upon the surface, that he is surprised at their appearance in your pages, and yet leaves the most important part of the matter entirely unnoticed. Such a mode of proceeding does but lead me to infer that he cannot find the requisite answer, and therefore wishes to set down an inconvenient enquirer. It would be much better if correspondents would confine themselves to the matter at issue, instead of indulging in sneers at the supposed motives of those who ventilate points of scientific criticism in pages expressly set apart for that purpose.

The main point in this enquiry is undoubtedly the first versicle, "*Te Deum laudamus, te Dominum confitemur;*" and I cannot feel satisfied as to the genuineness of the three versicles naming the persons of the Trinity, until I receive a satisfactory explanation of it, which shall be consistent with the introduction of those names. This I have not been able to discover for myself, nor has any one else as yet been able to furnish me with it. Let H. P. try his hand at this, and if he succeeds, he shall have my warmest thanks.

I am not concerned to justify theologically the expression "*Patrem æternum*" as applied to the Son, but merely to prove it reasonable to suppose it is intended to be applied in the same sense, whatever that may be, in which he is called "*Father of eternity*" in the Hebrew, and "*Pater futuri sæculi*" in the Vulgate and LXX. The term need not be absolutely, but relatively applied; and after all neither H. P. nor any one else can deny that the term "*Father*" may, at least, be fairly supposed to be applied in Isaiah to the second person of the Trinity.

I do not think it worth while to argue the question of the "*Sanctus*" with H. P., as he says nothing to make it an unreasonable supposition, that it was addressed specially to the second person, whether that supposition be absolutely correct or not.

I am not at all frightened at the *confusion of persons*, with which H. P. threatens me, since the same person may surely be contemplated as a Father with respect to many inferior beings, and as a Son with respect to one superior being. Although Christ is the eternal Son of the Father, he may nevertheless be venerated as an everlasting Father by the whole earth. And there is also a difference in the Latin words made use of, which I have a fair right, at so late an epoch of Latin literature, to interpret in my favour. The "Father everlasting," which I suppose to be predicated of the Son, is "*Patrem æternum*;" the epithet which is acknowledged by all to be applied to him as the Son of the Father is "*sempiternus*." A difference is clearly intended, whatever that difference may be; and, from the acknowledged meaning of "*sempiternus*" in this case, I may fairly claim for "*æternus*" only a prospective meaning, equivalent to "*Pater futuri sæculi*." *Sempiternus* was currently supposed to be derived from *semper* and *æternus* (= *semper æternus*), and thus the distinction between the two words, which I have just drawn, becomes somewhat more than probable.

It is from manuscripts that we amend the texts of all works written previously to the discovery of printing; I cannot see on what ground H. P. refuses to accept their testimony in the case of the "*Te Deum*." Surely if ancient manuscripts omit a portion of a work, it is a probable indication, that that portion is of later origin. Would H. P. make a holocaust of codices A., B., etc., and the Codex Sinaiticus into the bargain, on the altar of the *textus receptus*?

I must also remark on H. P.'s use of the words "the church universal." He uses it to represent simply the Latin church, which receives the three heavenly witnesses of John, one of the most bare-faced forgeries ever known. It would surely not have scrupled to introduce a similar interpretation, where it might, perhaps, fairly claim a right to do so.

If the versicle, "*Dignare, Domine*," etc., is not in the earliest manuscripts, the inference is that it was added after the first publication of the hymn, from sources cognate to those in which we now find it in the Greek. Such an addition is either an improvement or a defacement to the original hymn, but is not part of it. I am quite willing to acknowledge it to be rather an improvement than otherwise. But, unless I am furnished with passages which shew me that I am wrong, I am not willing to consider *isto die* as a correct translation of *τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην*. Translating *isto die*, according to the ordinary rules of Latin grammar, we cannot make it the same as *hunc diem*, which is the proper equivalent for the Greek above quoted. And if a person prays to be kept without sin "at that day," he surely means to ask to be kept in such a manner that at that day he will be found without sin, justified freely by the blood of his Saviour. Possibly the alteration from *munerari* to *numerari* was made simply to make the "*Te Deum*" correspond with Gregory's canon.

I had hoped that my letter would have drawn forth a translation of a number of ancient Greek hymns, and other things bearing on this subject; instead of which we have merely a lecture on the appellation

"everlasting Father," which is just as difficult in Isaiah as in the "Te Deum," where it is probably merely meant to represent the words of the Hebrew prophet. I had hoped too to have seen the grand difficulty of *Te Deum Laudamus* fairly battled with, if indeed it be not insuperable. I am sorry that I have been disappointed.

A. H. W.

JOHN xix. 10, 11.

I READ with pleasure the remarks on these verses which appeared in the last number of your valuable Journal. Will you kindly allow me to suggest, through the medium of the same Journal, a possible, if not probable, interpretation, which occurred to me while perusing the said remarks, and which justifies the ordinary acceptation of the word *ἄνωθεν*, without violating either the grammar or the logic of the passage? May not the eleventh verse be paraphrased as follows? "Thou couldst have had no jurisdiction over me, had it not been given thee by divine providence; and because thy *ἐξουσία* is divine, *διὰ τοῦτο* thy responsibility, *or rather* that of the *ὁ παραδιδούς* (for thou knowest that out of envy, and not for any just cause, have the Jewish authorities delivered me into thy hands, and that therefore they are more guilty than thou who art willing to release me) is greater than if the jurisdiction had been merely human; therefore he that delivered me hath *a*, not *the*, greater sin, inasmuch as it is a greater crime to abuse divine than human authority."

The Jews may justly be said to have abused Pilate's jurisdiction, for the indictment as well as the final sentence was brought about by their influence. It will be seen that the main peculiarity of the above interpretation is, that the comparison instituted by the words *μείζονα ἁμαρτίαν*, is not between the guilt of the Jews and that of Pilate, but between the responsibility of *ἐξουσία ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ* *or ἄνωθεν*, and that of *ἐξουσία ἐξ ἀνθρώπων*.

This interpretation is also confirmed by verse 12, *ἐκ τούτου*, that is, ever since he had become sensible of the fact that *he* also was responsible to *God*, and not to *man*, for the use he made of his jurisdiction, and that therefore he might be considered to share with the Jews the "greater sin;" *ἐξήτει ὁ Πιλάτος ἀπολῦσαι αὐτόν, i.e.,* he sought to get rid of his share of the awful responsibility by acquitting Him whom he believed to be innocent.

Llanwddyn, Oswestry, March 7.

JOSEPH HUGHES.

THE OMNIPOTENCE OF GOD.

YOUR correspondent S. J. has touched upon a subject to be approached only with the greatest reverence and caution, and on which I would not

venture further remarks were it not that in the too prevalent scepticism of the present day, there are many who are bold to intrude themselves into the "secret things" which "belong unto the Lord our God," and to triumph in any admission which affords them an opening to dispute the Creator's wisdom and power. That such is not the purpose of your correspondent is very obvious. But though writing with becoming reverence, and an evident desire to be guided by the Word of God, he seems to propound a doctrine scarcely consistent with our own reasonable conceptions of divine power, and, as a *theory*, by no means necessary to account for the *phenomena*, as I may call them, which he endeavours to explain.

For the *finite* to pronounce upon the limitations or restrictions of the *INFINITE* is manifestly presumptuous, not to say unreasonable and unsafe. I would, therefore, only suggest what seem possible conditions of the exercise of Divine Omnipotence, premising that I entertain an entire faith in the saying of St. Paul (Eph. i. 11) that God "*worketh all things after the counsel of his own will.*" All I would undertake is to point out what may be the will of God, and the *counsel* of his will whereby he is led to place certain restrictions upon *himself* in the exercise of an otherwise unrestricted omnipotence. Unrestricted, I of course mean, excepting in such matters of essential impossibility as the making an accomplished fact to have been not accomplished; making the effect to exist before the cause; making the part to be greater than the whole, etc. I would suggest then, first, that the *counsel* of God may comprehend within its range and purpose objects of which we can form no possible conception, of which there is nothing to give us even a hint. One glance at the heavens on a cloudless night shews even to the eye the vastness of the creation. Telescopic observations, and the calculations based thereon, seem to magnify and expand this vastness infinitely. Is there reason to think that the faintest star in the remotest nebula is either uncreated, or the work of any other Creator than our own? And, if created by our God, can we think it to be uncared for, useless, or without a purpose; as well as a place in his creation? May not every star, every heavenly body, large or small, planet or comet, sun or satellite, be performing its appointed *work*, and fulfilling the purpose of its creation in preserving the general equipoise and stability; in regulating the motions, possibly in uniformly diffusing heat, light, electricity, ether, or whatever name man may give to such agencies over the whole material world. If so, and I see not how the possibility of this can be denied, then to argue concerning any one of these innumerable heavenly bodies, that its aberrations, its observations, the occasional disruption or destruction of some one or other, are proofs of the difficulty of the Creator's task in their formation, or of his imperfect success in the regulation of this complicated machine, would surely be unreasonable. Who can say that the original design of the creation did not include all these seeming anomalies? Who can say that some purpose of his, originally contemplated, is not answered by these apparent imperfections? In the physical productions of our own planet, there appears to be not only provision made for much waste, but a latitude permitted

for great diversity, and departure from what we may deem the *perfect* type. And yet obvious purposes are answered here. An agreeable and often useful variety is thus secured, and the destruction of a part serves for the aliment, or reparation, or reproduction of what is to survive.

Some short-lived monad might hastily conclude that here Omnipotence is at fault. The Creator has failed to preserve life, however truly he may have given it. He cannot mature *all*, though he succeeds in maturing some. And yet how plainly can we perceive that he is in this working out "the counsel of his own will!" And if doing this intelligibly to us here on earth, why not possibly doing the same in the grander arena of the heavens? My argument, so far, is of course one from analogy. Your correspondent concedes God's omnipotence over the world of matter; he questions it, or conceives that there may be limitations to its exercise in the world of *mind*. But why should the perturbations, the antagonism, the apparent defects and blemishes which seem inconsistent with our preconceived notions of perfection in the one, be any more conclusive proof against absolute omnipotence, than similar apparent failures in the other? How many lives, and how much of the Creator's work will a storm, an earthquake, or a pestilence destroy. Yet we do not argue that these instruments of destruction oppose the will, or defy the power, or disprove the omnipotence of God, we are content to believe that the Creator employs them for his own purpose: and occasionally a beneficent purpose unfolds itself to our perceptions. And why not believe the same in the more mysterious and inscrutable government of the spiritual universe? Why not admit that the Creator of all has his purposes to answer,—purposes far, far beyond our penetration to discern them,—in the storms, earthquake, and deadly pestilence, which agitate and make havoc in what your correspondent calls the world of *mind*,—I would rather say, the world of spirit.

Let me pass on now to this world of mind or of spirit. Matter is more or less visible to the eye, or at least it comes under the cognizance of the senses. Mind and spirit evade our vision, and are cognizable only by mind or spirit. Scripture, however, makes known to us the existence of a spiritual world; and a belief in this approves itself, in most cases, to our natural instincts. Scripture speaks of "a multitude of the heavenly host;" of an "innumerable company of angels;" of "a thousand thousands" who minister to the "Ancient of days;" of "ten thousand times ten thousand" who stand before Him. Language, perhaps, can hardly express the countless multitudes of these angelic beings; all of them the work of the Creator, like ourselves. There are also "the angels which kept not their first estate," which are no longer standing before God, but "reserved in chains under darkness." There are also those evil angels with Satan at their head, demons, unclean spirits, devils, which, as your correspondent seems to think, have resisted with some hope of success the purposes of the Creator, and have made the victory of Christ a genuine victory! hardly won after a really arduous and, for a time, apparently doubtful struggle.

And this is thought to be proof that in the world of *mind* Divine Omnipotence finds its limits. But let me suggest that even here God may be working "after the counsel of his own will" in suffering the opposition which seems to restrict and thwart it. One most prominent attribute of God we know is *love*. "*God is love*." Now may we not suppose that his will is, and has been, to be served *lovingly*, i.e., that the *motive* to serve shall be love towards Himself: and a deliberate preference for whatever is in accordance with his acknowledged attributes of justice, goodness, and loving-kindness. I would ask, Is there anything improbable or unreasonable in this supposition? Is there anything in it inconsistent with God's revelation of himself? or with the record of his dealings with his creatures? I think not. Not only is this a fair deduction from his "first and great commandment;" but all Scripture seems to attest the fact that where God might compel, he prefers to solicit and invite to draw "*with loving-kindness*," "with bands of love." And I can see no reason why this *law* of the Divine will should be limited in its operation to the creatures of this earth. It is probably a universal law, extending to all God's creatures which are capable of being so attracted towards him. Some even of those who have gone from him, he "reconciles unto himself," a noticeable phrase where we should have expected to read, "He is reconciled to them." But if my hypothesis is admitted so far, let me then point out the consequences which it seems necessarily to involve. Assuming that it is God's will to elicit from his creatures this *loving service*, and a deliberate preference for *him as good*, and for all *that is good*; and a preference not resulting from an implanted *instinct*, but the exercise of a *free choice* (the implanted instinct being only a subtle form of *compulsion*—the Creator creating the preference as an essential characteristic of the creature); if God wills to be served *willingly* by creatures of his who are free to refuse his service, whom he will not compel as slaves, but invite to serve him by process of his own *loveableness* and *love*, making his service at the same time a work of love, and yet "perfect freedom;" upon this assumption one thing is clear, *viz.*, that the means of *choice* must be provided. All choice must lie between two things at the least. If there were nothing placed within the range of human action, or presented for choice to the human will, but *good*, how could there be *preference* for good? Again, could good be known to be good, and preferred as good, excepting with the knowledge of *evil*? *Good* and *right* are relative terms, the meaning of which is unintelligible, excepting in comparison with the meaning of their correlatives. And not only can there be no *choice* of good until evil also has been presented for acceptance, but there can be no knowledge that *good* is *good* till there has been the experience or the knowledge of *evil*. If God created good to be known, appreciated, loved, and preferred *as good*, either he, or some other Creator subserving his purpose and will, must (as it seems to me) of necessity have created evil. God says in Isaiah xlv. 7, "*I create evil*." The words may immediately refer to the evil by which sinners are chastened, but I can see no reason why *all evil* should not be traced directly or indirectly to the same source as

that whence we derive *all good*. *Good to be known as good must coexist with evil.*^a

But, again, if the preference for good which should decide the creature to serve God is to be a permanent preference, if it is to become a fixed principle which may characterize God's servants, and not the mere occasional result of an oscillation between opposite attractions; there must be not only evil created and presented for choice, but evil must be permitted to exert its full power of allurements. Its utmost attractive force must have been experienced, or at least it must have been experienced in a degree proportionate to the corresponding experience of good. And for this there must be agents, or an agent to solicit to evil, as there is God to solicit towards good. I am inclined, therefore, to look upon evil angels and devils not as an accidental flaw or defect in God's creation, but as an essential requisite to the working out of "the counsel of his will." Good could not be known without evil; and a preference for good in a creature exercising free will would be but precarious and of uncertain duration, until the counter influences and attractions of the two had been brought fully to bear upon the free will, and the will had been *then* decided (I need not here say *by what means*) in favour of the better. Satan may, for aught I know, have been created upright and "an angel of light," though I look in vain for a particle of Scripture evidence to prove this. But *if Satan fell*, there must have been a "Satan" before him to cause his fall; by which, I mean, that there seems to have been an inherent necessity, both that evil should coexist with good within the cognizance of every *free moral agent*, and that there should be a *tempter* to evil, as well as one to offer good, for the acceptance of all intelligent and responsible beings.

If I have gone beyond what is legitimately involved in my first assumption concerning "the counsel of God's will," it will have been in my insisting on the conditions which seem necessarily to secure not only a willing and loving service to the Creator, but a *permanent* service from creatures of his whose will to serve Him is based upon an immutable preference for good after experience, or the knowledge at least of the strongest allurements of evil. It can scarcely be thought that such permanence would be secured in free agents who were novices, and inexperienced in all that might affect their choice of a master. It is this consideration more especially which leads me to see the possibility of a

^a I would not of course be supposed to make God directly the author of sin, and yet in being the Creator of all things, he must have created the conditions under which sin may be committed, and the faculties and affections, the misuse or misdirection of which constitutes sin; while the permitted, nay, designed, *freedom of will* necessarily made such misuse or misdirection possible. The devil is supposed to have fallen from a state of innocence—"his high estate;" apparently because men are unwilling to imagine either that God created an "evil one," or that the "evil one" is uncreated.

But the difficulty does not seem to be removed by the theory of a seraph's fall. Whence the "*pride*" which is assumed to have occasioned the fall? To my mind the theory of an inherent necessity for the coexistence of evil with good, when *free moral* agents were to be created, seems to be a more satisfactory and reasonable explanation of the existence of a created "evil one."

divine purpose in *permitting* the utmost subtlety and malignity and power of the evil one to be exerted against Him. That the permitted exertion of these is never suffered to pass beyond certain bounds we are assured by the Scripture. "God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able." Our Saviour's words, "Get thee hence, Satan." The abject fear of the demons in Christ's presence, "I beseech thee, torment us not;" "Art thou come to torment us before the time?" etc., speak plainly of the sufferance under which these beings exerted their power. The "war in heaven" is perhaps to be understood in some degree figuratively, and the victory of the Lamb is the victory not of him who is by his very essence omnipotent in his own creation, but of the creature to whom he has vouchsafed to impart his power and his perfections,—of him "in whom dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily."

It was "*the Man, Jesus Christ,*" "*the Lamb who was slain*" to whom this triumph is ascribed, and to him who is the example *for us to follow*. No doubt the conflict was designed to be a real one; an arduous and all but desperate struggle, ending in what was a genuine victory, but in no way bringing into question the majesty and omnipotence of God.

Of the reasonableness of supposing that he who has created beings exercising a free will, would not stultify his own work by putting an absolute constraint upon their free will, it seems needless to offer proof. He may restore the equilibrium of perfect freedom when it has been overborne by a preponderating influence towards evil, but it can scarcely be thought that the Creator would *force* the will towards good.

W. L. B.ⁱ

THE REPLIES TO "ESSAYS AND REVIEWS."

As two writers in your April number have brought forward my name in *six* distinct passages in connexion with a charge of using unbecoming language, I am naturally anxious to offer a few observations on this rather unusual mode of warfare.

I will endeavour to be brief, because this question is in some degree personal. But the conduct of Clericus, in regard to the quotations he has made of my words, compels me to be more tedious than I should wish to be. In quoting an adversary—more especially when his *language* and not his *matter* is the subject of remark—the strictest accuracy is imperatively required. How far Clericus adheres to this rule will be seen by the following specimens: ^j—

ⁱ The writer of this letter, the Rev. W. L. Browne, was called to his rest very shortly after its composition.—ED. J. S. L.

^j It appears that it must be the habit of Clericus to read very carelessly what he animadverts upon. Thus he accuses Dr. Wordsworth of speaking of *Prof. Jowett* as "armed *cap-a-pie* in a panoply of ignorance," etc.; whereas Dr. Wordsworth only applies these words to the *imaginary* interpreter, of whom *Prof. Jowett* speaks! Surely this is "too bad" on the part of Clericus.

1. "Profound contempt for Dr. Williams's arrogant assertions" (p. 124). Clericus has here converted a general proposition into a particular attack on Dr. Williams, by *inserting the words*, "*Dr. Williams's*," which I have *not* used.

2. "*His* imbecile weakness," (3) "*his* barefaced impudence." "Imbecile weakness" is applied by me to a *line of argument* and not to Dr. Williams. The same is true of "barefaced impudence," only in a stronger degree, for I offer some kind of excuse for Dr. Williams.

4. "Subterfuge" and "quibble." These are not applied by me to anything advanced by Dr. Williams, but to bar him from a supposed line of defence. The Edinburgh reviewer has almost adopted that very line, and Clericus must excuse me if I say that his own conduct does not inspire one with much respect for the fairness of the defenders of *Essays and Reviews*.

5 and 6. "Puerile attack," and "paltry attack." These are applied by me to very contemptuous treatment of Bishop Pearson and of Jerome, by Dr. Williams.

7. "Rash assertion." This is applied to decisions *ex cathedra* from Dr. Williams, in which he asserts that no one would reject the interpretation he adopts but for "doctrinal perversions," although for two thousand years the view he condemns prevailed almost without exception.

It seems hardly fair to call this "language unheard-of among gentlemen, even in the heat of controversy." But this is a matter of taste, which I must leave to your readers. And the same remark may be made in regard to the two other expressions on which Clericus animadvert.

In defence of myself, I may observe that the *defender* of *Essays and Reviews* in the *Edinburgh Review* spoke of the essay to which I replied in terms scarcely less severe than those which I ventured to use. I was writing an answer to a treatise, of which its defender declares that nothing could be more unbecoming than its language, and deprecates its "flippant and contemptuous" tone! With this observation I leave this part of the question to the decision of your readers.

I come now to the only attempt of Clericus to answer anything which I have advanced. His mode of incorrect or imperfect quotation still adheres to him here. After quoting the Bible translation of Gen. xlix. 10, "Until Shiloh come," I have added these words, "Such has been the translation from the earliest days, *till within a comparatively modern period, when the last clause has been translated by some Hebrew scholars, 'Until he come to Shiloh.'*"—(*Replies*, p. 95).

I then go on to observe, "If we enquire into the support on which these two translations respectively rest, we shall find that there was *till within the last two centuries an almost unanimous concurrence in the translation given by our version, as far as the subject of the verb 'to come' is concerned. It was almost universally translated, 'until Shiloh come,' although some understood by Shiloh, 'He to whom it belongs,' and others understood 'rest' or 'peace' as a name of the Messiah.*"—(*Replies*, p. 95).

Clericus, in quoting my words, finishes his quotation in the middle of the first sentence at the words "earliest days," and then subjoins the polite and gentlemanly contradiction, "This is not true." He then begins to prove this assertion by quoting the Septuagint and other translations, and at last gives both myself and the world at large the very profound information that our version "is not at all a '*translation*,' as Mr. Rose calls it; the word *Shiloh*, concerning which so much much controversy has arisen, being given in the original form."

I certainly stand corrected here, but it is a misconception of my words, which I did not anticipate; more especially, as in the next sentence I had limited the agreement of translators to *the subject* of the verb "to come." I expressly stated that they agreed in this, though they disagreed as to the meaning of the word *Shiloh*, when taken as the subject of that verb. It seems to me that I had actually anticipated, though briefly, the very modifications Clericus makes of my statement, and when I have added that I referred to *Reinke*, where a great deal more than Clericus adduces will be found, I shall leave your readers to form their own judgment on the candour and fairness of Clericus. I was not quite a novice in these matters, and knew that a discussion on the meaning of *Shiloh* (when taken as the subject of the verb "to come") must be very long or very incomplete. It was also entirely beside the question. The question was, whether *Shiloh* was to be taken as the nominative of the verb, or the clause to be translated "until he come to *Shiloh*." The meaning of *Shiloh* is a question which I should not object to discuss with any candid reasoner, but it appears to me that the treatise of *Reinke* is so very full, that such a discussion would be needless.

I have now done with Clericus. I am glad to learn from your editorial note that he is a clergyman distinguished for his high character and learning; because, if he answers to this description, he will be the first to apologize for his misrepresentations. They can arise only from three causes, (1) design, which I will not impute to him, or (2) carelessness, or (3) a want of appreciation of their importance. And if Clericus is capable of faults like these, I humbly suggest that he ought to write a little more modestly.

With regard to the notice of my reply in the same number, I would only observe that the question at issue does not depend on the relative abilities of Dr. Williams and myself, but entirely on the truth or falsehood of the charges I bring against his essay, and on their value, if proved.

And in my defence I may remark, that the article of Canon Stanley which I am reproved for "*venturing*" to call "so feeble a performance" is anonymous. I may also add, that the essay to which I was replying has been called, even by its defender, "unbecoming," "flippant, and contemptuous" in its tone. And perhaps I may suggest that Canon Stanley, who calls us who differ from him "fanatical clergymen," might receive a little of that blame which is so freely bestowed on me.

In conclusion, I will only thank you for your courtesy in admitting these observations, as well as for your kind assurance (in a private

letter) that the strong words at the end of your editorial note on Clericus were "not meant for me."

H. J. ROSE.

QUESTIONS ON DEUT. XXXII. 8; PSALM XLIX. 1, 2,
AND LXIII. 9.

I SHOULD be glad to lay before your readers two proposed corrections in our Authorized Version of the Hebrew Scriptures, for the consideration of those who may have more knowledge of the language than myself.

PSALM lxiii. 9.

"While they who seek to destroy my life
Will be thrown into pits in the earth;
They will be delivered into the power of the sword,
They will be the portion of jackals."

The pits or caverns here spoken of were the ordinary prisons of the country. For this remark I am indebted to my friend Mr. Bonomi. The Egyptian paintings and sculptures shew the use of pits as prisons in that country. Such was the pit in which Joseph was confined by his brethren till they had an opportunity of selling him for a slave.

My next passage is more important, and worth the attention of ethnologists, who very naturally compare the results of their own enquiries into the history of the several races of men, results based on language and physiology, with the express records of the Bible. The following words, if translated literally, would seem to shew that some at least of the Hebrew writers did not consider Adam as the father of the whole human race, but only of those families mentioned as his descendants in Genesis x.

PSALM xlix. 1, 2.

"Hear this, all ye peoples,
Give ear, all ye inhabitants of the world;
Both sons of Adam and sons of men,
Rich and poor together."

This is not the only passage in the Bible which may be understood as limiting the sons of Adam to that portion of mankind with which the Jews were best acquainted, to the exclusion of those heathen nations which may have been living at a greater distance from Judæa. Let us compare it with

DEUTERONOMY xxxii. 8.

"When the Most High divided to the Nations their inheritance,
When he separated the sons of Adam,
He fixed the boundaries of the tribes
According to the number of the children of Israel."

This passage does not of necessity make a distinction between the sons of Adam and the other nations; but there are two other well-known verses which support this view of the case, and from

which all difficulty would be removed by it. One is Genesis iv. 15, where the Lord provides against Cain being slain by strangers whom he might meet with in his wanderings. The other is Genesis vi. 2, where the sons of the gods [or the "holy race, the sons of Adam"] "saw the daughters of men that they were fair, and took wives of them;" which was an act of intermarrying with pagans, which is again and again forbidden in the later books of the Bible. These several passages seem rather to join in supporting that distinction between the sons of Adam and the sons of men which is expressly made in the Hebrew of Psalm xlix. 2, if translated literally.

SAMUEL SHARPE.

WAS THE LAST SUPPER A PASCHAL SUPPER OR NO?

It is well known that the Greek church differs from the Roman in making use of *leavened* bread in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, but I was not aware that any very great stress had ever been laid upon the point by the Eastern theologians. However, I have just met with an extract in p. 354, Lecture ix., of Stanley's *Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church*, from the old Russian Chronicler Nestor, which appears worthy of the attention of your readers. The Greek philosopher who was sent as the representative of the Byzantine church to Vladimir, the Grand Duke of Kiev, said: "We have also heard that messengers have come from Rome to teach you. Their belief somewhat differs from ours. They celebrate the mass with *unleavened* bread; *therefore they have not the true religion.*" Now if any stress is laid upon the use of leavened bread in the Eucharist, it can only be from a persuasion that the Last Supper was not a Paschal supper, but was eaten before the leaven was finally removed from the house, which it would be in the course of the day of the preparation. It is singular that the Church of England, by a simple revulsion from Popery, should have come into agreement with the early tradition of the Greek Church.

A. H. WRATISLAW.

ARIOCH AND BELSHAZZAR.

THE paper on Arioch and Belshazzar^{*} by Dr. E. Hincks, manifests no common acuteness and persevering research.

In p. 412, § 28, he thinks that the cuneiform inscriptions may be brought into agreement with Daniel, if we suppose that through the carelessness of transcribers, *Belshazzar* (Dan. viii. 1) is a corrupt reading for *Nergalshazzar*, "which would be, according to analogy, the Biblical mode of writing the name of the king to whom the canon of Ptolemy assigns four years, 559 to 556 B.C." It is added, "this cor-

^{*} *Journal of Sacred Literature*, January, 1862, p. 398.

ruption does not appear impossible; and few will doubt that parallels to it are to be found in the historical books of the Bible."

Without venturing to express assent or dissent with regard to this solution—and Dr. Hincks prefers another mode of removing the difficulty, which he had previously given—I would merely refer to the first verse of the twenty-seventh chapter of Jeremiah, where *Jehoiakim* seems to be put for his brother *Zedekiah*—a far greater difference than that between Nergalshazzar and Belshazzar.

The passage will of course bear to stand as it is at present found. We may suppose that in the first year of *Jehoiakim*, cir. 609, Jeremiah was commanded to make bonds and yokes, and send them to the neighbouring Gentile kings, and that ten or eleven years after, he delivered to *Zedekiah* a similar message, which begins in the twelfth verse of the same chapter. Yet there is this objection to the received reading, that Jeremiah does not elsewhere seem to name *Nebuchadnezzar* earlier than *Jehoiakim*'s fourth year, when this Chaldean king¹ began to reign.

As *Jehoiachin* reigned three months, and was the immediate predecessor of *Zedekiah*, it is of course possible that there may be only the slight transcriber's error of *Jehoiakim* for *Jehoiachin*. But, perhaps, this is not very probable.

Is it not to be regretted that the assailants of the authenticity of the Book of Daniel should not have pursued the method of Dr. Hincks? According to which, instead of hastily rejecting the writings of the venerable Jew as untrustworthy, we should first patiently and conscientiously seek if there may not be some honestly admissible method of reconciling him with those from whom he appears to differ.

Sir H. Rawlinson believes that he has discovered in the cuneiform tablets of the son of *Esarhaddon*, a record of a *Lydian* embassy to *Nineveh* so early as cir. B.C. 660. As the *Lydians* were even then familiar with their neighbours the *Asiatic Greeks*, it becomes, at the least, possible that some time before the fall of *Nineveh*, Greek musical instruments^m with Greek names may have become known there, and even probable that this was the case at *Babylon* many years before B.C. 580, when *Nebuchadnezzar* (Dan. iii. 5, 7) set up the golden image in the plain of *Shinar*.

April 30, 1862.

G.

PRIMITIVE AUTHORITY IN FAVOUR OF THE VIEW, THAT THE LAST SUPPER WAS NOT A PASSOVER.

I HAVE just obtained a copy of *Dindorf's* edition of the *Chronicon Paschale*, and hasten to translate for you the principal portion of what

¹ In the April number of this Journal is a letter from Mr. Franke Parker, shewing that the first year of *Nebuchadnezzar* coincided with the latter part of *Jehoiakim*'s fourth and the former part of his fifth year.

^m See on this subject *Journal of Sacred Literature*, October 1859, p. 153, on "Remarks on Assyrian and Median History."

bears upon the controversy, as to whether the last supper was or was not a Paschal meal, which is being carried on in your pages.

In page 10 of Dindorf, and 5 of the Paris edition, I find a long quotation from Peter, bishop of Alexandria, who wrote a work on the passover addressed to a certain Tricentius. Whether the quotation is taken directly from Peter, or from a lost work of Athanasius, is not quite clear.

Peter says, "Our Lord himself with the people, in the years before his preaching and those during his preaching, performed the legal and shadowy passover, eating the typical lamb." For the Saviour hath said himself in the gospels, "I came not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to complete them." But when he had preached, he ate not the lamb, but suffered himself as the real lamb on the feast of the passover, as the theologian and evangelist John teaches us in his gospel, saying thus, "They bring Jesus therefore from Caiaphas into the prætorium; and it was early, and they did not enter into the prætorium themselves, lest they should be polluted, but that they might eat the passover." And after these words, "Pilate, therefore, hearing this saying, brought Jesus outside, and sate upon a tribunal in a place called the pavement, but in Hebrew, Gabbatha. And it was the preparation of the passover; it was about the third hour;" as the accurate books contain, and the autograph of the evangelist itself, which has till now by the grace of God been preserved in the most holy church of the Ephesians, and is revered there by the prostrations of the faithful. And again the same evangelist says, "The Jews therefore, that the bodies might not remain on the cross during the sabbath, for it was the preparation, for the day of that sabbath was great, asked Pilate that their legs might be broken and they removed." On the very day, therefore, on which the Jews were about to eat the passover at even, was our Lord and Saviour Christ crucified, becoming a sacrifice for those who should participate in the faith of his mystery, according to what has been written by the blessed Paul, "For Christ our passover was sacrificed for us:" and *not as some carried away by ignorance affirm, that he was betrayed after eating the passover*; a thing which we have neither learnt from the holy gospels, nor has any of the blessed apostles delivered anything of the kind to us. At the time then, when our Lord and God, Jesus the Christ, suffered for us according to the flesh, he did not eat the legal passover, but, as I said, was himself sacrificed for us as a true lamb at the feast of the passover on the preparation day, the 14th of the first month of the moon. The typical passover therefore has received its end, the real passover having come; for "Christ our passover was sacrificed for us," as has been before laid down, and the vessel of election, the apostle Paul, teaches.

The next paragraph appears to be a kind of summing up by the anonymous author of the *Chronicon*. It runs as follows:

"Now that, when the Saviour suffered, he did not eat the legal and shadowy lamb, has also become manifest through the aforesaid gospel and patristic teachings. For if the people in those days, correctly arranging the 14th of the first month, used to perform the legal passover, and on the very day of the passover, viz., the 14th of the

first month, the Jews crucified the Lord, and then ate the passover according to the doctrine of the gospels and the God-inspired fathers, it is evident, that the Lord did not eat the legal lamb on that day, but suffered himself as the true lamb. But since on this subject the evidence, with proof, of the holy teachers of the church is abundant, we will insert here a few of their words, in which they say distinctly, that when the Lord suffered he did not eat the legal lamb."

The author continues :

"Hippolytus then, the martyr of piety, being bishop of what is called Portus near Rome, in his treatise against all heresies wrote word for word thus : I see then that the matter is one of disputatiousness. For he (*i. e.*, the Quartodeciman of whom he is speaking) says thus : 'The Lord performed the passover on this day and suffered ; wherefore I ought also to do as the Lord did.' But he is astray, not understanding that when the Lord suffered he did not eat the legal passover. For he was the passover that was proclaimed beforehand, and that was perfected on the appointed day.

"And again the same person in the first book of his treatise on the holy passover has said thus : 'Neither in the first nor in the last is it manifest, that he has not spoken wrongly, because he who of old said beforehand, "I shall no more eat the passover," probably supped the supper before the passover, but the passover he ate not, but suffered ; for neither was it the time of the eating thereof.'

"And Apollinarius, the most holy bishop of Hierapolis in Asia, who lived near the apostolic times, taught similar views in his treatise on the passover, saying thus : 'Some people then dispute about these things, suffering a pardonable matter ; for ignorance does not admit of accusation, but requires instruction ; and they say, that on the 14th the Lord ate the sheep with his disciples, and suffered on the great day of unleavened bread, and declare that Matthew says as they opine ; whence their opinion is both discrepant from the law, and according to them the gospels seem to be at variance.'

"Nay also the most holy Clement, who was a priest of the church of the Alexandrians, a most ancient man, and one who was not far from the apostolic times, teaches similar views in his treatise on the passover, writing thus : 'In the past years, therefore, the Lord used to observe the festival of, and eat the passover that was sacrificed by, the Jews ; but when he had preached, being himself the passover, the Lamb of God, led as a sheep to the slaughter, he immediately taught his disciples the mystery of the type on the 13th, on which they ask him, "Where wilt thou that we prepare the passover for thee to eat ?" On this day, therefore, both the sanctification of the unleavened bread, and the previous preparation of the feast used to take place. Whence John probably writes that on this day the disciples, as already undergoing previous preparation, had their feet washed by the Lord ; but our Saviour suffered on the next day, being himself the passover, being sacrificed by the Jews.' And after other things : 'Consequently therefore on the 14th, when he suffered, the chief priests and the scribes, on leading him in the morning to Pilate, did not enter into the prætorium, that they might not be polluted, but might eat the passover without hindrance in the evening. With this exact account of the days both all the Scriptures agree, and the gospels are in harmony. And the resurrection bears additional testimony ; at any rate he rose on the third day, which was the first [day] of the weeks of the harvest, on which it was the law that the priest should offer the sheaf.'"

In page 409 of Dindorf, 218 of the Paris edition, the author of the *Chronicon Paschale* returns to the charge, saying, "And in proof that he did not perform the passover on the 14th but concluded the typical (model, *τυπικόν*) supper before it, when both the sanctification of the unleavened bread and the previous preparation of the feast were taking place, he is found distributing to his disciples *not portions of a victim* (*θῆμα*), nor of unleavened cakes, but of a loaf and a cup."

The difficulty which Clement here presents by calling the day "on

which they used to sacrifice the passover" the 13th, is easily got over by noticing that he reckoned days as we do, while the Jewish day began at sunset, between which time and darkness the preparing (ἐτοιμάζειν) of what was requisite for the next day's passover must have taken place.
A. H. W.*

SIR ISAAC NEWTON ON EZRA AND NEHEMIAH.

MR. BOSANQUET begins his somewhat eccentric communication on Nehemiah the Tirshatha with a very confident conjecture that I have previously communicated with this Journal under the signatures of G. and G. B. Even if I had done so, this would not make his mistakes less numerous or more plausible. I shall not here take upon me to say how far he is a good guesser, though he will permit me to say that in my opinion he has on former occasions proved himself to be an indifferent prophet, a "little loose in his logic," and an inaccurate interpreter of the meaning of ancient writers.

First, I think it will be conceded that Mr. Bosanquet can scarcely be regarded as a very successful prophet.

For it is thus that he commences a long letter on Ahasuerus and Darius the Mede:—"Before" I enter upon the discussion of the above question, allow me to offer a few words in reply to the able letter of your correspondent G. B., in your Journal of October, p. 138, in which he has made a powerful struggle, *probably one of the last which will ever be made*, in favour of that system of dates upon which our common system of Bible chronology is founded; a system, be it observed, . . . incapable of adjustment with the *historical facts* contained in the very ancient books of Judith and Tobit," etc. I have put one or two passages in italics.

Now, since this passage appeared in this Journal (January, 1857), very decided opposition has been expressed from time to time to Mr. Bosanquet's chronological speculations, not altogether without some admixture of surprise, that he should have ventured to embrace and

" *Irenæus* says, Moses "diem passionis non ignoravit sed figuratim pronuntiavit, eum Pascha nominans" (iv. 23). Again, soon after, "Passus est dominus ad implens Pascha." *Tertullian* (*Adv. Jud.*, c. 10), proves that Christ's death was foretold in the Old Testament, and says, "Hoc enim et Moyses initio primi mensis novorum (anno rum, scil.) facturos vos prophetavit, cum omne vulgus filiorum Israel ad vesperam agnum esset immolaturum, et hanc sollemnitatem diei hujus, id est Paschæ Azymorum, cum amaritudine manducatos præcanebat, et adjecit, Pascha esse Domini, id est passionem Christi. Quod ita quoque ad impletum est, ut prima die Azymorum interficeretis Christum, et ut prophetiæ impleantur. Properavit dies vesperam facere, id est tenebras efficere, quæ media die factæ sunt, atque ita dies festos vestros convertit Deus in luctum, et cantica vestra in lamentationem." *Justin* (*Dialog. cum Tryphone Judeo*), "And it is written that on the day of the passover ye took him, and similarly on the passover ye crucified him." Page 338.

The preceding extracts indirectly support our correspondent's view, because they shew that our Lord suffered on the day of the passover, and was regarded as fulfilling the Paschal type by his death.—Ed.

* *J. S. L.*, January, 1857, p. 452.

uphold them. Indeed, on one occasion, Mr. Bosanquet himself expressed his willingness to approximate ten years nearer to the common chronology, thus diminishing his error by not quite one half, though he afterwards unwisely retracted his concession. Both Dr. E. Hincks and Mr. Savile, in letters to which I am sure Mr. Bosanquet will not refuse the epithet "able," have advocated the view which he so strongly disapproves. To these may be added the author of a learned paper on "Theories of Biblical Chronology," who thus expresses his opinion of the erroneousness of your correspondent's view: "If anything further be needed in proof of the mistake which we think Mr. Bosanquet has made in lowering the chronology of this period, though apparently supported by the testimony of Demetrius^p in his book on the kings of Judah, we would refer him to Parker's Chronology (pp. 341, 342), where the point in dispute is fairly handled, and which answer we deem to be conclusive." And that Dr. Hincks still continues to dissent as decidedly as ever from Mr. Bosanquet's view is plain from what we read in his very recently communicated paper on Arioch and Belshazzar,^q where he says, "we have no faith whatever in astronomical" calculations, which are supposed to indicate that the Lydian war was not terminated till B.C. 585."

Should your correspondent, in the rather extensive course of his reading, be so fortunate as to light upon two or three other "very ancient historical books" of equal authenticity with those of Judith and Tobit, he may perhaps succeed in silencing, though he may still fail to convince those who have the misfortune to differ from him.

But not only is Mr. Bosanquet an indifferent prophet, he is also rather loose in his logic, drawing lax modern inferences from ancient premises, and is, therefore, by no means an accurate interpreter of the meaning of ancient authors. For instance, when a writer in this or any other respectable Journal, undertakes to tell his readers what Ctesias has related, he should at least be careful not to appear to make

^p *J. S. L.*, January, 1860; pp. 318, 319.

^q In *J. S. L.*, January, 1857, p. 462, Mr. Bosanquet informs us that Demetrius, a Jewish writer on the kings of Judah, who may have flourished cir. B.C. 222, states that the last captivity of Judah took place three hundred and thirty-eight years and three months before the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Hence, according to Demetrius and Mr. Bosanquet, the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple by Nebuchadnezzar occurred B.C. (338 + 222) 560. Mr. Savile, in replying to Mr. B., appears to think that "Josephus includes, from the time of Nebuchadnezzar's burning the temple until king Antiochus Eupator, 414 years (*Antiq.*, xx., x., 1). Antiochus Eupator reigned two years from B.C. 164 + 162. Therefore 164 + 414 would give 578 B.C." (about ten years later than the common date) "as the date of the burning of the temple" (*J. S. L.*, April, 1857, p. 169). Mr. Savile also mentions the fact that, "the Talmudical doctors in their *Seder Olam Rabba* (their popular work on chronology) are barefaced enough to declare that there were only four kings of Persia instead of ten, from Cyrus to Darius Codomanus, with the evident design of shewing that Daniel's prophecy of the seventy weeks was not fulfilled in Christ's death." If Demetrius flourished so early as cir. B.C. 222, it would probably be mere want of correct information, united with undue attachment to some favourite chronological hypothesis, which led him into his error.

^r *J. S. L.*, January, 1862; p. 412.

the Greek physician say something not unlike the very opposite to that which he has actually said, drawing conclusions which are contradictory to the premises. Does this seem to be an exaggerated charge? Let us then compare the real Ctesias, with Mr. Bosanquet's representation of him. I take the liberty of putting in italics the clause respecting the delicate filial behaviour of Cyrus to Amytis; as also the word "correctly"—a term which probably your correspondent will himself allow, upon more mature reflection, is a little out of place in its present connexion.

CTESIAS.

Ctesias, who was for seventeen years physician in the court of Artaxerxes Mnemon, gives the following particulars concerning Astyages. He makes him the *last* king of the Medians, and says that Cyrus was in no way related to him till he married his daughter Amytis. When Astyages was attacked by Cyrus, he fled to Ecbatana. There he was concealed by Amytis and her husband Spitamas, but discovered himself to his pursuer, to screen his daughter and children. He was chained by Æbaras, but soon set at liberty by Cyrus, and treated by him with respect, and made governor of the Barcanii, a Parthian people, on the borders of Hyrcania. Afterwards Spitamas was put to death by Cyrus, who married his widow Amytis. Sometime after, Cyrus and Amytis wished to see Astyages. They sent a eunuch to escort him but through Æbaras he was left to perish in the desert. A dream discovered the deed to Amytis, who took revenge on Petisaces, the eunuch. In his reign Astyages had waged war with the Bactrians with doubtful success.—See Dr. W. Smith's *Ancient Greek and Latin Biography*, article *Astyages*.

YOUR CORRESPONDENT.

"Xenophon confirms in the *Anabasis* the statement of Herodotus and Ctesias, which on the joint testimony of the three must be received as fact, that the Medes were reduced by force of arms into subjection to the Persians, in the reign of Astyages. Nevertheless, in the *Cyropædia*, Xenophon confirms the further statement of Ctesias, contradicting Herodotus, that immediately after the conquest of Astyages, a family alliance was formed, which bound together in amity the two great nations—the two high horns—of Media and Persia. For Ctesias relates how Astyages was immediately released by Cyrus after his defeat, and how he treated him with the honours of a father rather than as a captive, and how *after tendering to Amytis his daughter respect due to a mother*, he afterwards married that princess, upon which the Bactrians, and probably the other tributary provinces of the empire became subject to the laws of the Medes and the Persians."—*J. S. L.*, Oct., 1857, p. 166.

Again, in a subsequent number, Mr. Bosanquet writes: "The just inference is, that Astyages continued to reign after his defeat in B.C. 560, and that Ctesias *correctly* related that Cyrus then formed a matrimonial alliance with his daughter, and reigned simultaneously, if not conjointly, with his father-in-law, for some years. A family federal union between the Medes and Persians would seem then to have commenced, and is beautifully described by Xenophon, during the reigns of Astyages and Cyaxares, the two nations maintaining their equality and independence, *as I infer*, till Darius took the kingdom in B.C. 498."—*J. S. L.*, April, 1858, p. 188.

I would here venture to suggest that when Ctesias tells us that Astyages was sent by Cyrus to be governor of a Parthian people, on the borders of Hyrcania, and that afterwards, when sent for by Cyrus and Amytis, he was left to perish in the desert through the treachery of

Æbaras, we are taught by this Greek writer, *not* as Mr. Bosanquet seems incorrectly to imagine, that Cyrus reigned for some years after his decisive victory, simultaneously, if not conjointly, with his vanquished father-in-law, but rather, that Cyrus at once, and finally *dethroned* the defeated Astyages, and removed him from his metropolis of Ecbatana into a distant and respectable exile, as he afterwards removed the vanquished and dethroned Nabonidus from Borsippa and Babylon, to end his days in the Persian province of Carmania. Thus, in one or two of the most important points, Herodotus and Ctesias, so far from contradicting each other, agree in flatly contradicting the *Cyropædia*, and in teaching us that Astyages was the *last* king of the Medes, and that, after his defeat, he fell from his kingly station into what must be regarded as a position very near akin to that of a subject of Cyrus.

If Mr. Bosanquet chooses to infer from the various authorities which he has consulted and weighed, that Darius the *Mede* was identical with Darius Hystaspes the *Persian*, and that the Medes and Persians continued to be two equal and independent nations, until Darius the Medo-Persian "took the kingdom" (Dan. v. 31) in B.C. 493, *about three years before the battle of Marathon*, however we may regret that such an apparent lack of critical discernment should prevail in any mind conversant with numerous historical works, we do not for a moment dispute his right to draw, and uphold, and publish such inferences. Still it will be more candid and impartial when he next dwells upon the deep filial respect paid by Cyrus to Amytis before he married her, not entirely to ignore the fact, that her husband Spitamas was put to death by order of this filially respectful personage, before she became queen-consort of the Medo-Persian empire, and, as such, the wife of her first husband's slayer, and of her vanquished and dethroned father's sovereign.

Mr. Bosanquet seems to be a little impatient of those who ignore the historical testimony of Onesicritus and Ferdusi, of Judith and Tobit, and insists much on the duty of sifting and weighing evidence. By what very curious process of sifting and weighing has he found him-

* What Xenophon says in the *Anabasis* of Larissa and Mespila will not permit us to come to any other conclusion. The predictions of Isaiah, the narrative and prophetic vision of Daniel, and the narrative of Ezra, favour the same view.

We will add here what appears to be the almost equally decisive testimony of Isocrates (the contemporary of Xenophon) in his panegyric on Evagoras, king of Cyprus, as quoted by the historian Mitford: *Αλλὰ μὴ τῶν γε ἔπειτα γεγενημένων, ἴσως δὲ τῶν ἀπαντῶν, Κύρον τὸν Μήδων μὲν ἀφελόμενον τὴν ἀρχήν, Περσῶν δὲ κτησάμενον, οἱ πλείστοι καὶ μάλιστα θαυματούσιν, κ.λ.τ.* Here we are expressly told that Cyrus forcibly won (*ἀφελόμενος, κτησάμενος*) imperial supremacy from the Medes, and caused it to pass away from them to the Persians. Can this refer to anything but the defeat, and speedy and final dethronement of Astyages by the victorious Persians? It seems surprising that any thoughtful person should persist in the face of all these testimonies, in following Rollin and Dr. Hales, who regard the *Cyropædia* as, in the main, an authentic history, and the supposed Cyaxares II. as the sovereign and independent successor of Astyages, and the last king of the Medes, who, because he had no son to inherit his independent Median throne, bequeathed it to Cyrus the Persian.

self at liberty to deduce from the testimony of Ctesias, that Cyrus reigned simultaneously, if not conjointly, "with his father-in-law, for some years after the defeat of Astyages?" If the formation of such a habit of sifting and weighing be the natural result of a deep study of Judith and Tobit, Onesicritus and Ferdusi, it will perhaps be better to have nothing to do with these authors.

And can your correspondent be fairly and reasonably displeased if we expect from a pen which has formed such a strange habit of dealing with testimony, misinterpretations of the narratives of Ezra and Nehemiah as infelicitous as that which he has advanced as the explainer of Ctesias? Perhaps it may be replied that any apprehensions here are groundless; since, with regard to the testimony of Ezra and Nehemiah, it is not so much your speculative and logical correspondent, as the illustrious Sir Isaac Newton, who is to be regarded as the interpreter. Accordingly, he may naturally think that before such a personage, we should reverently listen, and submit in silence. But Mr. Bosanquet's numerous mistakes, for we have mentioned only two or three of them, have rendered us somewhat distrustful even of the infallibility of that truly great man, to whom he looks up with almost superstitious reverence, and behind whose ample shield he has deemed it prudent to take refuge. The fact is, it is not altogether in Sir Isaac's favour that he has such a determined partisan in your correspondent.

Bishop Horsley, a person of rare ability and acuteness, and himself no common "scrutinizer of evidence," wished to undertake an edition of the works of Newton. And, if my memory do not deceive me, profound as was his admiration of the illustrious mathematician and natural philosopher, he regarded Newton as nothing more than an ordinary man in the discussion of questions connected with scriptural chronology and prophecy. And if we may give credit to popular tradition, this great genius did not always manifest the marvellous sagacity with which nature had so lavishly endowed him, at least when occupied in solving some of the less important problems of every-day life. It is said that he happened to possess a parent cat with its little kitten, and was desirous of providing for them a convenient mode of transit through a certain boarded partition. There was no difficulty in making a fair-sized aperture to serve as a passage for the parent. And reasoning from analogy, he concluded that the next best thing to be done was to cut a little hole for the use of the kitten. It is added that our great mathematician did not become aware that he had been guilty of a work of supererogation, until either from the suggestion of a friend, or from seeing with his own eyes the kitten following closely at the heels of its mother, he discovered that the smaller aperture was unnecessary, the larger suffering equally well for parent and offspring.

Hence, we are not called upon to follow blindfold even Newton in everything, as if he were an infallible guide; nor is there any culpable presumption in candidly and respectfully attempting to enquire into the correctness of his historical and chronological theories, and even in declining to accept them if, after patient research, we sincerely believe that we have discovered reasonable and solid grounds of dissent.

Now Mr. Bosanquet, in his paper on Nehemiah the Tirshatha, writes to this effect,—“that if the words of Nehemiah are *intended to imply what they express*. . . then there can be no question that the feast of tabernacles in the book of Ezra (iii. 4), and the feast of tabernacles in Nehemiah (viii. 13—17), are one and the same feast;” *i. e.*, they were celebrated in one and the same month, and one and the same year. I hope in this letter to shew that if there be anything clear in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, it is that the feast of tabernacles of Ezra iii. 4, was kept in the first or second of Cyrus’ reign over Babylon (according to Newton, B.C. 536-5) and that the feast of tabernacles of Nehemiah viii. 16, 17, was kept in the twentieth or twenty-first of Artaxerxes, according to Newton, B.C. 445-4, there being an interval of about ninety years between them. So much for the identity of the two festal celebrations in question.

In my letter on Nehemiah the Tirshatha, I wrote as follows: “I cannot think that Sir Isaac Newton would suppose the Nehemiah who came up with Zerubbabel, and whose name is found next to that of the high priest Jeshua (Ezra ii.), to have been less than thirty years of age in B.C. 536. On this view, our great philosopher would have held that, if this Nehemiah were living in B.C. 493 (the year in which some think that “Darius the Mede took the kingdom”) he would not be less than seventy years of age; if still alive in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus (cir. B.C. 445), he would at least be one hundred and seventeen years old; and if this Nehemiah survived to the thirty-second of Artaxerxes, his age would have reached to one hundred and twenty-nine years.”

Mr. Bosanquet appears to have read this passage, and to have felt the force of the objection. For in his attempt to reply to the letter in which it occurs, he thus writes:—

“He (Sir Isaac Newton) has shewn that Nehemiah the son of Hachaliah, according to the common reckoning of the reign of Cyrus, must be supposed to have lived to the incredible age of one hundred and twenty years and upwards. But declining the inference that the reign of Cyrus, therefore, must be lowered to the level of the reign of Darius, he (Newton) has left the books of Ezra and Nehemiah incumbered with this insuperable difficulty.”

I should have, perhaps, more correctly said that Newton would have allowed the age of the Nehemiah whose name appears next to that of Jeshua, in a register of the first or second of Cyrus, to have been probably not less than from thirty-five to forty, at that time, which would make him to be not less than one hundred and twenty-five years in B.C. 445. And Mr. Bosanquet does not state the full weight of the objection, when he merely says that “according to the common reckoning, Nehemiah must be supposed to have lived to the incredible age of one hundred and twenty years and upwards.” According to the common reckoning, Nehemiah *must have been the cup-bearer of Artaxerxes when one hundred and twenty years old*. And at that very advanced age, he must have been appointed Tirshatha or governor of Judæa, and have travelled from Shushan, a city on the east of the Tigris, to

Jerusalem, to enter upon his office, the weighty duties of which he discharged with energy and success during the space of twelve years, from the twentieth to the thirtieth year of Artaxerxes, when, at the great age of one hundred and thirty, he returned from Jerusalem to the court of that sovereign. Nay, after this, he returned a second time to Jerusalem, and actively and zealously resumed the duties of Tirshatha there.

The reader will find in a note¹ at the foot of the page, notice of an error on the part of Mr. Bosanquet, less gross indeed, but of a similar kind. I have brought forward the passage quoted above from your correspondent's letter, in order to assist him in more correctly interpreting Ezra and Nehemiah on future occasions. Mr. Bosanquet says;—

"He (Newton) has shewn that Nehemiah the son of Hachaliah, according to the common reckoning of the reign of Cyrus, must be supposed to have lived to the incredible age of one hundred and twenty years and upwards." Mr. Bosanquet professes to proceed upon the principle that "Nehemiah's words are intended to imply what they express." An admirable rule for the guidance of others besides your correspondent. Yet we shall allow that in this fallible and imperfect world there are few rules to which we do not find occasional exceptions. When Mr. Bosanquet asserts that Sir Isaac Newton "has shewn that Nehemiah the son of Hachaliah, according to the common reign of Cyrus, must be supposed to have lived to the incredible age of one hundred and twenty years and upwards"—do not his words express, and apparently imply, that Newton has *actually and plainly shewn*, in so many words, that this is the case. But are we uncharitable enough to believe that these words of Mr. Bosanquet "are intended to imply what they unquestionably express?" are we to believe that he intends us to understand that Newton has shewn, has carefully proved to his readers, that Nehemiah the son of Hachaliah was one hundred and twenty years old, when he entered upon his active and zealous twelve years of administration at Jerusalem, in the twentieth of Artaxerxes, B.C. 445; and that therefore he must be identified with the Nehemiah of Ezra ii. 2,

¹ Before Nebuchednezzar left Jerusalem after its first surrender, he ordered Ashpenaz to select certain Jewish youths of promising ability, to be taught the wisdom of the Chaldeans, and to stand before the king among the wise men of Babylon. At the end of three years they were presented to Nebuchanezzar, who, on inquiry, found them to be very far superior to all his wise men. We cannot well suppose Daniel and his three friends to have been less than twenty-one years of age when they were thus associated with the wise men of Babylon. Daniel was therefore not less than about eighteen years of age when he was carried captive to Babylon. Eighteen years afterwards the Chaldeans took Jerusalem. Accordingly Daniel was thirty-six years old when the temple was destroyed. Now if we accept for a moment the very improbable date of Demetrius, viz.:—that Jerusalem was destroyed in B.C. 560, Daniel, if still surviving, would be in his one hundred and third year in B.C. 493, when, according to Mr. Bosanquet, Darius Hystaspes, the Medo-Persian, made this aged Jew the chief of the three presidents of his kingdom, and was so gratified with the manner in which the venerable Hebrew discharged the duties of his arduous office, that Darius, disregarding Daniel's very great age, had very serious thoughts of committing to his charge the weighty responsibility of the administration of all the one hundred and twenty provinces of his realm. Can your correspondent deliberately think that Sir Isaac Newton would have assented to such an hypothesis?

and Neh. vii. 7, the associate of Zerubbabel and Jeshua, and that this great mathematician *consciously and deliberately* "left the books of Ezra and Nehemiah encumbered with this insuperable difficulty."

We do not deny that Newton may possibly have done this, for we shall presently see that he has seemingly fallen into strange mistakes, yet we cannot bring ourselves to believe it, until we have Mr. Bosanquet's assurance that it is so. We rather believe that your correspondent's words, whatever they may seem to express, merely imply that he, having found in the January No. of this Journal a statement, that according to a certain chimerical hypothesis of erroneous personal identification, the Tirshatha Nehemiah must have been one hundred and twenty years of age in the twentieth of Artaxerxes (B.C. 457), was unable to deny that it was so. At the same time, wishing to make known this discovery to his readers, and to inform them that there were *data* in Sir Isaac Newton's works from which this ludicrous inference necessarily followed, he has expressed himself so unguardedly as to lead them to think that Newton has not only *unconsciously* furnished the *data*, but has actually taken the pains deliberately to draw up the demonstration from this *data*; and then, with such an absurdity staring him in the face, has coolly persisted in adhering to the common chronology of the reign of Cyrus.

Your correspondent has endeavoured, I think unsuccessfully, to prove more than one strange hypothesis—that Darius the Mede was identical with Darius the Persian—that Darius Hystaspes took the kingdom after the death of Belshazzar (Dan. v. 31), in 493 B.C., about three years before the battle of Marathon—that Darius Hystaspes, when according to Herodotus not yet nineteen years of age (cir. B.C. 535), was the prince (sar) of the kingdom of Persia, (who is mentioned Dan. x. 13); that for some years Darius Hystaspes and Cyrus were contemporary crowned sovereigns, reigning at the same time, though it is not precisely stated in what two particular cities these contemporary kings established their seats of government; that the Ahasuerus^a of Esther

^a I think Mr. Bosanquet may be considered as contradicting both Herodotus and Ctesias, and also the book of Esther, in the following passage,—"*Cyaxares, or Ackshuerus—the names are one and the same, though written somewhat differently in Greek and Hebrew,—was the last king of Media, and reigned from the death of Astyages, in B.C. 539, to about the year 592 B.C. He ruled over one hundred and twenty-seven provinces—being a LIMITED PORTION of the vast Medo-Persian empire—reaching from India to Asiatic Ethiopia, of which kingdom Susa was the capital. Darius the son of Hystaspes the Persian, while yet Cambyses the son of Cyrus was alive, for he reigned eighteen years, inherited these provinces from Ahasuerus, either his adopted son and successor, or his son-in-law by marriage, and began to reign at Susa in the year B.C. 521, being thus styled 'son of Ahasuerus,' and 'Darius the Mede,' according to the law of adoption so common in the East. . . . It was this same Darius, so conventionally called the Mede, who, after reigning simultaneously with Cyrus, son of Cambyses, king of Persia for many years, took the kingdom on the death of Cyrus, his supreme lord, perhaps rival, at the age of sixty-two, that is to say in the year B.C. 493.*" (1.) According to Herodotus, Darius Hystaspes was only about fifty-seven years of age in B.C. 493. (2.) According to Herodotus and Ctesias, Astyages was the last king of the Medes, having been dethroned as well as defeated by Cyrus. (3.) According to Ctesias, Astyages died within a few years after his defeat and dethronement, and according to Herodotus, with whom Mr. Bosanquet has avowed his agree-

began to reign at Shushan over the Medes and Persians, and from India to Ethiopia, cir. 539 B.C., about the time of the taking of Babylon and overthrow of the Chaldean dynasty, and that Ctesias has correctly stated that Cyrus reigned simultaneously, if not conjointly, with his father-in-law, for some years after the defeat of Astyages, in B.C. 560). And now your correspondent comes forward, under the alleged patronage of Sir Isaac Newton, with a still more daring hypothesis. For he asserts it to be obvious that "the congregation of them which were come again out of the captivity" (Neh. vii. 17), must be identified with "the children of the province that went up out of the captivity" (Neh. vii. 6, and Ezra ii. 1), *i.e.*, that the feast of tabernacles, recorded in Neh. viii. 15—17, was identical with the feast of tabernacles, recorded in Ezra iii. 3, 4 and 6.

A plain statement should put down this chimerical notion, *i.e.*, if it will consent to be put down: for these notions are generally very tenacious of life, and are burlesque resemblances of those Englishmen of whom Napoleon said, they never knew when they were beaten. If the reader will take the trouble to turn to Ezra iii. 3, 4 and 6, he will find that the newly returned "*children of the province*," spoken of in Neh. vii. 6, and Ezra ii. 1, kept the feast of tabernacles *without city to shelter or wall to protect them*, in the first or second year of the reign of Cyrus over Babylon, under the fear of the surrounding tribes, *and before even the foundation of the temple was laid*. Having only very recently arrived at the overthrown and razed metropolis of their fathers, there were neither streets, nor gates, nor fortified wall, nor comfortably finished houses, for their covering and defence. Thus these "*children of the province*" kept the feast in the first or second of Cyrus, in fear of their neighbours, and amidst the dreary and desolate ruins of the holy city. No wonder that the narrative is cold and concise—that there is no mention of an exhibition of joy and gladness on the part of these children of the province, such as had not been witnessed since the day of Jeshua the son of Nun. Let us next turn to Neh. viii. 17, and see what is there said of those who are spoken of as the "*congregation of*

ment, that defeat occurred about 560 B.C. Thus to say that Astyages died king of Media, and left that kingdom to Cyaxares in B.C. 539, is not only to contradict Ctesias as to the time of the death of Astyages, but also to contradict both Herodotus and Ctesias, who teach us that he was absolutely and finally dethroned after his defeat, and thus was the *last* king of Media. (4.) To assert that Darius the Mede "took the kingdom" (Dan. v. 31) on the death of his supreme lord Cyrus, is flatly to contradict not only Herodotus and Æschylus, but also Daniel and Ezra. For a comparison of the testimony of the latter two evidently teaches us that Cyrus the Persian followed Darius the Mede, and the narrative of Ezra, in accordance with Herodotus and Æschylus, makes Cyrus precede, by a few years, Darius (Hystaspes) the Persian. (5.) Can any one (who is not biased by some favourite theory) read the first four verses of the book of Esther, and believe that the Ahasuerus who was sovereign lord over one hundred and twenty-seven provinces from India to Ethiopia, and over the power of Persia and Media, a glorious kingdom, was only sovereign over a LIMITED PORTION of the vast Medo-Persian empire? (6.) Does it not require (unless we are previously biased) almost mathematical demonstration to induce us to believe that Darius the Mede the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, was identical with Darius the Persian, son of Hystaspes the Persian?

them that were come again out of the captivity," who then made booths and sat under them, to keep the feast of tabernacles. Here are the words of the sacred historian. "So the people went forth, and brought them (branches), and made themselves booths, every one upon the roof of his house, and in their courts, and in the courts of the house of God, and in the street of the water-gate, and in the street of the gate of Ephraim."

At the celebration of this feast, then, we find that the temple had already been completely re-built, that there were several inhabited houses, regular streets, and also gates in the city wall, implying that this wall had been fully restored. We add, too, that it is unquestionably to be gathered from the thirteenth verse of this eighth chapter, that "*Ezra the scribe*" was present, and took a prominent part in this festal celebration. Hence, we conclude that this celebration of the feast of tabernacles must have occurred, not only after the completion of the temple in the sixth year of Darius Hystaspes (Ezra vi. 15), not only after the arrival of Ezra at Jerusalem in the seventh year of Artaxerxes (B.C. 457), but also after that complete restoration of the city wall and gates, described in the third chapter of Nehemiah, and especially in verses 13, 14 and 15 of that chapter (B.C. 445-4)."

It is thoroughly in accordance with this view, that the sacred historian tells us that there was "very great gladness" at this feast, and that he appears to teach us that the feelings of exultation had not been exceeded since the days of Jeshua the son of Nun (who led the children of Israel into the promised land, and under whom the first feast of tabernacles was celebrated on the western side of the Jordan, generations before David made Jerusalem the metropolis of the twelve tribes), "unto to that day." How is it possible that Mr. Bosanquet could bring himself to suppose that these words, "unto that day," (Neh. viii. 17), had reference to the days of *Jeshua the son of Jozadak*, and the first and second of Cyrus? How could he think of identifying "the congregation of them that were come again out of the captivity" keeping the feasts of tabernacles (Neh. viii. 15, 17) "with very great gladness," around the re-built temple, within the protection of the restored city wall and gates, and in the presence of *Ezra the scribe*, with those "*children of the province*" who, in the first or second of Cyrus,

"The joy and gladness of the people at the passover are mentioned in Ezra vi. 22; and no wonder. The re-building of the temple had just been completed in spite of the long continued efforts of their malignant neighbours, "and the Lord had made them joyful."

"See the italics in *J. S. L.*, April, 1862, p. 170. It may, perhaps, be objected that I have expressed my surprise a little too strongly here; because, however clear it may be that the feast of tabernacles, in Neh. viii. 11, 17, was celebrated about the twentieth year of Artaxerxes (B.C. 445-4), yet it cannot well be clearer than the fact, that the great passover of Hezekiah was celebrated in the second month of the *first year* of that king's reign. Nevertheless Mr. Kennedy, led astray by strong theoretical bias, actually read a paper before a section of the British Association, which he afterwards published, asserting that this passover was kept *after* Hezekiah's *sixth* year (*J. S. L.*, April, 1862, p. 197). May not Mr. Bosanquet, from some similar cause, have fallen into the very grave error noticed in the text?

kept the feasts of tabernacles amidst the forlorn and desolate ruins of a once noble city, but then destitute of houses, temple, gates, and wall? Does he not see that, to do so is much the same as maintaining that in one and the same week, of one and the same month, in one and the same year, Cyrus and Artaxerxes were contemporary and coequal kings of Persia and Babylon—Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, and Nehemiah the son of Hachaliah, were contemporary and coequal² Tirshathas of Judæa—and Jeshua and his grandson Eliashib were contemporary and coequal high priests at Jerusalem?

Your correspondent thinks that the result of understanding the words of Nehemiah as intended to imply what they express (and we have already allowed this to be an excellent general rule) will be, that we must believe the feast of tabernacles in Ezra iii. 4, and the feast of tabernacles in Neh. viii. 17, to be one and the same feast. And we may add that if the language of Mr. Bosanquet's letter "is intended to imply what it expresses," he sincerely believes the festal celebrations in question to have been in reality one and the same feast, celebrated in one and the same month, and in one and the same year.

In describing the celebration of the feast of tabernacles in Neh. viii. 17, the sacred historian adds, that "since the days of Jeshua the son of Nun unto that day the children of Israel had not done so." These words may seem to express that, from the days of Jeshua, the successor of Moses, the feast of tabernacles had been utterly neglected until the day of which Nehemiah speaks. Yet if we take the trouble to compare together Levit. xxiii. 33, 41; 1 Kings viii. 2, 65 and 66; 2 Chron. vii. 8, 10, we shall find ground for thinking the above cited words of Nehemiah were *not* exactly intended to imply what they seem to express, but that they are rather to be understood as teaching us, that of the numerous celebrations of the feasts of tabernacles which had occurred between Jeshua and Nehemiah—(for who can doubt what took place in the reigns of David, Hezekiah and Josiah?)—not one of them had been marked by a more sincere exultation and gladness than that which is recorded in the eighth chapter of Nehemiah.

A very little reflection will teach your correspondent that, when he reads Ezra v. 13, "In the first year of Cyrus the king of Babylon, king Cyrus made a decree to build the temple," it is to be understood that these words are intended to imply what they express, viz., that Cyrus made this decree in the year in which he *began* to reign over Babylon.

By the help of this verse he will at once be assisted in interpreting correctly Ezra i. 1. We there find it thus written, "In the *first* year of Cyrus *king of Persia*, Cyrus king of Persia made a proclamation concerning the building of the temple at Jerusalem." Comparing this with Daniel's narrative, and with Ezra v. 13, we may feel reasonably assured that this proclamation was issued after the Medo-Persian conquest of Babylon. And if so, Herodotus, Xenophon, and Berosus, not to mention Ctesias and Isocrates, teach us that Cyrus became king

² Zerubbabel is evidently designated as Tirshatha, in Ezra ii. 63.

of the Persians many years before that event. Ezra, therefore, must be understood here, *not* as intending to imply what we must allow that his words fairly express, viz., that Cyrus made this proclamation in the year in which he first became king of Persia, but rather, in the year in which he first began to reign over Babylon, after having been already many years king of Persia.

Again, your correspondent is doubtless aware that, in the New Testament (Matt. i. 12), Salathiel is designated as the father of Zerubbabel. Hence he will not hesitate to interpret literally the words, "Zerubbabel the *son* of Shealtiel" (Ezra iii. 2). And should any friend point out to him that Jozadak entered upon the high-priesthood in the year in which Jerusalem and the temple were cast down by the Chaldeans (1 Chron. vi. 15; and 2 Kings xxv. 18, 21), he will probably not object to understand literally a similar expression occurring in the same verse (Ezra iii. 2), "Jeshua the *son* of Jozadak."

But if, when reading in Ezra vii. 1, concerning "Ezra the *son* of *Seraiah*, the son of Azariah," etc., his eye should happen to detect the marginal reference to 1 Chron. vi. 10, 15, your correspondent will at once discover that it was this very Seraiah—of whom Ezra "the priest and scribe" is here styled the *son*—who was put to death by Nebuchadnezzar in the year in which he caused the temple at Jerusalem to be burned. Your correspondent will thus see that, unless he can feel himself at liberty to bring down the date of the destruction of the holy city by the Chaldeans some fifty or sixty years later than has been done by the Jewish writer Demetrius, he can scarcely believe Ezra to have been literally the son of Seraiah, even if the words of the sacred historian very fairly, indeed positively, express this. But if we are really to understand that the words "Ezra *son* of Seraiah," are intended to imply what they express, and to be taken in their literal acceptation, then was Ezra "the scribe and priest," *as son of Seraiah*, brother to Jozadak, uncle to Jeshua, great-uncle to Joiakim, and great-great-uncle to Eliashib, into the chamber of whose son Johanan (the grandson's great-grandson of Seraiah) Ezra entered (Ezra x. 6) in the seventh year of Artaxerxes, to mourn and fast. They who accept the common chronology, will have little difficulty in believing Ezra to have stood in the relation of third or fourth cousin to, and contemporary of, Eliashib, who was grandson's grandson to Seraiah.

Again, the context and other historical considerations teach us that the language of Ezra ii. 1, "These are the children of the province that went up (to Jerusalem) out of the captivity, (the children) of those which had been carried away, whom Nebuchadnezzar the king had carried away into Babylon"—is to be interpreted mainly of the children, and grand-children, and great-grand-children of those who had been carried away from Judæa beyond the Euphrates by the Chaldeans to Babylon. But we also read in Ezra iii., that when the foundation of the second temple was laid, "*many of the priests and Levites* and chief of the fathers, who were ancient men, that had seen the first house when the foundation of this house was laid before their eyes, wept with a loud voice." Several, therefore, of the aged persons

who returned, were themselves natives of Judæa, and had been themselves removed thence into Chaldaea.

And why, then, should your correspondent persist, against the clear evidence from the context, in taking literally the words, "the congregation of them that were come again out of the captivity" (Neh. viii. 17), and suppose that these words must necessarily be spoken of the very individuals who actually came up from Babylon to Jerusalem, and not of "*their grand-children*?" Where is the improbability that the returned Jews, humbled and oppressed, as they publicly confessed themselves to be (Neh. ix. 36, 37), should have a sorrowful gratification in designating themselves as "the congregation of them that were come again out of the captivity," which designation, while it acknowledged the faithfulness of God in fulfilling his promise, served also to distinguish them from their ancestors, who, before the Chaldean triumph, had lived under their own kings of David's lineage.

From the thirteenth verse of the eighth chapter of Nehemiah, as we have already observed, it is plain that "Ezra the scribe" was present in an influential position with this "congregation of them which were come again out of the captivity" (ver. 17) at their celebration of the feast of tabernacles. This celebration must, therefore, have occurred *after* the arrival of Ezra in Jerusalem, in the seventh of Artaxerxes, and after Ezra had on one particular occasion withdrawn from the temple to mourn and fast in the chamber of Johanan, the son of Eliashib (Ezra x. 6), the latter being the grandson, and Johanan the great-grandson, of that Jeshua who was high priest to the congregation which really came up to Jerusalem from their Chaldean captivity. And if, as we need not doubt was the case, Ezra took care that the feast of tabernacles should be duly kept at Jerusalem in the eighth and ninth of Artaxerxes, we can readily believe that both Eliashib and Johanan were present there with Ezra, and that this father and son were not the *only grandson and great-grandson* of the congregation that actually came up from Babylon, who took part in those festal celebrations.

To continue "the clear evidence from the context," we refer to the ninth verse of the same eighth chapter of Nehemiah. There we learn beyond all question, that *Nehemiah the Tirshatha* was present at Jerusalem with "Ezra the priest the scribe," on the first day of that same seventh month in which Ezra assisted in the feast of tabernacles recorded in viii. 16, 17, which feast was therefore evidently kept in the twentieth or twenty-first of Artaxerxes (B.C. 445-4), when Ezra the scribe had been residing twelve years at Jerusalem, when Nehemiah was Tirshatha, Eliashib, the grandson of Jeshua, high priest, about nineteen or twenty days *after* the triumphant completion of the city-wall and gates, as recorded in Neh. vi. 15, and about seventeen or eighteen days after Nehemiah had discovered and read through the old register contained in vii. 6, 7, which discovery is related in vii. 5, and the register parenthetically inserted in the remainder of the seventh chapter.

(To be continued.)

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

An Introduction to the Old Testament, Critical, Historical, and Theological; containing a discussion of the most important questions belonging to the several books. By SAMUEL DAVIDSON, D.D. Vol. I. London : Williams and Norgate. 1862.

THE critical investigations which Dr. Davidson has carried on with so much zeal, learning, and ability, for so many years, are on all hands admitted to be of the highest importance. They have won for him a reputation more than European, and their value is not contested even by those who question some of the conclusions arrived at. With regard to the Old Testament in particular, it is well known that Dr. Davidson is one of the few English scholars who have resolutely grappled with its problems. It is matter for daily lamentation that we have among us scarcely any who devote themselves on scientific principles to the general criticism of the Old Testament. Introductions to the New Testament are plentiful, and some of them are of a high order of literary merit; but for the Hebrew Scriptures we have done comparatively little. Independent research in this field has been very much left to our German neighbours, and we have relied upon translations of their works far more than upon independent investigations of our own. This may be very much owing to the limited extent to which Hebrew is cultivated among us; but whatever the cause, no one doubts the fact. It is high time that we wiped away a reproach which is as unnecessary as it is just. Gladly, therefore, do we welcome every work of real learning in this department of sacred criticism; and we consider Dr. Davidson's present publication as calculated in various ways to arouse us to a sense of our duty, and to help us in its performance. He has started and discussed many great questions, and he has revealed to us the magnitude and features of the work we have to do. He has set forth the difficulties with which Old Testament criticism is encumbered—the difficulties which we have to remove if current opinions on many points have to be maintained. We have too long either ignored or been ignorant of not a few of these perplexities, or we have been satisfied with traditional, standard, and common-place solutions of them. Traditions have their value, especially when they can be traced back to something like a reasonable origin. Standard replies to objections are all very well when they do not originate in ignorance and calculate upon it. The general common-places which are used so freely and readily are often mere fictions, and will bear no scrutiny. We live in an age when it is needful to go further. Criticism is a modern Argus, and its hundred eyes are ever wakeful to pry into all the minutest details of the Old Testament. It discovers analogies, paradoxes and contradictions which our fathers never dreamed of. It takes in detail books, chapters, verses, and words, and by alternate processes of ana-

lysis and synthesis, by researches in grammar, lexicography, history, geography, and whatever else seems needful, subjects the sacred text to such a scrutiny as would have been simply impossible in bygone days. Its attitude is that of constant interrogation, and its cross questioning is sometimes as severe and unrelenting as that of an Old Bailey pleader. Its tendency is to put the Scriptures on the defensive, and to elicit that which shall appear inconsistent with the infallibility and the antiquity claimed for them. It requires either that they should pass through the fiery ordeal unscathed, or that something should be abated from the pretensions commonly urged in their favour.

There is nothing wrong in this. For if the Old Testament professes to be without any admixture of error, to have been wholly written by those whose names are attached to it, to have been preserved in its original purity, and to have continued without addition, revision, or diminution, we not only may, but we ought to endeavour, to ascertain whether these things are so. In itself, all this criticism is right, as much so as the researches of the astronomer, the botanist, or the anatomist. Faith, when worth the name, can fear nothing from honest criticism; it has, however, much to hope from it. Let every unstable element be removed from its foundation as soon as possible; there will still remain the immutable basis of eternal truth. Eventually it may be seen, that as the Word made flesh was truly man as well as very God, so the written Word combines the human with the divine. But just as the man Christ Jesus was free from all moral and spiritual obliquity, so will the human side of the Bible be found free from all like ingredients. Meanwhile, we hope inquiry will go on, and we have no apprehensions as to the final result.

The preceding remarks will prepare the reader to hear that in the volume before us there is a good deal which is not in harmony with prevailing opinions. The author says, "Should any think that his handling of the subject has been occasionally free, they are reminded that there is a time to utter the conclusions of the higher criticism; that superstition should not enslave the mind for ever; and that the Bible is far from being yet understood by the majority of readers in all its parts and bearings." He is quite aware that such freedom of treatment as he proposes will be blamed and opposed, but he has resolved to publish the convictions which he has arrived at. He scarcely expects that his views will be accepted by all readers, but he gives them to the world because he believes them to be right. He has been in search of scriptural orthodoxy, not of that human idol falsely so called. After all, this is the orthodoxy which must stand the test of time and trial; and it would be difficult to condemn it. The only question is, has it been attained? or has the enquiry been conducted on false principles, and has it led to unsound results?

Perhaps one of the greatest difficulties modern critics have to encounter is the sheer traditional, which has become in a manner so incorporated with orthodoxy, that to question the infallibility of a traditional interpretation of a text, or of any traditional statement upon

purely literary questions, exposes a man to the accusation of heresy. Yet the domain of tradition has been invaded, and portions of it have been so far won that they are now admitted to be common ground. Take the first of Genesis for example. Scarcely any of the many interpretations of the six days' work, now current, would be called heretical. Once it was very different: although common sense long ago suggested that false doctrine and false criticism were not identical; that a critical heresy was far more venial than a doctrinal one; and Dr. Davidson is not wrong in every sense when he says, "Aberrations of intellect are venial sins: unfaithfulness to the high instincts which unite man to God, and reflect the divine, is irreligion."

The work before us is to comprise three volumes; the first of which is devoted to an examination of the Pentateuch, the books of Joshua, the Judges and Ruth, and I. and II. Samuel. Commencing with the Pentateuch, the author starts at once with a list of passages which he considers to militate against its Mosaic origin. These passages contain notices historical, geographical, archæological and explanatory. There are others which seem to intimate that the writer was in Palestine, and there are omissions which are unfavourable to the Mosaic authorship. Careful inquiries suggest that the Pentateuch was compiled with the aid of at least two leading documents, and probably of others. There are diversities, confusions, repetitions, contradictions, etc.; all which oppose the idea of single authorship. In a word, a great multitude of facts and arguments can be adduced, all tending to shew that Moses did not write the Pentateuch as we now have it: indeed, it was not completed until shortly before the reign of Josiah.

After discussing the general question of the authorship, composition and date of the Pentateuch, Dr. Davidson goes on to examine its separate books. Genesis is divided into two parts—i. to xi., and xii. to l., each of which is divisible into smaller sections, the contents of which are indicated. We are next led to consider the bearings of history and science upon mythology; and especially as illustrated in the Book of Genesis. A third point is the interpretation of the record of the fall; a fourth, the Canite and Sethite genealogies; and the fifth, the longevity of the antediluvians. The remaining topics are, the antiquity of man; the deluge; the sons of God and the daughters of men; the name Elohim; the xlixth of Genesis and Shiloh.

The matters enquired into in the Book of Exodus are these: The contents; the plagues of Egypt; the conduct of the magicians; sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt: passage of the Red Sea; song of Moses; decalogue; first institution of Sabbath; division of decalogue; what is meant by God speaking; connexion of Exodus and history of Egypt; doctrine of immortality in the Pentateuch; and the golden calf.

Under the head of Leviticus we have the contents, sin and trespass offering; the word Azazel, the scapegoat of the authorized version; marriage prohibitions of chap. xviii.; things clean and unclean; and sacrifice.

In Numbers we have, contents; disposition of the camp in chap. ii.;

census in chap. i., and Exodus xxxviii.; discrepancy in chap. xxxv. 4, 5; route of Israel from Egypt to Moab: condition of Israel in the desert; Balaam and his prophecies; character of laws of Moses.

Deuteronomy gives rise to a larger number of questions than either of the other Pentateuchal books. Among the points raised are these: nature of the Deuteronomic legislation; comparison of Deuteronomic and Jehovistic legislations; deviations of Deuteronomist from the earlier books; lateness shewn by the manner of expressing the abrogation of some laws not written by Moses, etc.

Joshua comes next, and it is discussed in a similar manner. Contents: unity, independence, and diversity; sources and authorship; date; historical character and credibility; standing still of the sun and moon; destruction of the Canaanites, and the taking of Ai.

The plan adopted with the remaining books strongly resembles that which is followed in those we have named. The large extracts we have given from the contents, will render it needless for us to describe more in detail the order pursued by the learned writer. We will therefore, indicate a few of the positions which he defends; beginning at the beginning.

There are passages in the Pentateuch itself which he believes convey well founded doubts of its Mosaic authorship. Thus Gen. xii. 6, "The Canaanite was then in the land;" and Gen. xiii. 7, "The Canaanite and the Perizzite dwelled then in the land." "These words obviously imply that when the writér lived, the Canaanites and Perizzites had been expelled from the land." Again, "In Gen. xxiii. 2, and xxxv. 27, "Kirjath-Arba; the same is Hebron," etc. "Hebron, as a name, is posterior to Moses." Again, "In Gen. xiv. 14, Abraham is said to have pursued the kings who carried away Lot his nephew, as far as *Dan*." The ancient name was Laish, and Dan was the name the place received from the Danites "after their father." Again, "These are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the land of Israel" (Gen. xxxvi. 31). "The last clause of the verse could hardly have been written till after there had been a king in Israel." In Exod. xvi. 35, "The children of Israel did eat manna forty years, till they came to a land inhabited; they did eat manna till they came unto the borders of the land of Canaan." "Moses was dead before the manna ceased, and therefore it is natural to infer that he did not write these words." Such are a few of the expressions which are adduced as indicative of a later date. Most of them have been often discussed, and explained in different ways; but Dr. Davidson is persuaded that they betray a later hand than that of Moses. This persuasion is strengthened by a class of passages which seem to intimate that the writer was in Palestine. The conviction is still further supported by the omissions which occur in the continuity of the narrative.

That one author did not write the Pentateuch is strongly maintained on the ground of the well-known Jehovistic and Elohist texts, which are investigated at considerable length, and with much acuteness and

ingenuity. Traces of at least two, and probably of more, original documents are asserted to exist. Supposing there were three, it is considered plain that the primitive Elohist wrote after the Canaanites had been driven out of Palestine, and perhaps in the time of Saul. The Jehovist wrote still later, perhaps in the first half of the eighth century before Christ; perhaps the junior Elohist lived in the time of Elisha. The learned author is not very clear here, for although he suggests the time of Solomon for the Jehovist, he seems to prefer the date we have named; and this would make the junior Jehovist really the older of the two. He is however clear in this, that he believes Deuteronomy to be the most recent book of the Pentateuch, and that the whole was written before the time of Josiah. Probably the question of the age and authorship of the Pentateuch was never before so minutely sifted by any writer in the English language, and certainly the difficulties in the way of the Mosaic authorship were never so distinctly and elaborately propounded. Believing as we do that the Pentateuch is substantially the work of Moses, we are not awed by this array of objections, although it will require superior learning and great judgment to answer some of them. They are formidable by their number, and by the skill with which they are marshalled and sustained; and yet we think that individually many of them may be readily met. Meanwhile, one thing is apparent: the old faith will no longer be allowed to dwell at ease; it will no longer be able to take shelter behind its old defences; it must come forth and accept the challenge which has been thrown down; it must oppose learning by learning, criticism by criticism, facts by facts. The days of *ipse dixit* are numbered, whether it be the *ipse dixit* of the unquestioning believer in traditional opinions, or of the new critic. "To the law and to the testimony," has been a favourite motto in matters of doctrine, and it is right: but now men come and boldly ask us, "What is the law and the testimony?" We must answer them. If their reasonable questions remain unanswered, the consequences may be serious. Even their unreasonable questions must not be treated with scorn.

With regard to Dr. Davidson, it is but fair to him to say, that bold as he is in his criticism, he never shews any tendency to irreverence or unbelief. He is irreverent and unbelieving enough towards what he regards as human error, and so are all of us, if we are honest; but he is never irreverent towards that which he conceives to be divine. Herein there is a wide difference between him and certain German critics: and it is the whole difference between a religious and an irreligious man. We are very far from seeing with the doctor on all points, and not seldom we have had our prejudices shocked; but still we have been everywhere compelled to admit his candour. If he has a fault in this respect it is this, that he is too candid.

We must not bring our too brief notice of this work to a conclusion, without saying a word or two about its later portions. The book of Joshua in its present form is, on various grounds, assigned to the writer or editor of Deuteronomy, although he probably did not write

the whole of it; it is moreover intimately and organically connected with the Pentateuch. The reign of Manasseh, therefore, was the period of its production. The book of Judges is an ancient document compiled by one editor partly from previously existing materials, and probably in the time of Ahaz; hence it is an older book than Joshua. The most searching examination into the book of Ruth points to the time of Hezekiah as that in which the writer lived. The books of Samuel are a compilation, made by some one after the death of Solomon.

Our object is not to criticize Dr. Davidson's book, or we would have called attention to some of its weak points as well as its strong ones. If we admit, as we do, that there are strong points, the author will not take offence if we suggest that some are weak. One of these is now under our eye. In 1 Sam. xiii. 1, we read in the English version, "Saul reigned one year," which is not the right rendering of the words, but, "Saul was one year old when he began to reign." Is it so? The Hebrew runs thus, "A son of a year Saul in his reigning, and two years he reigned over Israel." Now if Saul was a son of a year in his reigning, he had been a king one year, and what follows merely denotes that he had entered upon his second year. Certainly there is no need to adopt Dr. Davidson's explanation or paraphrase of the words; and we must submit that our old version comes nearer to the sense. Saul was one year old as a king, if you like, but not "when he began to reign." Lapses like these occur, we know, in the best of books, and we would not make too much of them. What is wanted, and what will try the stamina of the critics of the old school, is a refutation or counter arguments, manifesting equal learning and talent. The gauntlet is thrown down; who will take it up? We earnestly hope this question will not long remain unanswered.

If Dr. Davidson is the means of evoking a more thorough and satisfactory defence of the sacred books, and a more complete resolution of critical difficulties, he will not have laboured in vain. At present we will only say that he has put forth all his great strength in the endeavour to place our literary faith, as we may term it, on a new basis.

Of the question of inspiration we have said nothing, although we are not unaware of the bearings of this enquiry upon the subject of inspiration. Dr. Davidson's task has been that of a critic, and essentially a literary one. He has compared and analyzed a multitude of texts, and viewed them philologically, historically, and in other ways. In all this he has not exceeded the limits and liberties of criticism. Whether he is right in all his inferences is another question, and now that he has adventured boldly and honestly to declare those inferences and the reasons of them, he will have no fair cause to complain if his arguments are sifted, and if his critics attempt to shew that he is in error. Of one thing we are assured, and it is this, that the foundations of our religion cannot be shaken, and that when criticism has made its last effort, the Holy Scriptures will retain their glorious prerogative as the Word of God.

The History of Joshua; viewed in connexion with the topography of Canaan, and the customs of the times in which he lived. By the Rev. THORNLEY SMITH. Edinburgh: Oliphant and Co.

THIS valuable and instructive work is more than a history of Joshua; it is to a considerable extent a commentary upon the book which bears his name. The author has endeavoured with much success to throw light upon the scenes to which the history refers; and if readers will be at the pains to master the topographical and antiquarian facts here set forth, they will have a much easier and better understanding of the sacred text. Commentaries which develop the moral and religious lessons of the Bible are common, and their doctrinal and practical character renders them desirable for purposes of edification. But they are not sufficient. We require commentaries which display the results of philology and verbal criticism on sound grammatical principles. Of these there are fewer, although happily their number is increasing. But we also want commentaries which explain and illustrate the topography and actual scenes of Biblical events, the manners and customs of ancient nations, and the remains of antiquity. These are not numerous; but when well written by learned and good men, they are attractive and highly beneficial. To the last-named class the work before us mainly belongs, but it goes further and contains important matter of many kinds. Mr. Smith considers the question of the authorship of the book of Joshua in his preface, and supposes on reasonable grounds that it was written soon after Joshua's death by one of the elders who outlived him, and that Joshua himself may have supplied some of the materials. In the series of chapters of which the work is composed, the leading events of the life and times of Joshua are narrated, and illustrated by a large collection of valuable facts. There are a number of pictorial illustrations which, if small, are appropriate and well executed. The author himself has performed his task in a very satisfactory manner. His criticism is strongly evangelical and somewhat conservative, but decidedly liberal; as, for instance, where he considers the well-known passage where the sun is said to stand still. He does not insist upon a literal miracle, but admits another explanation. We have not seen Mr. Smith's kindred works on Joseph and Moses, but it is evident that he is well qualified for labours of this description, and we shall be glad to hear that he has taken up some other life, as that of Daniel, to treat it in the same admirable manner.

Adventures of Baron Wenceslas Wratislaw of Mitrowitz. What he saw in the Turkish metropolis, Constantinople; experienced in his captivity; and after his happy return to his country, committed to writing, in the year of our Lord, 1599. Literally translated from the original Bohemian, by A. H. WRATISLAW, M.A. London: Bell and Daldy.

WE have read this book with unmixed pleasure, and are glad of an opportunity of thanking the learned and able translator for placing it

within our reach. The introduction gives us some account of the book, and a rapid but well-drawn sketch of Bohemian history extending over about forty pages, and closing with an intimation that the millennium of the Bohemian church will arrive next year; in other words that it is a thousand years since Christianity was introduced among the Sclavonic nations. The history is divided into books, the first of which describes the journey of the imperial embassy to Constantinople. To this embassy Baron Wratislaw was attached, and he records and describes nearly all he saw. The second book contains an account of the residence of the imperial embassy at Constantinople, and most curious and instructive the story is. The third book tells us of the arrest and imprisonment of the whole embassy in consequence of information given by a base renegade, the steward, who had turned Turk. The account of this imprisonment has all the thrilling interest of a romance, and we are amazed at the hair-breadth escapes from death of which we read. The fourth book is headed "Of our release from prison and return to our own country." The release was sudden and unlooked-for, and the return a perilous journey, which makes us feel thankful that we do not live in such troublous and perilous times. Things have greatly changed since then. The dreaded Turk who had pushed his way so far into Europe, and regarded the right of the sword as true right, is now much more quiet and docile. If his nature has not been changed, his power has been weakened, and he dare not even dream of further conquests in the west. Then he was truly terrible, and acted so capriciously and often cruelly towards all in his power, that he must have been a scourge and a plague. There have been some changes also towards the west. But no one can read this work without seeing that the elements of things remain in many cases unchanged. We are quite sure that, although this work is neither criticism or church history, all who procure it at our recommendation will thank us for noticing it, and the editor for the excellent manner in which he has done his part.

Evangelisch-reformirte Kirchenzeitung herausgegeben von Otto Thelemann und Ernst Stühelin. Erlangen: Deichert.

OUR reason for calling attention to this periodical is soon stated. An article in our last number was written by Dr. Herzog, the learned editor of that valuable work the *Real-Encyclopädië*. The article in question was originally printed in the *Revue Chrétienne*, and it related to the Greek text of Erasmus, etc. Dr. Herzog has written to thank us in his own name and in that of Dr. Delitzsch for what we have done. On our parts we have to thank them; the one for discovering and reporting upon the Codex Reuchlin and the other for his interesting article. Dr. Herzog sends us specimens of the *E. R. Kirchenzeitung*, containing papers by himself on communion at the Lord's Supper between the Lutherans and the Reformed (*Abendmahlsgemeinschaft*). He says, "I do not aspire to the honour of a translation in your Journal, but I have thought it might interest you to have in your

hands a slight indication of the confessional conflicts which we have to maintain here. The journal in which I find my article, the *Reformed Ecclesiastical Gazette*, is the only journal specially Reformed, which appears in Germany; all others are either Lutheran or Unionist, and scarcely like to admit theological articles decidedly Reformed. Yet this sort of theology as well as the Reformed church in general, has also a good right to exist. This is why the journal of which I have the honour to speak to you, merits some attention, and if you will speak only two words about it on the subject of my article, I shall be greatly obliged to you. This is the first time during the seven years and a half that I have been here, that I have spoken out publicly in this manner. You see by the article itself, that particular circumstances have induced me to do it. Analogous circumstances have led to my *Mittheilungen aus der evangelische Kirche in Bayern* in the *Neue evangelische Kirchezeitung* of Berlin; 1862, numbers of April 12, 19, 26. These two little works mutually compensate one another." We quote this extract from the honourable professor's letter, and will merely add that he has discussed the question referred to in a liberal, enlightened, Christian spirit, and with his customary candour and ability. The question is one not very generally understood among us, and in any case is one which we could not introduce to our readers without some preliminary notice. Many of the Lutherans are very decided in their resolution not to hold communion with the Reformed, but others see no objection to it. May the two parties learn the true limits and duties of charity!

Revelation and Science. By the Rev. B. W. SAVILE. London: Longmans. 1862. (Communicated.)

THE publication entitled *Essays and Reviews* has achieved an amount of public attention which rarely falls to the lot of a book in any age or under any circumstances. Scarcely two years have elapsed since its first appearance, yet already is the twelfth and cheaper edition announced; while the number of copies sold has reached a figure which the most popular of our sensation novelists might well envy. So far as the pockets of the heptad of divines which dwells enshrined in this highly successful work are concerned, we hope and trust that the result of its appearance has been every way satisfactory. We are the more anxious on this point because unhappily it is the only one upon which it is in our power to congratulate them. There is a strong and sad contrast between the success of their book and that of their argument. They have certainly raised the wind from every point of the compass. They have been caught in a perfect cyclone, if this be a consolation. But unfortunately for them they have *not* weathered the storm. This is undeniable, and they themselves do not deny it. Seldom in the annals of literature has a book sustained such a series of discomfitures. False in statement, false in argument, not in one place but everywhere, logic and information seem equally to have failed its authors. There is scarcely a page wherein they do not stand convicted

of wrong or perverted assertions, or of bad reasonings, and of blunders of one kind or other. The nature of their mistakes is just as surprising as the number of them:—the statement, for example, in a work by men of their mark, that the divines of Germany are all of one opinion in regard of the Hebrew prophets. It was easy for Dr. McCaul (*Aids to Faith*) by a few quotations to shew its utter error, and the same fact was well known before to men of far humbler attainments than Dr. McCaul. A very superficial acquaintance with modern German theology will suffice to shew, not only that no such account exists, but that *tot homines quot sententiæ* would better define the hopeless divergence in the opinions of these divines upon that question. We might largely extend a list of such mistakes as to the fact, by merely skimming over the volume and its replies without going deeper than the surface of the discussion. But the whole matter will be so familiar to the readers of this Journal, that it seems scarcely necessary.

One point, however, has arisen from the controversy which may deserve notice. It is not true that any large proportion of the educated classes in Great Britain sympathizes in the tenets advanced in the *Essays and Reviews*; confidently as this is asserted and implied by their authors. The proof of our position is unanswerable. The well-timed and admirably written replies of Mr. Griffin first appeared in a weekly review, then but newly begun, and designed exclusively for the educated classes. They have been the means of firmly and permanently establishing that periodical, which now ranks high among the literary and scientific authorities of the day, and has an extensive circulation. Those who are the most familiar with the difficulties of such a feat will be best able to appreciate the strength of this one proof.

We believe it to have been the *Westminster Review* which betrayed our essayists and reviewers into this blunder. It has been stated in nearly every issue of this periodical for the last fifteen years that rationalism in religion is the predominant mode of thought amongst educated persons in England, and we perceive from a recent number, that not only is its quarterly re-assertion persevered in, but that this very far advanced organ of the negative theology now also rejoices over the progress of infidelity among the working classes; basing its triumph mainly upon the ill-considered platform utterances in the metropolis of certain flighty clerics from the manufacturing districts of the north. To this assertion also a single fact of very recent occurrence will furnish the best reply. In a town in those districts wherein one or two of the "Essays" had been printed and circulated as penny tracts, it was proposed that Mr. Griffin's "Replies" should be similarly dealt with. The point was maturely considered by the proposer, a dissenting minister having a large congregation of working people, and by others equally familiar with their sentiments and feelings. It was unanimously decided that such a step was altogether unnecessary, so very small had been the success of that or any other movement hitherto of the *Secularists*, as they call themselves, in the locality.

It is also worthy to be recorded here, that in the same town only a few months ago, the public attacks of the *Secularists* upon Christianity were repelled by a shower of *material* missiles, from which they were glad to shelter themselves beneath the wings of the police.

We hail the appearance of Mr. Savile's pleasantly written work for its individual merits, and still more because it supplies one or two missing links in the chain wherewith these unfortunates are bound by their antagonists. We have often felt regret that points so vital between them, as chronology and the written remains of Nineveh and Egypt, should be slurred over in the "Replies" with mere appeals to the authoritative dicta of one or other of the few students who have devoted themselves to these uninviting and unremunerative questions. For this reason we the more warmly welcome Mr. S's. book as that of a diligent and successful student of them all. Careful readers ourselves of this book (*Essays and Reviews*) and its assailants *in toto*, we claim the privilege to speak with some authority, and we say unhesitatingly that Mr. S's work is as patient and scholarly a reply as they have yet received. In some respects he surpasses his fellows. He takes a wider range and broader view of the contents of this strange attack upon Christianity than they; he deals with a greater variety of points, bringing to bear upon them the stores of a varied and extended reading.

Amongst many other questions which we feel to be well and judiciously handled by Mr. Savile, we are especially grateful to him for the introduction of a valuable catena of ancient authorities for the all-important doctrine of justification by faith alone. That such a series may not be difficult of access to the accomplished theologian is no objection whatever to its introduction here. The *Essays and Reviews* are evidently not addressed to such, but to crude and immature, though ardent and earnest thinkers, and we know no consideration that with them is so likely to neutralize the sneers of Wilson and Jowett at the *articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ*, as the demonstration that it has been the unvarying belief of all who read the Bible faithfully from the very beginning.

On the question of the Mosaic cosmogony we are bound to say that Mr. Savile's reply to Goodwin yields in completeness to no one of those of his collaborateurs. He has brought to bear upon it very considerable acuteness, and a thorough mastery of the science of geology. For the sake of the memory of an excellent and deserving man, we rejoice to find that he agrees with all the rest of the defenders of the Bible against the essayists, in adopting the theory of the lamented Hugh Miller, who conjectures the six days of the Mosaic creation to have been a series of visions presented to Adam. We are not at all surprised to find that Miller's admirable idea, that the seventh creative day, or sabbath of God, still continues, has likewise found general acceptance in these replies. It is by far the happiest thought that has yet occurred to any Christian geologist.

We, however, repeat here our former statement. The especial

value of Mr. Savile's reply consists in the honest freedom with which he deals with the chronology and the written monuments of Egypt and Nineveh, whence Bunsen and his eulogist, Archdeacon Williams, profess to derive such large support to their infidel speculations. Already favourably known to the public as a laborious and somewhat voluminous author upon chronology, Mr. Savile comes forward most opportunely to strengthen that which in our judgment was the weak point in the defences of his predecessors. He brings forward a carefully considered and matured system of Biblical chronology based upon the recent discoveries in Egypt and Nineveh. The fact that he does so is itself a valuable contribution in aid of the cause of God's truth. For, as the Rev. H. J. Rose has well shewn (*Oxford Replies*), never was a work with more rigid exclusiveness addressed to the young and ignorant, than Archdeacon Williams' review of Bunsen's *Biblical Researches*. We must here, however, make ourselves understood. We do not intend to say that the young men specially addressed are by any means ignorant of Greek, or Latin, or mathematics, much less of reading, writing, or arithmetic. It is of the matter actually under discussion that they are ignorant: knowing little of, and caring less for, the Bible, its assailants and its defenders, multitudes of young people lend a willing ear to the polished insinuations and clever inuendos of a brilliant dashing divine like the archdeacon, and rise from the perusal of his pages with the conviction that the negative theology is "the only wear" for persons of any intellectual pretence whatever, and that none but a few narrow-minded, ignorant, prejudiced bigots are opposed to it. It may be of service to such to discover that Mr. Savile, an accomplished and acute chronologer, ventures nevertheless to impugn the dicta of Bunsen, Williams, and the rest of them. On this account alone we are glad of the publication of his well-considered and astute essay to reconcile the facts on the monuments of Egypt and Nineveh with the history and the chronology of the Bible. The very attempt is under the circumstances meritorious, and calculated to be useful; and for this alone Mr. Savile deserves the thanks of every believer in the Bible.

We ourselves it is true, dealing with the same materials, have arrived at conclusions somewhat different from those of Mr. Savile. This was of course to be expected in a subject which hitherto has been so little investigated, and by so few students. We feel, moreover, that this dry subject has been somewhat evaded by the other replicants to the *Essays and Reviews*. It is a question, nevertheless, which much needs further discussion on the pending controversy. For we happen to be aware that many negative theologians consider chronology the stronghold of their system, which no believers in the Bible dare attack. We will, therefore, give at length Mr. Savile's view of the Bible chronology, and afterwards state the reasons which compel us to differ with him.

Mr. Savile considers the duration of the present economy of man on the earth to be six thousand years from the creation. He brings traditions, Jewish and Mahomedan, in support of this hypothesis (pp.

70, 71.) We have only to remark upon it, that certainly it is a possibility, and that it may be even a probability; but assuredly it is *not* a revelation.

Mr. Savile's reply to Bunsen's weak assumption^a that twenty thousand years are required to account for the linguistic changes from the one primeval language which the modern science of universal grammar have developed, is scarcely satisfactory. It has been better met in the *Aids to Faith*, where it is clearly shewn that among semi-civilized and barbarous races (such as the nomads of the plains of Siberia), the very common case of the fusion of two clans or sects produces linguistic variations so rapid, that the lapse of but a few years suffices to make the speech of a member of the new confederacy altogether unintelligible to his former fellow-clansmen. This patent and well ascertained fact covers with deserved infamy the confident and pretentious speculations of Bunsen; but we must at the same time carefully explain that it by no means establishes Mr. Savile's theory of exactly six thousand years.

Mr. Savile rightly states that the fabulous dynasties of gods and heroes in the Egyptian lists of Manetho, afford no support whatever to the wild theory of Bunsen, that man has been twenty thousand years upon the earth. In the face of the masterly exposure of Boeckh,^b which shews that the whole of the high numbers to which the reigns of these mythic beings are extended are the multiples of Sothiac cycles and other astronomical periods, it is truly surprising that regard to his own literary reputation did not teach Bunsen a little prudence and moderation upon the point.

Equally unsound is another of the foundation stones of the baron's theory, which is "the historical piece of pot brought up by a borer from a depth of thirty-nine feet below the base of the prostrate statue at Mehabenny, on the site of ancient Memphis," as Mr. Savile very ably shews. As this statue was seen and described together with the temple, the pediment of which it supported *upright* scarcely six centuries ago, by the Arab historian Makrizi, it does not seem improbable that it, together with the many other great remains of Memphis enumerated by the same historian, has been prostrated by one of the earthquakes which are so frequent in this part of Egypt. That such convulsions are always marked by changes of level on the earth's surface is well known. In this case the nine feet of mud which covered the pedestal, instead of having been more than three thousand years in accumulating, may have been deposited in the course of a century or two. It is truly surprising on how narrow and slender a support a sceptical objection to the truth of the Bible can balance itself. The sight naturally calls to mind the question of the old casuist, "How many angels can dance a saraband on the point of a needle?"

It is always painful after a pleasant walk with a friend, enjoying his converse, to arrive at the place where our paths diverge so that thenceforth we must part company. It is especially so with Mr. Savile;

^a *Egypt's Place*, vol. ix., 485—487.

^b *Manethos und seine zeit.*

and still more in a work wherein, with so vigorous a grasp and so strong an arm, he tears down from our British oak the drooping sickly scion of neology, so assiduously and so subtly grafted in by essayists and reviewers; its parent stock in Germany being long ago "twice dead plucked up by the roots." To him, therefore, and to ourselves, we feel it to be due that we should patiently, and step by step, examine and detail the ground upon which we venture to differ with him; and this even at the risk of repeating what may already be familiar to many of our readers.

The functions of Luther's discovery (justification by faith), in the book of God's revelation, is exactly discharged in the book of God's Providence by that other discovery of Lord Bacon's—the inductive philosophy. They both accurately fit the locks which close up their respective books, and unfold them to man's mental eye. To whither of these divine books then are we to betake ourselves in search of the chronology of the primeval history of our race upon the earth? With most plain Bible readers the answer is ready and glibly enounced: there are dates in the Bible, and they of course *must be true!* Speaking as man—ease-seeking rest-loving man—speaks and thinks, would it were so! But God's ways are not man's ways, and it has not seemed good to his unerring wisdom to exercise over the dates in the Bible the superintending Providence which has preserved to us its doctrinal statements as he revealed them. In the three most ancient versions of the book of Genesis, the dates differ from one another materially. The fact is perfectly familiar to our readers. These versions being of equal authority, neutralize each other: so that there is now no revelation of the chronology of primeval man. The necessity of such a revelation which once existed, as the dates themselves testify, has long since passed away. Under these circumstances, the chronology we seek must be dealt with like any other fact connected with the history of man on the earth. The Bible dates are history; but like all other records of remote occurrences, they are proximate, not certain history. Yet is their value to the enquiry above all price, for they are our only guides. How then shall we proceed in order to arrive at the truth, or as near as may be the truth they convey? There is but one way possible: we must reason from them, and the facts connected with them, inductively.

The dates then in the Book of Genesis have been falsified. This is in the nature of things obvious and undeniable. The next question is, by whom? and how? We have no data affording sufficient grounds to answer either with certainty. The rabbis at Jerusalem who kept the Hebrew version in the fourth century B.C., and the Alexandrian Jews who translated the *ó* (Septuagint) at about the same time, were neither of them trustworthy guardians of the truth committed to them; for both had prepossessions leaning in the precise direction in which their numbers differ. The rabbis were enamoured of exact millennia; they wished to date the dedication of Solomon's temple a millennium and a half exactly from Noah's flood. The Alexandrian Jews, on the

other hand (who translated *o* for Ptolemy Epiphanes), were ambitious to assign to the origin of their nation as high a date as possible, in order that they might compete with the Chaldees, the Egyptians, and other nationalities in that emporium of the world where all met and all boasted that they belonged to the oldest of the human family. As to the Samaritan version, there is unhappily another cause which just as fatally interferes with our confidence in the accuracy of its dates. The forced unwilling character (as to the Jews) of the whole movement in which this sect originated, renders it in the highest degree improbable that any but the basest and least instructed of the Levites would be deputed by the elders of the ten tribes in Media to teach the new immigrants into Samaria the religion of its expelled inhabitants (see 2 Kings xvii. 24 *seq.*, etc.). This obvious fact alone is enough to destroy all confidence in the dates in their version of the Book of Genesis. To omit all other considerations, the cyphers in which these dates were written so resembled each other in form, and the forms themselves were so ill defined, that with an imperfectly instructed scribe blunders in them were all but inevitable. It was in their own verbal and literal familiarity with the sacred text that the scribes of Jerusalem of this period mainly relied for the accuracy of their transcriptions; and to this the Samaritan translators made no pretension whatever.

Under these circumstances, the only safe induction regarding these three versions at which we can arrive is, that of their dates in all probability the highest errs in excess, and the lowest in defect, and that in the one between them (the Samaritan) we can with no hope of accuracy repose any confidence whatever. The proper use of them, therefore, to the chronologer we take to be, that without exactly defining the duration of man's existence on the earth, they give it proximately. It cannot well be more than the highest or less than the lowest of them. Mortifying as this may be to our pride of intellect, it is their only legitimate use, to our apprehensions, in our chronological generalizations.

On the other hand, these dates are our only guides to the chronology of man's primeval history. The circumstances also under which they come down to us combine with this consideration to render any theory which throws them overboard altogether, as Baron Bunsen had done, a flagrant violation of the commonest and best known laws of induction. All facts, all probabilities, and all analogies must be taken into the account, if our inductions and generalizations raised upon them are to be of any value whatever. This is the fundamental law of the entire method. What then is the worth of Baron Bunsen's phantasm, who (oblivious both of the dates before us and of all other considerations) blurts out before the British public^c the crude, ill-digested assertion that the linguistic changes in the Japhetic (*Aryan* as he calls it) modification of the primeval language require twenty thousand years, at least, for their accomplishment? Our answer to this bold statement we have given already. Many others crowd round our pen. Admon-

^c *Eg. F.*, v. iv.

ished by the rapidly decreasing space allotted to us, we content ourselves here with one only. The oldest book in the world next to the Bible is full of genealogies. We mean of course Homer's *Iliad*, which cannot have been written later than 900 B.C. Not one of these pedigrees goes backward beyond six descents;^d very few so far; and then we come to *the gods*. Surely this *fact* (we challenge investigation) contributes one element to the enquiry.

On the other hand, while thus discussing with all freedom the assertions of his antagonists, we must candidly tell our friend Mr. Savile that his reasonings upon the data before us are, to our apprehensions, far from satisfactory. We feel it to be due to him to preface our objections by stating fully the grounds upon which we conceive he has erred. We are not deterred from this course by the fear of repeating that which to some of our readers may be very familiar. We are convinced that there is nothing which so often betrays into error the men now living on the earth, especially those who think and reason, as an imperfect acquaintance with the canons and laws of the inductive philosophy. We therefore make no apology for referring to Lord Bacon, an author to English readers well known *by name*. Would that his *works* were better known in England.

The passage from this prince among men to which we refer will be found in the fourth chapter of the fifth book of his *Advancement of Learning*. It treats of the biases or prepossessions that unfit most men for reasoning impartially upon facts before them. These he classes under three heads, which he calls *idola*, *i. e.*, images, delusive semblances of truth, not the truth itself. The second of them he terms *idola specûs*, "idols of the cave," in allusion to a beautiful passage in Plato's *Republic* (lib. vii.), in which he likens the soul of a man without education to a prisoner confined in a perfectly dark cave, and so tightly chained that he can only look straight forward to a blank wall opposite to him, on which fall the shadows cast by the only aperture that admits to him the light from the world above him. The many mistakes regarding the phenomena on the earth's surface and visible from thence, into which an unfortunate so imprisoned would inevitably fall, Lord Bacon parallels with the profound opinions which men too often bring with them when they come to reason by this method, and which necessarily vitiate these inductions.

Now the hypothesis that the present state of things on the earth will last for six exact millennia, and that the seventh or sabbatical millennium is that predicted in the Book of Revelation, is one of which, if not very cautiously dealt with in our present enquiry, is in much danger of falling into the category of *idola specûs*. We must be distinctly understood here to give no opinion whatever upon the controversy regarding it, beyond that we have already expressed. It is neither an established fact nor revealed truth; it is a possibility, perhaps

^d That is, one hundred and eighty years, according to the ordinary computation of thirty years to a descent.

a probability—certainly nothing more. But it is the province of inductive reasoning to establish or refuse an opinion thus circumstanced,—not to make a fact of it, and class it with other facts to raise an inference from them; a mistake into which we fear Mr. Savile has been betrayed in his treatment of this and some other kindred hypotheses. This chronological theory is already complete. He comes in search of facts, historical and monumental, to support it. It was on this principle that Baron Bunsen wrote his *Egypt's Place*, as he informs us in its first volume. Before he put pen to paper, or sent his friend Lepsius to Paris and Rome in search of monumental facts, he had completed his theoretical outline of the history of Egypt, from which he never departed. The danger of such preconception to inductive reasonings was so sagaciously foreseen and so eloquently expressed by the great discoverer of the whole method, that we cannot refrain from quoting him here:—"Idols are the deepest fallacies of the human mind; for they do not deceive like the rest by clouding and ensnaring the judgment, but from a corrupt predisposition or wrong complexion of the mind, which distorts and infects all the anticipations of the understanding" (Bacon). Mr. Savile, we grieve to say, illustrates the truth of the definition. This idol has misled him into some considerable mistakes, which had his mental powers been unbiassed, he would himself have been the first to detect. We will give an instance of this.

At p. 65 he rightly (in our judgment) rejects the dates in the Samaritan and *ó* versions of Genesis v. and xi. in favour of those in the Hebrew text, and for the sound reason that both the former "abound in various readings with respect to their different chronologies, and frequently contradict themselves, whereas the Hebrew is uniform and consistent in all its copies." To this we fully assent. Yet at p. 107 Mr. Savile exactly reverses the process, and deliberately rejects the Hebrew text of Exodus xii. 40 in favour of the Samaritan and *ó* versions of it, for the surely not very convincing reason that "many learned men allow the Samaritan to exhibit the most correct copy of the Pentateuch." More extraordinary still, he does so in the face of the fact, that many both of the Samaritan and *ó* copies of the verse conform to the Hebrew reading, whereas the Hebrew itself never varies. But this is not the extent of the mistake into which our author's unhappy preconception has betrayed him, for at p. 68 he says:—"We accept the chronology of the Hebrew Bible as much a matter of *revelation* as any other portion of God's word, and therefore of necessity to be preferred to *ó*." Yet, as we have seen shortly afterwards (p. 107), he throws overboard this Hebrew chronology, and contends just as strenuously for the inspired authority of *ó*.

A very serious question is raised here. If the Hebrew chronology be indeed revelation, as Mr. S. contends, it is so through the same agency as that which has preserved to us the rest of the text. A special superintending Providence could alone have wrought this literary miracle. Such we believe to be the universally accepted opinion upon the point. Can we then for one moment admit that God's miraculous

care, which preserved from error the Hebrew text of the Book of Genesis, was in the following division of the Pentateuch (Exodus) transferred to the Samaritan and *é* versions, leaving the Hebrew to take its chance? Our friend, we repeat it, would have been the first to detect and expose such a play at fast and loose with the solemn question of inspiration in an opponent, but his prepossession, his *idol* (the term is unimproveable) misled him.

The matter in discussion in this portion of Mr. S.'s volume is so important to Bible truth that we feel bound to consider it. The point at issue is the duration of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt. According to the Hebrew text it was four hundred and thirty years; according to the ancient versions two hundred and fifteen years only. Mr. Savile advocates the latter, because the shorter date is required by his chronological scheme.

We must here be permitted a very brief digression. We have for years made Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici* our text book for early dates. We do not of course mean to say that it is our final authority, but we never differ from it without a mature consideration of all the data we can find that bear upon the point in difference; we have, therefore, both used and tested it much, and we feel bound to say that it stands the test well. This we beg emphatically to state is the sole reason of our preference. We do not accept Clinton's authority on that which we fear is the only reason of his popularity with a numerous class of religious authors, whose works command a large circulation, and in many respects deserved. This, their one reason, may be embodied in our arithmetical formula, *i. e.*, $4134 + 1866 = 6000$; for, according to Clinton, creation dates from B.C. 4134, add to this 1866, and the sum is exactly 6000; so that, if (as by the theory to which we have already alluded) the present state of things is to endure for exactly six millennia, the seventh or sabbatical millennium of the Apocalypse may be expected to commence A.D. 1866! This, it is to be feared, is the only ground of Clinton's popularity in the quarters to which we allude.

We have only further to observe that such is not the opinion of Mr. Savile, who gives 4100 B.C. as the year of creation, for reasons the force of which we must confess ourselves unable to discern, pp. 69, *seq.*

To return to the duration of the sojourn of Israel in Egypt. We will briefly consider the arguments whereby our author supports his opinion that it lasted for two hundred and fifteen years only; and then point out a few of the strong reasons against his hypothesis which he has altogether ignored.

1. This first argument is from Gal. iii. 16, 17. He assumes that the four hundred and thirty years mentioned by the apostle dates from the call of Abram. But the text says no such thing. The promise was to Abram and his seed, which was Christ, in him and his descendants; the promise was repeated to Jacob, the grandson of Abram, at Beersheba, two hundred and fifteen years afterwards, on the *night*

before Jacob and his family crossed the borders of Egypt. This event is placed in such solemn prominence in the inspired narrative (Gen. xlv. 1—5), and there is so clear an allusion to it in Exod. xii. 41, 42, that in the judgment of no unbiassed mind can there remain a doubt, that it is from this last repetition of the promise, and not from its first utterance, that the four hundred and thirty years of St. Paul must be dated.

2. Mr. Savile's second argument we must confess ourselves unable to understand. He founds it on the English version of Exod. xii. 40, "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel who dwelt," etc., in which there is a slight error, which had he turned to his Hebrew Bible, he would at once have detected. The heemantic noun *סוּר* "sojourning" is the cognate object of its parent verb *סוּר* "sojourned," so that the right rendering would be "the sojourning of the children of Israel which they sojourned," etc., agreeing exactly with *הַיְּסוּרִים הַלְלוּ* . . . *הֵן כְּאֵלֶּיךָ*. The construction is so familiar to all students that we have to apologize for detailing it. There is no analogy whatever between this place and Luke ii. 12, as Mr. Savile contends.

3. This third argument that "the Samaritan is allowed by many learned men to exhibit the most correct copy of the Pentateuch," he has himself confuted, as we have seen.

4. Elsewhere in the work before us, Mr. Savile has dealt just as satisfactorily with his fourth argument, the inspiration of the Alexandrian copy of *ε*. This we have also explained.

5. The answers to his quotations from Ben Gorion, Aben Ezra, and other mediæval Jews, he will find in Wagenseil's *Tela ignea Sathanae*, in *Seder Olam Rabbah*, and other works of the Buxtorfs and their able cotemporaries in the universities of Holland during the seventeenth century. The colossal mendacity of these Jews, and the transparent dishonesty of the purposes for which their falsehoods were framed, are so ably exposed there, that we must confess to surprise at their being appealed to as authorities.

6. The pedigree of the Levites. The well known and undeniable facts, that the pedigrees in the Bible are nearly always abridged, and that terms of consanguinity are vaguely applied in it, will sufficiently answer this argument. We propose resuming the question, but we cannot refrain from remarking here, that if, as Mr. S. contends, "Jochebed was the aunt as well as the wife of Amram, then were Moses and Aaron the fruits of a marriage which, during their own lifetime and by their own mouths, the Almighty declared to be an incestuous one." (See Lev. xx. 19, etc.) It would not be easy to construct a loftier climax of improbability than this.

7. But our astonishment culminates in Mr. Savile's seventh and last argument in favour of two hundred and fifteen years only for the sojourn in Egypt. Bunsen with perfect justice points out the extreme absurdity of the assertion of Dr. Baumgarten of Kiel, that the seventy or seventy-five souls who went down with Jacob into Egypt could easily have increased to four million in the two hundred and fifteen

years that he assumes them to have sojourned there. Mr. Savile flies to the doctor's rescue, and endorses his assertion in full, upon what he terms "very high authorities" (p. 110). These authorities turn out to be the slate and pencil speculations of Sir W. Petty, Euler, and Short, men who lived a century ago, when the science of statistics had no existence. Our friend must surely be aware that since their time, the laws of human increase have been most extensively investigated by the governments of all civilized nations throughout the world, and that the vast body of facts collected by them, and the generalizations upon them, by men of high attainments and commanding talents, constitute the modern science of statistics as truly a science as astronomy. Mr. S. very properly supports one of his statements regarding the stars by the unimpeachable authority of the Astronomer Royal. Before issuing his next edition (which we sincerely hope will soon be required), let him by all means submit the statement before us to Dr. Farr. We have no doubt that the remark of the learned statistician upon it will be that of Bunsen: "The Jewish rabbis have written nothing more absurd than Dr. Baumgarten's assertion."

We will now endeavour, with the same brevity, to give some of the very strong reasons against Mr. Savile's assumption, which he has overpast.

We begin with those supplied by the Bible itself.—1. It is unequivocally stated that the sojourn of Israel in Egypt was four hundred years, in two places, viz.:—Gen. xv. 13, and Acts vii. 6.

2. The unabridged pedigree of Ephraim, the heir and representative of the house of Joseph (see Gen. xlvii. 13—19), is providentially preserved to us (1 Chron. vii. 20—26). In this table it is declared upon inspired authority that Joshua, the son of Nun, the attendant upon Moses at the Exodus, was the nineteenth in direct descent from Ephraim; and as Ephraim was but a child when Jacob died, seventeen years after the first immigration of Israel into Egypt (Gen. xlvii. 28), it cannot be questioned that the actual number of descents during the entire sojourn in Egypt was still greater.

As Mr. Savile has endeavoured to ward off the force of these considerations by denying that the pedigree of Levi is abridged, and by understanding the word "generation" (Gen. xv. 13—16), as descent only (p. 108), we take this opportunity of stating that the word thus translated (דור), and its Greek equivalent γενεά, cannot possibly be so understood in very many places of their occurrence in the Bible. If they are to be thus restricted, it will then appear from Matt. i. 17, that there were but forty-two descents (*i.e.*, 1260 years by the ordinary computation) between Abraham and Jesus Christ! A scheme of chronology which we do not recollect to have seen either advanced or advocated.

It seems to us that its common meaning is accurately defined in Exod. i. 6, to be all the men living at the occurrence of any given event. The expectation of life, among the Israelites, being, at the time in question, upwards of a century, the fourth generation would be largely represented in the hosts of Israel at the beginning of the Exodus;

and at its termination, by Caleb and Joshua. This interpretation, moreover, very satisfactorily accords with the primitive meaning of the Hebrew word *ח* "circle."

The vague use of all terms of consanguinity is well known to all thoughtful readers of the Bible. So widely did this prevail, that even in Exod. vi. 20, "Amram took him Jochebed, his father's sister, to wife," would have been read by the ancient Jews without any suspicion of the revolting import it conveys to us. They would merely have understood by it, that Jochebed stood in the same relation to the patriarch Levi as the father of Amram, who himself of course was one descent further removed. We suspect that had Mr. Savile been on our side of this discussion, he would have referred us here to the *o* version of the passage, "Amram took Jochebed, *the daughter of his father's brother*, to wife." But we see no need of this variation, which is, moreover, in itself suspicious.

3. Our third reason from Scripture, of which Mr. Savile takes no note, is the passage itself, of which the interpolation advocated by him makes absolute nonsense. To make this appear, we have only to consider the context, which consists altogether of the narrative of the deliverance of Israel out of Egypt. There is no allusion to any other subject in the first eleven chapters of the Book of Exodus. To such a history the text as it stands in the Hebrew is a perfectly reasonable conclusion. "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel that they sojourned in the land of Egypt was four hundred and thirty years; for it came to pass at the end of the four hundred and thirty years, even the self-same day it came to pass, that all the hosts of the Lord went out from the land of Egypt" (Exod. xii. 41). We are told then that the children of Israel left Egypt exactly four hundred and thirty years after they entered it; a circumstance perfectly pertinent and highly important to the narrative which this passage closes.

Let us now try the same passage with the interpolation for which Mr. Savile so strenuously contends. "And the sojourning of the children of Israel which they sojourned in the land of Egypt [and in the land of Canaan] was four hundred and thirty years." We perceive at a glance that it now withholds the information required by the context—the sojourn in Egypt, and states a circumstance to which that context makes not the remotest allusion, and having no bearing upon it whatever;—the interval between the call of Abram and the Exodus. We recollect a similar case some years ago. A pompous instructor of youth at a tea-party was asked by a country gentleman not very well up in his dates, in what year Queen Elizabeth succeeded to the throne? The learned pedagogue, in whose curriculum English history occupied no very prominent position, as was the wont of those days, replied by stating, with much solemnity, that William the Conqueror landed in the year 1066! The interpolation convicts itself, as Bunsen has truly observed; and Mr. Savile would instantly perceive this were it not for his idol.

We now turn to the history of Egypt. The population of ancient

Egypt certainly never exceeded eight millions, for this is the highest number stated by the priests; most probably it never attained to it, nor anything like it. According to Mr. Savile, upwards of two million of souls left such a country laden with wealth, and never to return, in one night, at the Exodus. Now it is a marked peculiarity of old Egypt, that all its stone constructions were covered with writing, giving the names of their founders, and other historical particulars concerning them. The remains of such are so numerous, that something approaching to a monumental history may be arranged out of them. In such a history an event like the Exodus could not fail to inscribe itself, for it was a disaster such as never befel a nation before or since. This is in the nature of things, and in Egypt the certainty is rendered still more inevitable, by the custom that prevailed with undeviating universality of employing only slaves and prisoners of war in the building of temples and palaces. It could only be rich and prosperous kings and conquerors that would be able to build them. Now upon these considerations we merely reply to the conjecture of Mr. Savile, that the Pharaoh who perished in the Red Sea was Armais or Thothmosis IV., that the thing is simply impossible, because his seven immediate successors were, by the unerring testimony of their still existing monuments, by far the most prosperous and successful monarchs that ever sat on the throne of Egypt. How would this have been, if at the commencement of their epoch more than two millions of slaves, laden with the spoils of their masters, had left Egypt for ever in one night?

The further entertainment of an assertion, hampered at its outset in an impossibility like this, appears to us a simple waste of time and thought.

We must here remind our readers, that some time ago it was pointed out to them (Vol. XI., 257) that there was a place in this monumental history for the phenomena of which absolutely nothing but the events of the Exodus could by possibility account. These phenomena were (in the briefest possible epitome)

1. A king (Sesostris Rameses) whose monuments, both in size and number, enormously preponderate over those of all the one hundred and fifty kings who sat on the throne of Pharaoh before and after him.

2. Yet was this king no great warrior, as his monuments shew unmistakeably.

3. This king had a daughter named Thouoris, who during his life exercised the sovereign authority in Lower Egypt.

4. The second successor and grandson of this king, Sethos II., was degraded publicly after his death. His tomb was desecrated, and made a burying-place for malefactors, and his name was everywhere erased.

We infer from these circumstances that in the first Sesostris we have the king that knew not Joseph, in his daughter Thouoris the foster-mother of Moses, and in his second successor, Sethos II., the Pharaoh that perished in the Red Sea.

5. The monuments of all these sovereigns are beautifully executed. But the king that immediately succeeded this last had no skilled labour

at his command. He reigned a long time, and constructed some monuments, but their execution is viler than those of any other Pharaoh.

This last circumstance indicates a long interregnum, during which the arts perished for lack of use; an event so likely to have followed the Exodus of the Bible, that our proof that here is its place in the history of Egypt seems to be completed thereby. It is moreover expressly stated by the priests* that such an interregnum actually took place on the occasion of the Exodus.

We are well aware that our friend Mr. Savile stedfastly refuses to admit this for a moment, on account of the difficulties in which the ordinarily assumed dates of the times of Sesostris and his successors involve the Bible chronology. He must excuse our reminding him that this is bad induction, and that bad induction cannot be good divinity. If we have truly apprehended Lord Bacon's method, the right course would be to admit the fact, and then carefully and patiently to examine the chronologies both of Israel and Egypt, to ascertain, if possible, where the mistake lies which assigns widely different dates in the two histories to synchronous events. Had he done so we believe he would soon have detected the error. The vulgar dates of the reigns of Sesostris Rameses and his successors are mere speculations of Bunsen's, published sixteen years ago in the German version of his book on Egypt. By Champollion and his brother, these reigns had been dated from two to three centuries earlier. The change was made by Bunsen for one reason only. We know the date of the reign of Shishak, who pillaged the temple at Jerusalem in Rehoboam's reign, which was almost seven hundred years later than that assumed by Champollion for the date of Sesostris. Now neither on the monuments, nor in the Greek list, can a sufficient number of names of kings be found reigning in this interval whose united reigns, by ordinary computation, could possibly have filled up this wide gap between them. Bunsen (as was his wont) settled the difficulty, by at once shoving onward Sesostris, his predecessors and successors, to within the required distance of Shishak. He knew nothing of the interregnum just mentioned, as we need not explain.

We have, unhappily, very imperfect data for computing the duration of the interregnum between the death of Sethos II. and the accession of his successor. The Egyptian priests called it thirteen years; but art would not perish from an entire generation in so brief an interval as this, and besides, an event so disgraceful was sure to be dishonestly abridged, and very much, in their narrations. Osburn conjectures something short of a century.† But there is an event in the subsequent history of Egypt, the bearing of which, upon this interval, he did not perceive. The last great temple, in Egypt, was built at Thebes by the second succession of Sethos II.—The prisoners employed on it were all Canaanites, taken in the cities and strongholds of Lower Egypt.

* Josephus against Apion, i., 28.

† *Mon. Tho.*, ii., 610.

Thus our friend Mr. Savile will perceive that there is no need to throw overboard the facts of Egyptian history. If rightly read and carefully interpreted, they will do no violence to the chronology of the Bible, for which he so earnestly and successfully contends.

Discussions on the Gospels. In Two Parts. By the Rev. A. ROBERTS, M.A. London: Nisbet and Co.

SOME three years ago Mr. Roberts published an *Inquiry into the Original Language of St. Matthew's Gospel; with relative Discussions on the Language of Palestine in the time of Christ, and on the origin of the Gospels*. The substance of that volume is reproduced here, with such additions and revisions as a continued investigation of the various topics has suggested. It is needless to add that, although the former is incorporated with this, the present is to be viewed as an entirely new work. Mr. Roberts intimates that he had before the common lot of authors; that his views were approved by some of our best critics, and that by others they were received with disapprobation. We are glad to find that unfavourable judgments did not damp his ardour, and that he has courageously prosecuted his inquiries, and given the result in the substantial volume before us, the general plan of which we shall describe in the fewest possible words.

The First Part, on the language employed by our Lord and his disciples, comprises eight chapters. Chapter I. is introductory, stating the author's proposition, and the different views which have been entertained on the question, offering some preliminary remarks, and indicating the sources of evidence. Chapter II. gives historical proofs of the prevalence of Greek in Palestine in the times of Christ and his apostles. Here we are led from a consideration of the fact that Greek was so widely prevalent at the period referred to, to observe the causes of this prevalence in Palestine, and the evidence of the fact from various sources. Chapter III. is an argument for the general prevalence of Greek in Palestine, gathered from a general survey of the New Testament. Chapter IV. continues the same argument in the form of special proofs from the gospels. Chapter V. proceeds with the inquiry by an examination of the Acts. Chapter VI. adopts a similar course in relation to the Epistle to the Hebrews, the authorship of which is discussed. Chapter VII. gives further proofs from the New Testament. Chapter VIII. examines and answers objections.

The Second Part is on the original language of St. Matthew's gospel, and the origin of the gospels. Here we have seven chapters, the first of which states the question respecting St. Matthew's gospel, and the principles of the inquiry proposed. Chapter II. goes into the internal evidence for the originality of St. Matthew's gospel, involving a consideration of its general character and special peculiarities. Chapter III. introduces the subject of external evidence. Chapter IV. discusses the statements of ancient writers in support of a Hebrew original of St. Matthew's gospel. Chapter V. treats of other hypo-

theses, and especially of the one arising out of the Curetonian Syriac. In Chapter VI. the more general question of the origin of the gospels is gone into; and in the last we have the conclusion, applications, and results.

Such is the ground which our author traverses, and such is the order in which he prosecutes his investigations. His thesis in the first part "is to prove, chiefly from the New Testament itself, that Greek was widely diffused, well understood, and commonly employed for all public purposes in Palestine, during the period spent on earth by our Lord and his apostles." Our readers will at once be reminded of the well-known treatise of the Neapolitan lawyer, Domenico Diodati, "*De Christo Græce loquente exercitatio qua ostenditur Græcam, sive Hellenisticam linguam cum Judæis omnibus, tum ipsi adeo Christo Domino et apostolis nativam ac vernaculam fuisse.*" This book, originally printed at Naples in 1767, was much valued, but its extreme rarity led to its republication by Dr. O. T. Dobbin, in 1843. Diodati, however, Dr. Dobbin tells us, was content with the simple establishment of his proposition, and for reasons best known to himself, said nothing as to the language in which the New Testament was written. Nevertheless, the work is a highly interesting one, and one which, notwithstanding its faults, will greatly assist the student by its numerous and curious facts. We may say in passing that Dr. Dobbin's account of Diodati's silence needs a little rectification, because the first and second sections of the Appendix argue for the Greek original of the gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, and the Epistle to the Hebrews. But to return to Mr. Roberts.

He thinks that along with the Hebraistic vernacular, the Jews of our Lord's time mostly understood Greek. This view of the case relieves him of attempting to prove too much, and permits him readily to explain any Aramæan words or expressions which the gospels contain. His only real difficulty, in our opinion, is to determine the proportions in which the two languages were spoken. Some have pleaded for an almost exclusive use of Aramaic, and others for an almost exclusive use of Greek; but Mr. Roberts pleads for a considerable preponderance of the latter. We imagine that he is right, certainly with regard to the cities and towns, and the more densely-populated districts. With isolated places and among the mountaineers, the Aramaic may have held on like the Gaelic in Scotland, the Welsh in Wales, and the Breton in France. But these will be treated as exceptional cases, and none would be charged with error who called French the language of Brittany, and English (Scotticised of course) the language of Scotland. The Greek which was spoken in Galilee, for example, was still Greek, although in accent and pronunciation it may have been deteriorated. And this reminds us of an argument for the use of Greek by the common people in the country which is worth a moment's notice. During our Lord's time, Peter carried on a conversation with the soldiers and others in the hall. St. Matthew informs us that those who stood there came up to Peter and said, "Surely thou also art one

of them, for thy speech betrayeth thee." Mark somewhat varies the expression, "Surely thou art one of them: for thou art a Galilean, and thy speech agreeth thereto." Luke simply makes them say, "Of a truth this man also was with him: for he is a Galilean." We may readily believe that the language spoken by the people in the hall was the common Greek, and that if so, Peter spoke the same. He differed from them not in his language, but in his accent; it was his *λαλεία*, and not his *διάλεκτος* or *γλώσσα* which distinguished him from the rest, and therefore both Matthew and Mark use the former word. If his language had been different, we should have found it similarly indicated in the Syriac. We turn to the Pesbito of Matt. xxvi. 73, and Mark xiii. 70, and we find both places exactly answering to the Greek text. We look into the Philoxenian version, and we find the same thing. The Curetonian will not help us, as it does not contain the passages. But let these texts be compared with Acts ii. 6, and it will appear at a glance how careful the sacred writers, and the translators before us, have distinguished between a mode of utterance and a tongue or language. When Peter declared he knew not what they said, it is clear to all who are familiar with Greek, that his idea was this—he knew not what they meant; he understood their words, but not the allusion. From all these facts we should infer that Greek was spoken, but with a marked accent, even upon the shores of the sea of Galilee. If so, it is still more likely that it was spoken in Judæa proper.

The argument, from the extensive knowledge of Greek in the time of our Lord, is of some importance. It is a fact that Greek was used from the banks of the Indus to Gaul, and from southern Egypt to the Euxine. It was understood by a larger number of persons than any other language then known. Providence therefore wisely arranged that in this universal vehicle of thought, the New Testament should be first conveyed to men. There are many things to shew that the language which had overrun the whole civilized world, so far as Alexander conquered or the Cæsars ruled, should not be excluded from Palestine. We should not go quite so far as Mr. Roberts, who has a thesis to defend, but we believe him to be on the right side as to the prevailing language of Palestine. As it respects our Lord and his disciples, it is a fact that the oldest form in which their words have come to us is Greek. That the apostles were some of them unlearned and ignorant men is admitted, and yet they wrote and spoke Greek! If Greek had been unused for conversation and daily intercourse, we might have had an Aramaic original of the New Testament; whereas, the earliest edition of that book after the Greek, is confessedly a translation, and that from the Greek. Had Peter and John learned Greek by divine inspiration, we may suppose it would not have been so redolent of Palestine as it is. The New Testament is Greek, but it is mainly such Greek as a Jew would write.

We regret that we cannot go into the subject fully, as it is one of equal interest and importance, but we are quite convinced that the case

made out in this volume for the general use of Greek by our Lord and his disciples is a very strong one. Perhaps this view of the subject was never before exhibited with so much learning and ingenuity. And be it remarked, that the author has the most reverential faith in the sacred volume. To him it is the supreme law, and while in the spirit of honest and believing criticism he interrogates it, yet when he has ascertained its testimony, he is satisfied, and asks no more.

We now come to the question of the original language of St. Matthew's gospel, respecting which three or four opinions have been entertained. The first is, that it was written in Hebrew; another, that it was written in Greek; and a third, that it was written both in Greek and Hebrew. There are some variations of these opinions. For Hebrew, some would substitute Syro-Chaldaic or Syriac; and with regard to the third opinion, some say that Matthew himself wrote both in Greek and Hebrew, and others that the Greek was written by some of his disciples. Mr. Roberts rightly believes that the question must be settled by evidence alone, and by the whole evidence, and that in point of order the internal should precede the external evidence. Into each of these points he goes at some length, but we cannot follow him. Taking internal evidence first, it is affirmed, "that on a complete and thorough examination of the Greek gospel of St. Matthew, it is seen everywhere to possess the air and character of an original and not a translated work." To this we should say, of course it does, although we know what a formidable array of names will rise up against us. Just as surely as that the Peshito wears the dress and has the features of a translation, so does St. Matthew's Greek gospel appear as an original, written by a Jew. The next point is, that "the manner in which citations from the Old Testament are made in it" proves the originality of St. Matthew's Greek. This argument deserves attention, but is less forcible than the preceding, though more so than the following, viz.:—the explanations it gives of Hebrew words and phrases. The explanations or translations in question do not occur in the Peshito Syriac of St. Matthew, although that version does sometimes give them elsewhere, as in Heb. vii. 2, "King of Salem, which is king of peace." The fourth argument is drawn from the Latinisms, which is not forcible. The fifth proof is from the frequent use of the imperfect tense. And the sixth is, the occurrence of certain unusual expressions. Taken together these considerations have a certain weight, but the first seems to us the chief and crowning evidence that it is not a translation.

For a moment we may turn to the external evidence. It is admitted that the Greek gospel can be traced back to the apostolic age, and that it is quoted extensively by all, or nearly all, the first Christian writers. When its author is named, it is said that Matthew wrote it. But it must be owned that at a very early period we meet with names which point to a Hebrew original. How shall we deal with these? To contradict their statements is not to refute them. Eusebius, a man of some consideration, quotes Papias, as saying many years before, that Matthew wrote in Hebrew, and that everybody explained

the words as he could. The statement thus made was taken up and repeated by later writers in abundance. Eusebius does not deny its truth, although he possibly attached no great importance to it. It may be observed that Papias does not say Matthew wrote a gospel, but "compiled the oracles" or discourses, by which, however, the gospel has been understood. Mr. Roberts criticises the assertion with some severity, but, on the whole, fairly. The next witness is Irenæus, who is possibly a mere echo of Papias. Upon this foundation all others have built. But the real question is, how far and in what sense the words are true? We are not able to pronounce a positive opinion, although we feel convinced that St. Matthew wrote the Greek gospel which bears his name, and that it alone was always accepted as an authentic and inspired document. If St. Matthew wrote a Hebrew or Aramaic gospel, it is curious that it should have been allowed so soon and so unaccountably to perish. What later writers give as a part of it are of little importance except as arguments against it.

After showing the weak side of the case in favour of a Hebrew original of St. Matthew's gospel, Mr. Roberts examines the claims made by Dr. Cureton in favour of the Syriac fragment which bears his own name. The matter has been gone into at length in these pages, and Mr. Roberts only confirms the conclusions we had arrived at. The objection which to us seems most fatal to Canon Cureton's theory, is, that his fragment contains portions of four gospels instead of one. There were, therefore, four gospels so closely resembling each other in their particular features, and so connected in one volume, that if we admit three to have been taken from the Greek, we may almost assume that the fourth came from the same source. That Dr. Cureton's recension is a variation of the Peshito we have not the shadow of a doubt; and our conviction is supported by the fact that Adler describes a manuscript of the Peshito at Rome, containing many of the same differences of reading.

On the origin of the gospels, Mr. Roberts takes simply the ground that our Lord and his apostles spoke in Greek, and that the evangelists wrote independent records of his words and actions. Of the epistle to the Hebrews, our author thinks it was written in Greek under the direction of St. Paul, who himself added the concluding portion. The joint authorship is ascribed to Paul and Luke.

In conclusion we can only pronounce this a masterly discussion, one of the most thorough, sound, and independent treatises we have for some time met with. No one pursuing similar inquiries will be wise if he neglects it. It must take its place among those books which are so promising a feature of our time and country, and which, if not numerous, are an honour to our national literature. With such unwearied, able, and zealous labourers among us as Mr. Roberts, we shall have no cause to fear the adverse criticisms of learned unbelief, which is too often captious and pretending. Of course we do not accept all the conclusions here arrived at, but we accept many, and we like the manner, matter, and spirit of the work. It is free and manly, enlightened and

decided. It breaks away from the tyrannical fetters of traditional criticism, and goes out heartily in quest of the truth. This is what we want, and this is what the age demands. Too long have we been prone at the feet of great names in ancient and modern literature; but it is high time for us to stand up and assert our manhood. Too much have we relied upon the bulwarks which we saw around our holy inheritance, but now we may find them inadequate, and as in modern warfare, so in modern theology, the old methods must many of them give place to the new.

A Commentary, Grammatical and Exegetical, on the Book of Job : with a Translation. By the Rev. A. B. DAVIDSON, M.A. Vol. I. Williams and Norgate. 1862.

HERE we have another translation of the book of Job, another commentary upon that ancient and mysterious document. We say another, for many indeed have been the endeavours of our countrymen, either to translate or to expound the Hebrew text of Job. Men ambitious of distinction as scholars and critics have known no aim higher than this, no work more honourable than this. It may be in the recollection of some of our readers, that while our present authorized version was yet unpublished, a man who had wished to be one of the translators, and who was as eccentric as he was learned, gave the world a thin quarto volume with the following title: "Job. To the King. A Colon-Agrippina Studie of one moneth, for the metrical translation: but of many years, for Ebrew difficulties. By Hugh Broughton." This was in 1610. The author says of Job, "The stile is in his language for verse, shortness, and strange words, as Pindarus in Greek: and fuller of difficultie, then all the other books of Adams tongue." And again: "God would have this book as a jewel hid in the ground, not seen playn without paines." Of Master Broughton's success, we need say nothing, but we readily accept his opinion of the difficulty of the book. Two centuries and a half have not sufficed to make it plain, and we gratefully receive every scholar-like contribution to its elucidation.

That Mr. Davidson's work is on the right track, we admit at once, for he says at the outset that "any exposition now to be valuable or even bearable must base itself immovably on grammar. For grammar is the foundation of analysis, analysis of exegesis, exegesis of Biblical theology, and Biblical theology of dogmatic." We are sorry to add that there is too much truth in his assertion, that "we in this country have been not unaccustomed to begin at the other end, creating exegesis and grammar by deduction from dogmatic, instead of discovering dogmatic by induction from grammar." Happily we are beginning to discover our mistake, and we recognize, with Mr. Davidson, the value of Mr. Wright's commentary on Genesis, and of Mr. Ginsburg's works. Let us hope that we have not heard the last of either of these three gentlemen, and that others will join them in their good work. The greater part of the Old Testament is open to them, and there is abundant room for their operations.

Mr. Davidson has endeavoured in his translation to exhibit the meaning of the original, and instead of claiming for it any independent value, he merely wishes it to be considered a part of his exposition. He proposes to append to his work collected lists of divergences of rendering from the Peshito and other oriental versions. This is a good idea, as those divergences are numerous, instructive, and important. He has made considerable use of the latest and best authorities, and he particularly refers to the grammatical labours of Ewald, Gesenius, Nordheimer, Green, and Roorda. Other names specially mentioned are those of Schlottmann and Stickel.

The introduction to this volume discusses the following questions: the problem of the book; development of the idea of the book; historic truth, era, and authorship. To the third of these only can we here allude. Mr. Davidson observes that it has been and still is held by some, that the book of Job has no historical basis. He is liberal enough to maintain that such a view is neither derogatory to Scripture, nor absolutely incompatible either with anything in the book itself, or in other parts of Scripture. This view is therefore neither irreverent nor impossible, and the same may be said of that which regards the whole as a literal record of actual facts and words; but neither the one nor the other is considered so probable as the idea which regards the prose portions as historical, and the rest as a poetical representation of the arguments used by the disputants. The book is therefore substantially true, but not a verbal report of what was spoken.

As for the authorship and date, nothing positive is known. Some have referred it to the patriarchal period; others to the time of Moses, or to Moses himself; and others again, have ascribed it to the period of the captivity, or even later. Mr. Davidson believes that the book of Job is anterior to the Solomonic books; he cares little how much earlier it is supposed to be. He is of opinion that the Hebrew was the author's native language, but he is not certain as to his place of residence. There is a commendable frankness in this introduction, and perhaps no better course could have been adopted than the one here followed: "We know nothing, and speculation is vain." All we know is, that "there was a man in the land of Uz, and his name was Job." This land of Uz appears to have been to the east of Palestine and to the north of Edom. Every geographical indication in the book agrees with this opinion, better than with that which places Uz in the south of Palestine. The Septuagint translates Uz by Ausitis, which points in the same direction.

Of the translation and notes we cannot speak at length. Every one knows that, in the earlier portions of the book, difficulties begin to appear. The verb commonly denoting to bless, occurs with an apparent inversion of meaning, and hence it is rendered "to curse" in the authorized version, and in many others. The Septuagint makes Job say, "perhaps my sons have thought evil in their hearts toward God," in i. 5: but in verse 11, the verb is translated "bless," and so also in other cases, except in iii. 9, where the version differs considerably from

the Hebrew. The difficulty has long puzzled the critics, and Mr. Davidson suggests that it should be met by translating "renounced God in their heart," etc. For his reasons we must refer to his notes. We may observe in general that the renderings adopted are accounted for in all cases of uncertainty, and that the opinions of the principal modern writers are examined and estimated. Besides this philological commentary, as we may term it, there are interspersed a large number of instructive notes, or such as convey information illustrative of the text. The whole body of notes indicates careful and learned research. The translation is divided into sections so as to shew the structure of the book; and every principal division is prefaced by a statement of its character and contents. In the present volume we are brought to the close of the fourteenth chapter; what remains is to be comprised in a second volume. We propose to enter somewhat more critically into the work when it is completed. Now, we do not profess to do it justice, but merely to invite the attention of our readers to the production of a volume which claims a place among the few devoted to a learned and scholarlike discussion of Old Testament books from English pens. We can speak very highly of what Mr. Davidson has done, and we are quite sure that he will win the suffrages of all who are able to appreciate his book.

A Hebrew Grammar, with Exercises. By M. M. KALISCH, Ph. D., M.A. Part I. London: Longmans.

THE importance of the study of Hebrew is, we hope, admitted by all our readers; and probably the feeling in its favour was never more general than now. Yet, strangely enough, the best mode of learning the language, and its ease or difficulty, have been singularly misunderstood. Greek and Latin, and modern tongues, are now taught by methods, the value of which every student confesses. Hebrew alone, of all the learned languages we study, seems to have been left without adequate provisions for its attainment. Not that we want grammars, or lexicons, or verbal analyses, for we have them by hundreds; but we wanted what Dr. Kalisch now undertakes to supply, "a practical introduction to the study of Hebrew." In our opinion a work on grammar is a work of art, and one which can be judged of fitly only by those who know already the rules of the language. The difficulty is to lead a student through such a work, and to secure that he shall remember and apply the facts and relations to which his attention has been called. Here the majority break down, and for what reason we cannot imagine, except it be because they have not been properly exercised and directed. By the time they have gone through the grammar, they have forgotten no small amount of what they have been supposed to learn. How can the evil be remedied, if not by removing the cause? We are not sure that Dr. Kalisch has altogether succeeded. His valuable and elaborate volume contains an immense collection of facts and of exercises upon them, and yet we should hesitate to place it in the hands of a beginner and to confine him to it. The task might possibly be accomplished,

but it would be a painful one. Therefore we say that the first thing for the student to do is to ascertain something of the nature of the language he is going to learn; to do this, a rapid survey of the grammar is all that is needed, even though little of it will be understood. The next step is to learn a few simple and necessary elements or rules, to be accompanied by exercises and examples. A wise tutor will determine the order in which everything shall be learned, and in most cases that will not be the exact order of the book. When considerable progress is made, it will be time enough to take the grammar and to go through it from step to step without omission. In other words, the course is threefold, the first is superficial and general, the second practical and more specific, and the third the same in a higher degree and a more scientific order.

The author of this volume has an impression not exactly the same as our own, and thinks the student may and must follow the order he has adopted: such as like to try it may do so, but we warn them it will bring them into unnecessary difficulties. The book is so elaborate that it brings out and explains rules and exceptions, which the student cannot exemplify by his reading for a long time. We would put a Bible into his hands at a very early period, and shew him how to use that and his lexicon, because we have seen grammar and translation carried on side by side, to the profit and real pleasure of the learner. We have seen the grammar taken alone, with its dreary and labyrinthine forest of rules, to the weariness and disgust of the learner. We have seen other methods tried, but the only one we have known in all points a success is that which combines translation with exercises and rules. As for translation, it may begin with single words as soon as the alphabet is mastered, and will enable the student to commence laying in a stock of words from the outset. This brings us to an important point, and when we have named it we shall add no more: it is that in learning Hebrew, not only a grammar but a vocabulary has to be acquired. A man who knows all the rules of grammar before he opens his lexicon, is in danger of losing his grammar while he masters his lexicon. Grammar and lexicon must be united in study by means of translation. Dr. Kalisch does something towards supplying a vocabulary.

Of the volume before us, we have very little to do but to recommend it. There are occasional defects of style, ambiguous, obscure expressions, and the like; and what will cause more difficulty, if the book is employed as he suggests, a remarkable minuteness and multiplicity of detail in some portions. Advanced students will find it very useful as an occasional referee when their memories need refreshing, and there are few who might not read it with profit.

The Life of Dr. John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, in the reign of King Henry VIII. With an appendix of illustrative documents and papers. By the Rev. JOHN LEWIS, A.M. Now first printed. With an Introduction by T. HUDSON TURNER, Esq. Two Vols. London: J. Lilly.

JOHN LEWIS was a Bristol man, who was born in 1675 and died in 1746. He studied at Oxford, and after taking orders settled in Kent, in which county he laboured till his death. He was a prolific writer on theological subjects, especially those in which any controversy was involved. He was also a diligent explorer of antiquity in various branches. Among his works in this department we may mention his History of Faversham, his Lives of Wicliffe, Caxton, Bishops Pecock and Fisher, his History of Anabaptism, edition of Wicliffe's New Testament, Dissertation on Seals, and History of Translations of the Bible. But although he laboured so industriously and with so much credit, up to the present time no detailed biography of him has been published. The notices of him which we have seen are very defective, and even his name is not to be found in some of our biographical dictionaries. This is much to be regretted, and not to be excused, because there exists in manuscript, and it is now before us, an autobiography copied from the original in his own handwriting, and abounding in curious and interesting details. We cannot at all understand why this document has remained unpublished, and we hope it is not even yet too late for its appearance. The owner of it might print it uniformly with the two volumes of *Fisher's Life*, so that it might either be had separately by those who already possess that work, or together with them, by those who wished to have it. We can assure our readers that it contains much that is important concerning the leading men and controversies of the church in the times when its author lived. The manuscript would require but little revision, and seems to have been prepared with a view to publication, although the intention was not carried out. It is dated in 1744, but is continued almost until its author's death.

With regard to the life of Fisher, it is by far the most complete record of that celebrated prelate extant in our language. Mr. Turner, the editor, tells us that the only other life of him is the partial memoir of Dr. Bailey, which first appeared in 1655. Now when we consider the period in which Fisher lived, and the prominent place his name holds in English history, we cannot but wonder that so little has been written about him in a separate form. Lewis intended his life of Fisher to form one of a series, of which the lives of Wicliffe and Pecock formed a part, and in continuation of Usher; but it was left in manuscript at his death, and was not printed till a short time ago. Mr. Turner has prefixed to it a useful introduction, and appears to have performed his editorial duties with conscientious care. We all know the general course of Fisher's life, but the perusal of these volumes enables us to descend to particulars, and to understand him far better than any mere outline. The first chapter passes somewhat rapidly over the events of

his early life, and the second commences with his appointment to the see of Rochester. Here the narrative becomes more specific and spreads over a wider surface, recording not only the transactions in which he was personally engaged, but much that is indirectly connected with him. For the state of civil and religious affairs at this period, and for various incidents belonging to the early movements of the party of Reformation, the work is of considerable interest and importance.

Fisher, it is well known, was not a reformer, and opposed the divorce of Henry. His resolute adherence to his principles involved him in frequent difficulty, and his appointment as a cardinal made matters worse. In the end he was accused of treason—treason was anything or nothing in those days—and he was brought to the block. He only shared the fate of Sir Thomas More, and many other true-hearted men and women of his time. A curious story is told by Courinus Nucerinus, in his Latin Epistle on the Death of Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher. This epistle, published at the time, and sometimes found in early editions of More's works, gives a very interesting account of the death of Fisher. The part to which we allude is quoted by Lewis after Bailey, and is in substance this:—He (the writer) had learned by the letters of his friends that a rumour was afloat in lower Germany to the effect that when Fisher's head was exposed on London Bridge according to custom, it not only did not grow pallid, but became more florid and life-like, so that many believed it would begin to speak, just as is told of certain martyrs. When the story got abroad, the head was taken down and hidden to prevent any popular commotion. Lest the same thing should happen to the head of More, that was parboiled before it was exposed, to make it look more horrible. This gossip and other of the same sort from Flanders, may or may not have prevailed in England, but it suggests the opinions which were entertained abroad respecting the judicial murders of Fisher and More.

The literary labours of Fisher are very fully enumerated and described in these volumes, and a copious collection of documents is added at the end. We can afford to do justice to this great man, and we are in a better position to do it than his contemporaries were. Thanks to Mr. Lewis, and to the publisher of this work, we have the means at hand for forming a fair estimate of one who made mistakes and who had faults, but who was a sincere, religious, earnest, liberal, and active prelate, an honour to his age, and meriting respect and honour from us.

There is only one remark which we will further make in addition to our former one about the life of Lewis, and it is, that although the contents of all the chapters are given, the life of Fisher would be more useful to students, and more convenient for reference, with an alphabetical index. In case a new edition is called for we trust to see this suggestion carried out, as the work every way deserves it, and ought to be in every gentleman's library.

The People's Common Prayer Book, containing the Morning and Evening Prayers, the Litany, and Holy Communion; newly arranged, so as to make the order of the Services plain and easy to those who are unaccustomed to the worship of the Church. London: Wertheim and Co.

IN these days, when so much is said about a revision or re-arrangement of the Prayer Book, considerable interest attaches to works like the present. It is intended for those who can "never find the place," and it is a really straight-through arrangement executed with much care. Its superiority to *The Consecutive Prayer Book* is evident at a glance, and it costs but threepence. The editor is preparing a cheaper edition at a penny, and a larger edition with the Psalter and occasional offices. We can say of it that "a single trial will suffice" to prove its merits.

The Typical Testimony to the Messiah; or, The Analogy of the Scriptures in relation to Typical Persons. By MICAHILL HILL. London: Hamilton, Adams and Co.

THE question of Old Testament types is one of much interest and importance, but by no means free from difficulties. Mr. Hill believes that typical relations may be inferred, and blames those who have invented types, equally with those who have laid down arbitrary canons of interpretation. He finds certain persons and things declared to be typical, or treated as such in the New Testament as well as in the Old. These cases are regarded as illustrating certain principles by means of which other types may be discovered. Reasoning from analogy, therefore, we may expect to find types in things and persons which are not directly said to be such in Scripture. The rules by which we are to be guided are carefully stated, and are applied in the volume with much ingenuity and industry. If we admit the bases of the argument, it is difficult to see how we can escape the conclusions arrived at. We therefore strongly recommend the careful study of this volume to all who are interested in typology.

It seems evident enough that analogies, resemblances and coincidences, are not in themselves enough to establish typical relation. There must be in addition such marks of design apparent as justify us in accepting the typical character of certain events, things and persons. But what are these marks of design, and how are they to be discovered? Resemblances may be real where there is no proof of a type; or they may be only apparent and fanciful. This is not all; a person may perhaps be a type in some respects and not in others, and it is the duty of the interpreter to ascertain the limits of the typical or intended coincidence. There are also resemblances which are mere antitheses, or more or less negative. Thus "*David feigns insanity, to Christ it was imputed.*" Was the pretended insanity of David a type of the asserted insanity of Christ? In other cases again the resemblances are verbal parallels where the events are not analogous. Are

these verbal coincidences indicative of a typical relation? Once more, actions may be analogous, although performed under different circumstances, and from different motives. Are these also typical?

Among the supposed types of Christ, Mr. Hill finds some which he calls supplementary, others which are continuous, others which are complimentary, subordinate, or correlative. He also defines what he calls typical periods. Thus a typical period extending from Moses to Solomon, is separated by about five hundred years from its antitypical period, which begins with Cyrus and ends with the apostles. Were these three periods of about five hundred years each actually designed to be what our author thinks they were? And of shorter periods, was the three years' famine under David a type of the three years' famine which happened in the time of Christ? If numbers are sometimes typical, why are they not the same? "Samson was watched by thirty Philistines, and Alexander by thirty thousand, on occasions typically related," says Mr. Hill, in reference to two events which he supposes to stand in a typical relation, because he thinks Samson was a type of the Alexander in question. Of course he would say Alexander was watched, and Samson was watched, and we should say, so have ten thousand others been watched under similar circumstances. But to shew the importance which is here attached to numbers we quote a single passage, merely premising that David is a type of Christ: "David and Christ appoint three persons to watch the course of events, of whom one in each case denies his master. Two malefactors are brought into contact with David and Christ, one of whom persecutes, and the other befriends David and Christ. Three persons attend David at Mahanaim, and three Christ at the sepulchre. Two certain and one uncertain attempt by missiles, three by snares, and four by arrest, are made on the lives of the two Davids. The number of David's retreats is nine; and the number of charges, given by Christ to keep his miracles secret, is nine. David's attacks on the Philistines number fourteen; and the number of times in which Christ expelled demons is fourteen. David and Christ after their return from, respectively, Mahanaim and the sepulchre, grant each nine interviews to his subjects. Harmony in such numbers is invariable, and forms an important element in the typical view." Mr. Hill does not endeavour to avoid the consequences to which an inexorable logic would conduct him if he carried his principles as far as they might be carried. We have carefully examined his book; but while there is much in its spirit and tone, of which we quite approve, we cannot see our way to the theory or system which he has so skilfully and laboriously expounded.

END OF VOLUME I. (NEW SERIES).

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